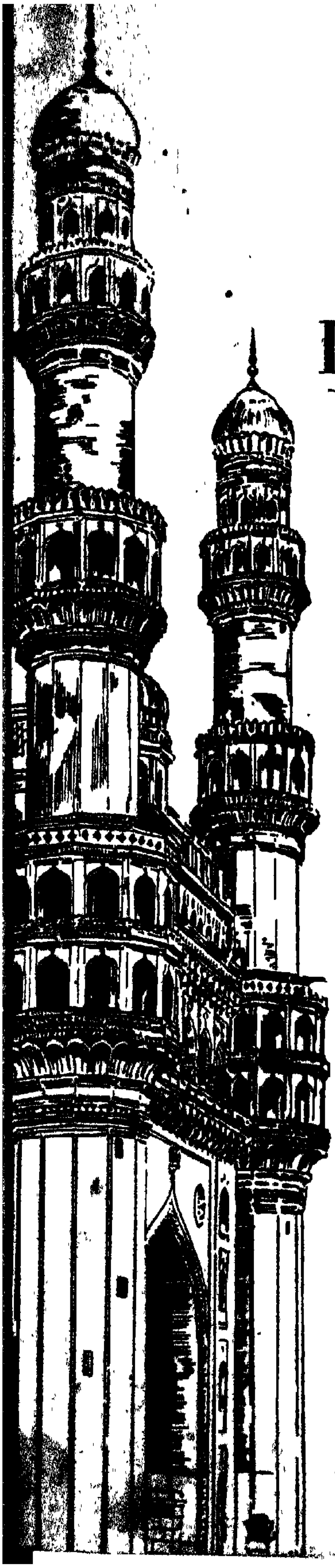


[And say: My Lord! Increase me in Knowledge.—Qur'an]

ISLAMIC CULTURE

An English Quarterly

Vol. XXX, No. 1

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IN MEMORIAM

NAWAB SIR NIZAMAT JUNG

NIZAMUDDIN Ahmad, Nawab Sir Nizamat Jung, born on 22nd April 1871 died in Hyderabad on 23rd November 1955, at the age of 84. He came of a well-known Hyderabad family many members of which held important posts in Government Service. He was the second son of Maulavi Shaikh Ahmad Husain, (Nawab Rif'at Yar Jung I.) His early education was entrusted to the late Mr. Tait, sometime Headmaster of the Madrasa-i-A'izza, started for the education of young *Murshidzadahs* (collateral relations of the Nizam). He passed the Matriculation examination of the University of Madras in due course and read for some years at the Nizam College for higher examinations.

He was awarded a scholarship from the Nizam's government for training in Arts and Law in England and passed the B. A. examination of Cambridge University and was later called to the Bar. He worked for a time in the chambers of a well-known London barrister; and on his return to India received practical training in Legal Procedure at the Madras High Court. He was appointed Civil Judge, Purbhani district in 1897. He rose later to the post of First Nazim of the Criminal Court, Hyderabad and to a High Court Judgeship in 1907. In 1909 he became Secretary to Government, Judicial and General Departments and Chief Justice, Hyderabad High Court in 1916. Two years later he was transferred again to the Secretaryship of the Judicial Department.

Later he was entrusted with the Secretariate of the Political Department. In 1919 he was appointed Political Member of the Nizam's Executive Council. In spite of these official responsibilities he continued his scholarly habits. He was a gifted English poet. Several of his poems were published in British journals as well as in *Islamic Culture*. He rendered into beautiful English some poems composed by His Exalted Highness the Nizam also.

In 1905 he was awarded the title of Nawab Nizamat Jung. Soon he was appointed Honorary Secretary of the Victoria Memorial Orphanage Sururnagar, Hyderabad. At the formal opening of this institution the then British Resident, Col. Sir David Barr, spoke highly of Nizamat Jung's services. He was elected Dean of the Faculty of Arts, Osmania University, and delivered the inaugural address at the first convocation of 1924. He received the title of O.B.E. in 1919 and C.I.E. 1924 and a Knighthood in 1929. Among his friends and associates may be mentioned the late Sir ʻAli Imam, Nawab ʻImadul Mulk and ʻAbdullah Yusuf ʻAli.

He preferred a life of seclusion and died a bachelor. During his life of retirement from government service he performed the pilgrimage to the Holy Places of Mecca and Medina. He has left two religious endowments—(1) The Medina Mansion in the city of Hyderabad, (2) A house at Viqarabad.

He was one of the founders of *Islamic Culture.* In spite of being a great admirer of Greek philosophy, he devoted the last years of his life to the study of Islam and published a number of thought-provoking articles on Quranic doctrines and Islamic History in *Islamic Culture* as well as other journals.

By his death, Hyderabad has lost an erudite scholar, a talented poet and an elder statesman. The Islamic Culture Board offers to his relatives and friends its deep sympathy and shares with the mourners this grievous loss. May God rest his soul in peace.

MD. ABDUR RAHMAN KHAN

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN MEDIEVAL INDIA

YUSUF HUSAIN KHAN*

THE social institution of caste in India attracted the notice of the early Muslim immigrants, who had not seen the like of it in any part of the Muslim world. Equality and brotherhood were the recognized principles on which Muslim society was based. The early Muslims were treated in India as 'mlechchas', the impure, like the non-caste people. In other words, their social status was lower than that of the Sudras. The institution of caste, however, did not fail to arouse curiosity among the early Muslim intellectuals who visited this country.

Alberuni observes: "All their fanaticism is directed against those who do not belong to them—against all foreigners. They call them Mlechcha i. e. impure, and forbid having any connection with them, be it by inter-marriage, or any other kind of relationship or by sitting, eating and drinking with them, because thereby they think, they would be polluted."

This attitude of exclusiveness on the part of the Hindus, indicated by Alberuni, did not last long. It took about a century for the Hindus to reconcile themselves to the new-comers from the North-west. During this period a large number of Muslim immigrants had settled in the interior of the country, and had made India their home. They even shed their blood for its defence against their own co-religionists.

The chief result of the political domination of the Muslims was that the Brahmans, who had been exempt from all sorts of taxes in the previous regime, lost their privileged position. The lower castes, who whole-heartedly co-operated with the new-comers, got an opportunity to alleviate their material position. Some of them embraced Islam as it gave them a higher social status. For instance the weavers, who were assigned a low position in the caste-hierarchy of the Hindus, were the first to take advantage of the Muslim domination in Northern India,

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by embracing Islam *en masse*. But in this connection, it would be hazardous to form any generalization about group conversions as the data available are very meagre and flimsy. The question, naturally, arises, why only the weavers [1] were so sensitive as to take advantage of the political revolution by embracing Islam *en masse*? Why did not the fuller, the shoe-maker, the basket and shield makers and others who suffered from the same disabilities embrace the new creed? It may be that the individual approach made the difference. Professional guilds must have been under the influence of religious leaders, just as they are so even now. If any particular leader was properly approached by a Muslim tradesman or missionary and was impressed with the doctrines of equality and brotherhood of the new creed, he may have embraced the new creed and the rest of the members of the guild may have followed in his footsteps. Alberuni does not mention any separate guild of butchers, as this guild came into existence after they had embraced Islam. Most probably all those who originally belonged to the class of Chandalas, who slaughtered animals and ate the flesh of cows, and the hunters of wild animals and of birds formed themselves into a separate guild. It is true that the economic condition of the weavers (*julahas*) and the butchers (*qasais*) must have improved considerably by enjoying the same social status as other Muslims. The question, however, is whether those who embraced Islam were motivated only by economic considerations or were there other factors also at work, the economic motive being one of them? It is highly probable that there were other considerations as well, which should be taken into account in order to get a true and full picture of the situation.

Now, we enter a new period of our social history. During the course of a century the Muslim population, consisting of the converts and the immigrants, spread all over Northern India. The converts, naturally, retained many of their former traditions, but soon adjusted themselves to the new social situation. The immigrants, who settled in small towns (*qasbas*) which they founded in most cases, had their roots fixed in the soil of the country. They were no longer strangers. The early resentment of the Hindus no longer existed. They could establish social intercourse with the Hindus who lived in the neighbouring villages and

1. Speaking about the lower castes Alberuni says: "After the Sudras follow the people called Antyaja, who rendered various kinds of services, who are not reckoned amongst any caste, but only as members of certain craft or profession. There are eight classes of them, who freely inter-marry with each other, except the fuller, shoemaker and weaver, for no others would condescend to have anything to do with them. These eight guilds are the fuller, shoemaker, juggler, the basket and shield maker, the sailor, the fisherman, the hunter of wild animals and of birds, and the weaver. The four castes do not live together with them in one and the same place. These guilds live near the villages and towns of the four castes, but outside them" (*India* I, p. 101).

those who lived in the town itself. In course of time the descendants of these immigrants came to regard India as their home. The foundations of Indo-Muslim society were now laid.

One of the greatest representatives of Indo-Muslim culture was the great poet, litterateur and mystic of the time Amir Khusrau (1253-1325). He came from a family of Turkish immigrants, who had settled in Patiali, in the present Etah district of Uttar Pradesh. Being a man of versatile talents he took to the career of a courtier, and for nearly half a century saw the rise and fall of dynasties and the changes and convulsions consequential to it. He became a disciple of Sheikh Nizamuddin Aulia, who conceived a strong liking for him and gave him the title of Turkallah and is said to have remarked, "I hope on the Day of Judgement to be expunged of all blame by the fire that burns in the heart of the Turk."

Khusrau was a man of wide sympathies, and equally at home in Persian and Bhasha. In one of his Persian Mathnavis called *Nuh Sipihr* (the Nine Skies) he has depicted the life familiar to him, India's climate, its flowers, birds and other animals, its sciences, religious beliefs, and languages. He has attempted to prove India's superiority over other countries. He says, "Why, someone may ask me, all this zeal and admiration for India? It is because India is the land of my birth and is my own country. The Prophet has said that 'the love of one's country is part of the faith'. As it is my country, I am going to speak about it within the limits I have set to myself."

Khusrau commences by likening India to the Garden of Eden, where Adam resided before his fall. Then he speaks about the fertility and fruitfulness of its soil, the temperate nature of its climate, and the presence of the peacock which is a bird of paradise. To gladden the heart of man there are flowers here all the year round, while in Persia and Turkey they last only for two or three months. Indian flowers have a sweet scent, while the flowers of Persia and Turkey have no fragrance on account of the cold climate. In this land lie concealed wisdom and ideas beyond reckoning. Greece has been famous for its philosophy, but India is equally famous. Logic, astrology, physics, mathematics and astronomy all are cultivated here. The Hindus believe in the unity and eternity of God, His power to create from nothingness, and so are better than the Dualists, the Sabians or the Mushabih (who liken God to visible object). They worship, no doubt, stones, plants and the sun, but they recognize that these things are creations of God and adore them simply because their forefathers did so.[1]

Amir Khusrau cites the following ten arguments to prove India's superiority.

(1) Knowledge and learning are common and widespread among the people.

(2) They can speak all the languages of the world correctly.

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1. *Nuh Sipihr*, ed. by Wahid Mirza.

(3) Scholars from all parts of the world have come, from time to time, to study in India, but no Indian scholar has found it necessary to go abroad in quest of knowledge. Abu Ma'shar, the famous Arab astronomer of the 9th century A. D. for instance, came to India and learnt astronomy from Hindu scholars at Banaras, where he lived for ten years.

(4) The numerical system, especially the symbol zero, originated in India. As a matter of fact, the word "Hindsa" is compounded of Hind (India) and 'asa' a famous Indian mathematician.

(5) The wonderful book of wisdom, *Kalila wa Dimna*, was composed in India, and acquired fame all over the world, having been translated into Persian, Turkish, Tazi (Arabic) and Dari.

(6) The game of chess, similarly, was invented in India. The elaborate and intricate technique of the game has seldom been mastered by anyone, and it holds a unique position among pastimes of a kindred nature.

(7) Chess and *Kalila wa Dimna*, both being of Indian origin, have given this country a distinctive place among all lands and have become popular throughout the world.

(8) Indian music, which is like a fire that inflames the heart and the soul, is of a higher order than the music of any other country. No foreigner, even if he lived in India for a number of years, has been able to grasp its principles thoroughly or even to render a single melody correctly.

(9) This music has a peculiar charm not only for human beings, but for animals also. Deer have been hypnotised and caught by means of music alone.

(10) Lastly, in no other land is there a wizard like Khusrau, albeit a lowly and humble panegyrist of the great monarch.

Then Khusrau proceeds to mention the talking birds like the parrot, the magpie and other birds that have been trained to perform wonderful tricks, horses trotting to music, goats performing balancing feats, manlike monkeys that can distinguish between one coin and another.[1]

Khusrau seems to be full of admiration for the familiar scenes of everyday life, which clearly shows that his approach was that of a genuine patriot who loves the country of his birth and its life and environment.

In his Mathnavi, *Deval Rani Khizr Khan*, he says that if he admired India he should not be considered a partisan. He was not like the proverbial blind woman of Basra who gave preference to Basra over Syria out of sheer parochialism. According to him India was a paradise on earth, which accounts for Adam and the peacock descending here from Paradise itself. Then he proceeds to admire the flowers of India, the entire description being realistic and true. While describing the qualities of each flower he mentions the names of *bela*, *juhi*, *kevara*,

1. See *Nuh Sipihr*.

champa, *molsari*, *duna*, *karna* and *Seoti*. Then he says that just as the flowers of India are superior to those of other countries, the beauties of this country are also incomparable. "With regard to the beauties of India, one can say that a hundred countries like China are not worth one hair of theirs. The beauties of Yughma[1] and Khullukh[2] cannot be compared to them, sharp-sighted and sour-visaged as they are. The beauties of Khurasan may be white and red, but they are odourless like the flowers of their country. As for the beauties of Russia and Turkey, they lack submission and humility. They are white and cold like blocks of ice of whom even hell would be afraid. The lips of the Tartar beauty do not smile and the beauty of Khutan lacks salt. As for the beauties of Samarqand and Qandhar, they have no sweetness in them. The jasmine-bodied beauties of Turkey and Egypt have no elegance and smartness compared with the beauties of India."[3]

In the same Mathnavi he praises the use of 'Pan' (betel-leaves) and says that the Persians are so stupid as not to be able to distinguish between the 'Pan' and grass. It requires taste to do so. In his other Mathnavi, *Qiranu's Sa'dain*, Khusrau says that 'Pan' was one of the delights of India as it diminished the bad odour of the mouth, and also strengthened the teeth when they were weak. It gave appetite to one who had no appetite, but if one was feeling hungry, it diminished hunger.

In the *Deval Rani Khizr Khan*, Khusrau admires the fine cloth of India, the like of which was not to be had anywhere else. In this connection he mentions the 'Deogiri' which most probably was a kind of fine cloth made at Deogir in the Deccan. He describes it poetically. "The fairy-like beauties know that the Deogiri suits their taste better than the fine grey linen (Katan). It can be likened in delicacy and elegance to sunshine or shadow or moonlight."

Khusrau was a religious man, but he was not a bigot. Tolerance to believers of other creeds was a prominent feature of his character. He admired the devotion and enthusiasm of the Hindus for their religion and urged the Muslims to be as devoted to their faith as they were. He was impressed when he saw the Hindus dying out of devotion — a woman dying willingly for her husband and a man for an idol. He considered it to be against the tenets of Islam, but then he observed, 'See, how noble it is!' [4]

In the *Hasht Bahisht* he relates the tale of Hindu and Muslim Pilgrims in these words :[5]

A Muslim *haji* proceeding to Mecca met a Brahman pilgrim going to Somnath. Owing to the strength of his devotion, the Brahman was

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1. A city in Turkistan celebrated for the beauty of its inhabitants.
2. A city of Cathay remarkable for the comeliness of its women.
3. (*Deval Rani Khizr Khan* ed. by Maulvi Rashid Ahmad).
4. (*Nuh Sipihr*).
5. *Hasht Bahisht* one of the Mathnavis in the khamsa; Habib, *Hazrat Amir khusrau*, p. 88.

measuring the ground with his body and the stones of the road had torn off the skin of his breast. 'whereto, friend'? the *haji* inquired. 'I have been travelling like this for several years,' the Brahman replied. 'But God has given you your two feet; why do you crawl on your breast instead of walking upon them'? 'Ever since I dedicated my life to my idol, I have crawled towards him on my breast', the Brahman replied.

" And you, who taunt the Hindus for being idolators, should at least condescend to take a lesson from the sincerity of their faith. Granted, the arrow of the idolator is shot at a wrong target; but towards that target it is moving straight. How much more pathetic the condition of one who, knowing the true object of life, none the less shoots in a wrong direction ! Go on thy path like a straight arrow, O my master, so that people may rightly call thee the warrior of the Lord".

Khusrau had a great genius for synthesis. He was the first Indo-Muslim to have thought of combining Persian and Indian tunes and thus enriched Indian music. He is credited with having given shape to *Khayal* music by abandoning the *Dhrupad.* Khusrau is said to have invented the following new melodies which represented the new Indo-Muslim culture:—

Mujir, Sazgari, Aiman, Ushshaq, Muwafiq, Ghazan, zilaf, farghana, Sarpada, Bakharz, Qaul, Tarana, Khayal, Nigar, Basit, Shahana and Suhila.[1]

Khusrau also invented the *Sitar* by combining the old Indian *Vina* and the Iranian *Tambura.* He is said to have modified the old *Mirdang* and to have given it the shape of the *Tabla.* It is not possible to determine the exact modifications introduced by him in the vocal and the instrumental music of India, but this much is certain that he did introduce changes which were in keeping with the new spirit of cultural synthesis which was the result of the impact of Islam on Hinduism.

Music being the language of the soul, the changes introduced by Khusrau had far-reaching social consequences in bringing together people of two divergent creeds. Music has always played an important role in serving cohesion and integration throughout the ages in close association with feasts, dances and games etc. In the Turco-Afghan period and then in the Mughal period of history, Muslim musicians have been in the forefront of this fine art.

Almost all the Mughal Emperors were fond of music. Akbar was a skilled musician and liked to play on *Naqqara* (kettle drum). "His Majesty", writes Abu'l Fadl, "pays much attention to music, and is patron of all who practise this enchanting art." Tan Sen (d. 1589) was the greatest singer of the age and according to Abul-Fadl, 'a singer like him had not been in India for the last thousand years." He became a Muslim and was cordially received by the Emperor. Tan Sen

1. Shibli, *Shi'rul 'Ajam*, II, p. 137.

completed the work initiated by Amir Khusrau in the field of Indian music. He succeeded in evolving a fusion of the Hindu and the Iranian systems. Instead of the classical strains, he introduced light songs, just as Amir Khusrau had introduced the *Qawwali*. His popularity may be gauged from the fact that the melodies introduced by him were sung by the people of India everywhere.[1]

Music is a medium acceptable to high and low. Especially in India, the aristocracy have been as fond of it as the lower classes. The melodies introduced by Amir Khusrau and Tan Sen became the basis of the music of the people, especially in Northern India. Musical parties brought Hindus and Muslims together and this helped a great deal in bridging the social gulf between them.

Besides musical parties, common sports, amusements and ceremonies lessened the estrangement between the votaries of the two divergent creeds. Muslim customs were also modified in the new environment. Certain new festivals, like *Shab-i-Barat* came to be celebrated all over the country. Most probably it was copied from the Hindu festival of *Sivaratari* night-vigil and fire-works being common to both. Similarly the *Ta'ziyas* (miniature models of the mausolea of the martyrs of Karbala) took the form of a regular celebration in the month of Moharram. They have a striking resemblance to the *Jagannath*[2] car and the celebration of the *Krishnalila* among the Hindus. In no other Islamic country are *Ta'ziyas* to be found. The official celebrations were carried out more or less on a uniform pattern under the Turco-Afghan and Mughal rulers as also under the contemporary Hindu rajas. Pavilions were erected and adorned with embroidered tapestry; expensive carpets were spread and large chandeliers were hung under the arches for light and decoration; dancing-girls and musicians entertained the audience and sweet drinks and betel were distributed to the visitors. Sometimes jugglers, athletes and other showmen exhibited their skill and prowess.[3]

The *Mina Bazar* (fancy fair) was a special feature of Mughal social life. It was first organised at the instance of Akbar. Sometimes the Emperor and the members of the royal family acted as salesmen. According to Abul-Fadl the main object of organising such *Bazars* was that the Emperor wanted to acquaint himself with the condition of the people and to come in contact with them directly. Sometimes aggrieved persons used this opportunity to bring their grievances to the notice of the Emperor and even acquainted him with the irregularities of the administration and high-handedness of officials. The *Mina Bazar* was open to members of the nobility, irrespective of their caste or creed who visited it for enjoyment and fun. Here sometimes aristocratic ladies consulted the Emperor for contracting the marriages of their sons

1. *Ain-i-Akbari.*
2. Ashraf : *Life and Condition of People in Hindustan*, p. 303.
3. Ashraf : *Life and Condition of People in Hindustan*, p. 303.

or daughters, and sometimes he introduced the parties to one another and made recommendations if necessary.

Although there were many points of contact between Hindus and Muslims on the higher as well as on the lower levels, their life currents flowed separately. Historically we have to admit that Indian society in medieval times was distinctly divided between the Hindus and the Muslims, whose spiritual sources of inspiration were different, although on the material and worldly plane they had many things in common. The *Sufis* and the *Bhagats* attempted to bring them closer spiritually, but they succeeded only partially. They supplied a very useful leaven to the culture of medieval times.

The high caste Brahmans, who had previously been deprived of their privileges, soon consolidated their hold by making the caste system more rigid and by multiplying it into sub-castes, for the greater the multiplication of castes, the more was their position secure and indispensable. The Kshtriyas, who had suffered an eclipse during the Turko-Afghan period, retrieved their position under the Mughals. The Vyshas had grown prosperous by increase of trade and commerce during the Muslim rule in India. The social and economic status of the Sudras had considerably improved. The Kayasthas of Northern India, who once were considered to be Sudras, now monopolized a large proportion of the jobs in the Mughal bureaucracy. They served as intermediaries between the rulers and the ruled.

The Muslim aristocracy no doubt consisted mostly of the descendants of foreign immigrants, but in course of time they adapted themselves to their environment and became thoroughly Indianized. They supplied leaders in the field of politics and administration. The large majority of Indian Muslims consisted of those whose forefathers had embraced Islam. They retained their affinities with the corresponding groups of Hindus to whom they had originally belonged. But after becoming Muslims they were more punctilious in the observance of religious rituals than others, while there were some among them who could hardly be distinguished from the neighbouring Hindu population.

Purdah was observed much more strictly among Muslim ladies, but the Hindu aristocracy and the middle classes in Northern India, being in a position to give up the labour of their women also observed it. Among the poorer classes it was necessary for women to work and the elaborate niceties of etiquette were set aside, but even the lower class women carefully concealed their faces from men, when they appeared in public. Polygamy was permitted both in Islam and Hinduism, but monogamy was the rule among the vast majority of the people on account of economic necessity. The richer classes of both creeds married more than one wife. Child-marriage was permissible. Generally speaking, women exercised great influence and were respected, especially among the Mughals.

The dress of the people in the period under review differed from place to place and from class to class. In pre-Mughal India, the nobles wore a *Kulah* for head dress, a tunic worked in brocade and a white belt on official occasions. In private life they wore a shirt, Indian turban (pagri), a tunic of velvet or silk or ordinary shirt and long drawers (Khusrau's *Deval Rani Khizr Khan*). The Hindu nobility dressed like the Muslim aristocracy. Generally, the poor people used a dhoti or a single sheet of long cloth below the waist and sometimes a tunic. The Brahmans usually went bare above the waist, throwing the sacred thread over the body.[1]

Moreland maintains that the general effect of contemporary evidence is 'to lay stress on the nakedness of the people then to enter into details regarding the various garments worn.'[2] This opinion is not quite correct. There is ample material found in the narratives of foreign visitors about the dress of the people of India which shows that the opinion of Moreland is only partially true.

Ma Haun, a Chinese traveller who came to Bengal in 1405, says, "They wear white cloth turbans and long loose robes with a round collar, which they put on over their head, and which is fastened in at the waist by a broad coloured handkerchief; they wear painted leather shoes. The King and his officers all dress like Muhammadans; their head-dress and clothes are becomingly arranged."[3]

Nicolo Conti, who visited Gujerat, Vijayanagar and the Northern parts of India in the years 1420-21, tells us; "The style of dress is different in different regions. Wool is very little used. There is great abundance of flax and silk, and of these they make their garments. Almost all, both men and women, wear a linen cloth bound round the body, so as to cover the front of the person, and descending as low as the knees and over this a garment of linen or silk, which, with the men, descends to just below the knees, and with the women, to the ankles. They cannot wear more clothing on account of the great heat, and for the same reason they only wear sandals with purple and golden ties, as we see in ancient statues. In some places, the women have shoes made of leather, ornamented with gold on their arms and on their hands, also around their necks and legs, of the weight of three pounds, and studded with gems. The manner of adorning the head is various, but for the most part the head is covered with a cloth embroidered with gold, the hair being bound up with a silken cord. In some places they twist up the hair upon the top of the head like a pyramid, sticking a golden bodkin in the centre, from which golden threads, with pieces of cloth of

1. Ashraf: *Life and Condition of People in Hindustan.*
2. *India at the death of Akbar*, p. 274.
3. *J. R. A. S.*, 1895; Chablani, *The Economic Conditions of India in the Sixteenth Century*, p. 88).

various colours interwoven with gold, hang suspended over the hair."[1]

In one of the Girdano Seringi's letters on Vasco de Gama's first voyage, we have the following description of the people of Calicut. "All or most of the people are clothed in cotton clothes from the waist down to the knee, but from the waist upward they go naked. Courtiers and men of condition dress in the same manner, but make use of silk stuffs reddish or scarlet or of other colours, as seem good to them. The wives of men of condition are clothed above the girdle in very white and delicate linen but the wives of lower degree are naked above the waist. The Moors dress according to their custom in Jubbi (long coat), and Balandrat (Surtout worn by Brothers of Mercy in Portugal)."

Another traveller who makes observations about the dress of the people in India is Duarte Barbosa, who visited India in the first quarter of the sixteenth century. About the ruling tribe in Malabar he says, "They go naked save that from the waist downward they are clad in white cotton or silk. Sometimes they wear coats open in front, coming down to the middle of the thigh, of cotton or silk, or very fine scarlet cloth or brocade .. Their ears are bored, and in them they wear very rich jewels of precious stones filled with great pearls and over their garments they are girt with belts of precious stones, well-worked and rich."[2]

About the dress of the people of Gujerat he says, "These heathens are tawny men, tall and well-looking, gaily attired, delicate and moderate in their food. They are clad in long cotton and silken shirts and are shod with painted shoes or richly wrought cordwain; some of them wear short coats of silk and brocade. The women of these heathen are beautiful and slender with well-shaped figures, they are both fair and dark. Their dress is as long as that of their husbands, they wear silken bodies with tight sleeves cut low at the back, and other long garments called *chauders* which they throw over themselves like cloaks when they go out. On the heads they wear nought but their hair well dressed on the top of it. They always go barefoot .....The Moors of the kingdom go very well attired in rich cloth of gold, silk, cotton and camlets. They all wear turbans on their heads...... They have very beautiful white women, very well clad, and they may marry as many as they can maintain according to the law of Mafameda." [3]

About other customs of the people of Gujerat, Barbosa tells us, "In Gujerat the Baneans used to put flowers and other sweet-scented things in their hair and to annoint themselves with white sandalwood mixed with saffron and other scents. The women wore on their legs very thick anklets of gold and silver with plenty of rings on their fingers and toes, and they had holes bored in their ears wide enough for an egg to pass through, in

1. Major, *India in the Fifteenth Century.*
2. *The Book of Duarte Barbosa* (Hakluyt Society) 2 Vols., London.
3. *Ibid.*

which they wore thick gold and silver ear-rings." [1]

Pietro Della Valle, who visited India in the time of Jahangir, makes the following general observations about the dress of the people in Northern India. "The garment which they wear next to the skin serves both for coat and shirt, from the girdle upwards, being adorned upon the breast, and hanging down in many folds to the middle of the leg. Upon this cassack, from the girdle downwards they wear a pair of long drawers of the same cloth, which cover not only their thighs, but legs also to the feet; and it is a piece of gallantry to have it wrinkled in many folds upon the legs. The naked feet are not otherwise confined but to a slipper and that easier to be pulled off without the help of the hand, this mode being convenient in regard to the heat of the country and the frequent use of standing and walking upon tapestry in their chambers. Lastly, the head with all the hair, which the Gentiles keep long, contrary to the Mohamedans who shave it, is bound up in a small and very neat turban, of almost a quadrangular form, a little long, and flat on the top......I was so taken up with this Indian dress, in regard of its cleanliness and easiness that I caused one to be made for myself, complete in every point and to carry with me to show it in Italy. The Mohamedan women go clad likewise all in white either plain or wrought with gold flowers. Their upper garment is short, more beseeming a man than a woman,. ... sometimes they wear a turban too upon their heads. Their clothes are often times red of the same rich and fine linen, and their drawers are also either white or red, and often times of sundry sorts of silk stuff striped with all sorts of colours......The Indian gentle women commonly use no other colour but red..... And for the most part they use no garment, but wear only a close waistcoat, the sleeves of which reach not beyond the middle of the arms, the rest whereof to the hand is covered with bracelets of gold or silver or ivory. From the waist downwards they wear a long coat down to the foot (Lahnga); when they go abroad they cover themselves with a cloak of ordinary shape, like a sheet which is also used by the Mohamedans."[2]

Speaking about the ornaments of dress used by the Hindus of Northern India, Abul Fadl says that a man is adorned by twelve things:— (1) trimming his beard, (2) ablution of his body, (3) drawing the sectional marks of caste (4) anointing with perfumes and oil, (5) wearing gold ear-rings, (6) bearing the *mukuta* which is a golden tiara worn on the turban, (7) wearing a sword, (8) carrying a dagger at the waist, (9) wearing a ring on the finger, (10) eating betel, (11) wearing sandals or shoes.

A woman is adorned by sixteen things: (1) bathing, (2) anointing with oil, (3) braiding the hair, (4) decking the crown of her head with jewels, (5) anointing with sandalwood unguent, (6) the wearing of

1. *The book of Duarte Barbosa*
2. *Travels of Pietro Della Valle* (Hakluyt Society).

dresses and these are of various kinds. The sleeves of some reach to the fingers, of others to the elbows. A jacket without a skirt called *angiya* was chiefly worn, and instead of long drawers, a *lahnga*, which is a waist-cloth joined at both ends with a band sewn at the top through which the cord passes for fastening. It is also made in other forms. Others wear the *daneliva*, which is a large sheet worn over the *lahnga*, part of which is drawn over the head and the other end fastened at the waist. These three garments are of necessity. The wealthy wear other garments over any of these. Some wear the sheet covering the head and upper part of the body and long drawers *(pyjamas)* (7) sectarial marks of caste, and often decked with pearls and golden ornaments, (8) tinting with lamp-black like collyrium, (9) wearing ear-rings, (10) adorning oneself with nose-rings of pearls and gold, (11) wearing ornaments round the neck, (12) decking oneself with garlands of flowers or pearls, (13) staining the hands with henna (14) wearing belt hung with small bells, (15) decorating the feet with gold ornaments, (16) eating pan. Finally blandishments and artfulness.[1]

Then Abu'l-Fadl enumerates thirty-seven kinds of different ornaments used by the women of India, all of which are made either of plain metal, such as gold or silver, or studded with jewels and which are of many styles, and observes, 'What words can express the exquisite workmanship of the trade'? The various craftsmen who made these ornaments, mentioned by him are: *Zarnishan, Koftgar, Minakar, Sadahkar, Munabbatkar, Shabakar, Charamkar, Simbaf, Sawadkar* and *Zarkob*. All these details given in the *Ain-i-Akbari* show that the people had a taste for ornaments and jewellry which was worn in profusion, according to their means.

It would be tedious to enumerate here the number of festivals, ceremonies at child-birth, ceremonies at death and the ceremonies of eating and cooking which are given in the *Ain-i-Akbari* in great detail.

A remarkable development of medieval Indian history is the growth of large cities all over the country. Delhi, founded by Iltutmish, and adorned with the great minaret, symbolic of the unity of the central administration of India, grew rapidly both in extent and population. It became the greatest centre of industry and culture in the whole of Asia after the Ghorian conquest Some of the great cities of Persia and Central Asia had been laid waste by the Mongols and their inhabitants passed under their dominion. Those who survived lived a precarious existence. Many men of erudition and learning came to Delhi, where they received royal patronage. Amir Khusrau idealizes Delhi in his Mathnavi *Qiranus' Sa'dain*, referring to it as "Hazrate Delli" (sacred Delhi. "Sacred Delhi is the abode of religion and justice. It is the garden of Eden. May God keep it fully inhabited. It is like the fabulous garden of Iran; may God protect it from disasters. Its

1. *Ain-i-Akbari*.

administration has been so efficient and skilful, that the sky after seeing it, feels giddy by its own constant turning. After its foundation, there is no other city in the world that can be compared with it in grandeur. In its three fortifications the entire world is resident; and the two worlds offer ten salutations to its one breath (word). If the fortification wall is the body, the parapet is its tongue which is in conversation with the moon. Its name has reached great heights and has captured the imagination of the people of Khutan. Even Mecca if it hears the tale of this garden, will start turning round India in reverence. The city of the Prophet swears by its head and the city of God has become deaf after hearing about its fame and reputation.[1] In the entire world it represents the dome of Islam, with which is attached the dome of the seven skies. Its inhabitants consist of the great men of the country, and in every corner of this city some pillar of the state is to be found. Every street of it is like paradise in its magnificence, a tremendous amount of wealth having being spent on art and industry. In its every lane gifted men stand in line, and in its every arch precious things are deposited."

Proceeding further, Khusrau admires the virtues of the water reservoir situated near a hill, and says, "Many streams join it to the river Jamna and thus the Jamna itself seeks help and succour from its water... It is not a reservoir, but a world of light and illumination. May God protect it from the evil eye. This city (Delhi) is a wonder of creation; in its bosom the sea and the mountain have become friends. The sky has supplied it with water from the river Jamna, just as the Tigris carries water to Baghdad. Anyone who has tasted the water of this country, his heart is bound to become cold towards the water of Khorasan. As the sky found Khorasan to be cold, it became cold towards it for the whole year. It is true that the air of this country (India) is hot, but it need not be ashamed of the frigidity of Khorasan. Do you know why the air of this country is hot? It is because of the warmth of loyalty and devotion that the sun demonstrates towards this country." At the end of this chapter Khusrau has recited his famous 'ghazal' in which there is an appreciative reference to the city of Delhi: 'O Dehli'! Thy pure and simple-hearted beauties?"[2]

1. گرشنود قصه این بوستان — مکه شود طائف هندوستان
شهر نبی را به سراو قسم — شهر خدا گشته زصیتش اصم. (*Qiranus' Sa'dain* p. 29)

2. *Ai Dehli wa ai butane sada.*
Even in later centuries poets idealized Delhi. Mir Taqi Mir says :" The lanes of Delhi are like the book of pictures of a painter; every face here is like an image. دلی کے نہ تھے کوچے اوراق مصور تھے — جو شکل نظر آئی تصویر نظر آئی

Khwaja Mir Dard, who had seen the destruction of Delhi in the last decades of the eighteenth century, says in his treatise *Nalai 'Andalib'*: May God keep it (Delhi) inhabited till the day of Judgement. It was a strange garden, now lying desolate. All sorts of men were found there. Now it has been destroyed by the blows of misfortune. There was a time when its comely face was like that of the loved ones, moonlike and attractive" (*Nalai 'Andalib* p. 20).

It is not surprising that Khusrau, in his panegyric of Delhi, did not omit to mention its arts and industries and the sense of security that its inhabitants felt in its urban life.

It seems that before the Ghorian conquest of Northern India, commercial capitalism was already well established in the Islamic countries bordering on India, and it reached Delhi in the 13th Century. Without free movement and liberty of contract no trade and commerce is possible. There is something in the city air that gives freedom to a man to take the initiative and try new experiments. A striking feature of the economic life of Northern India in the period under review was the organization of fairs by the collaboration of several master-craftsmen who were independent entrepreneurs, whose sole capital consisted of their houses and the tools indispensable for their crafts. These craftsmen mostly produced for the limited clientele of the city and its neighbourhood, while there were others who worked for export and wholesale trade.

The introduction of the city economy by the Turco-Afghans in the thirteenth century was based on commercial capitalism of the variety in vogue in the central Asian countries and in the Mediterranean world. Free competitive enterprise was the motive force of this economy. This is why the price control system imposed by 'Alauddin Khilji was resented by the citizens of Delhi, about which Barani says, "The citizens of Delhi had for eighty years prospered under the rule of the Turks and the government of the Khiljis appeared to them intolerable." Although Barani expressed this view in connection with the accession of Jalaluddin, he actually recorded it later in the time of Firuz Shah Tughlaq, when he was in a better position to form a more objective estimate of the Khilji administration.

And then Barani remarks with a sense of relief that 'Alauddin's market regulations died with him. The rules, the inquiries, the strictness with which the orders were carried out, and the punishment inflicted on the market people came to end with his death. [1]

Delhi retained its position of pre-eminence in the political and economic fields till the invasion of Timur in 1398, after which its social and economic fabric was thrown out of gear. The artisans of Delhi had been deported by Timur to various parts of his kingdom and stone-masons were sent to Samarqand. Famine and pestilence followed in the wake of Timur's invasion from which Delhi did not recover for a long time. Practically speaking the Empire of Delhi had ceased to exist, the effective sovereignty of its kings having been limited to Delhi, Agra and the districts along the Jamna for nearly a century. But the economic system which was stabilized under the Sultanate was universally adopted by the provincial Muslim dynasties and even by Vijayanagar, which could not isolate itself from the surrounding economic influences. The economic

1. *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi.*

domination of the cities and towns continued in later centuries.

Foreign travellers who visited India during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries did not hesitate to compare Indian cities to London, Paris or Constantinople, the greatest cities which were known to them. Besides Delhi, the important cities in Northern India were Srinagar, Lahore and Agra. Mirza Haider, a companion of Humayun, has left us a detailed description of the city of Srinagar. He says, "in the town there are many lofty buildings, constructed of fresh cut pine. Most of these are at least five storeys high and each storey contains apartments, halls, galleries and towers. The beauty of their exterior defies description and all who behold them for the first time, bite the finger of astonishment with the teeth of admiration. But the interiors are not equal to the exterior. The passages in the markets and the streets of the city are all paved with hewn stone."

Father Monserrate, visiting Lahore in the reign of Akbar, describes it as a "city second to none either in Asia or Europe with regard to size, population and wealth crowded with merchants who forgather there from all over Asia" and having "a population so large that men jostle each other in the streets."[1] Terry describes Lahore as "the chief city thereof (the Punjab) built very large, and abounds both in people and riches; it is one of the most principal cities for trade in India."[2]

Agra was made the capital of his dominions by Sultan Sikander Lodhi, but it reached its full development in the time of Akbar. Abu'l-Fadl describes it thus: "The excellence of its climate is almost unrivalled. Agriculture is in perfection. Fruits and flower of all kinds abound. Sweet-scented oil and betel leaf of the first quality are here obtained, and its melons rival those of Persia and Transoxiana. Agra is a large city and possesses a healthy climate. It is filled with people from all countries and is the emporium of the traffic of the world." Then about Fathpur Sikri he observes: "In these two cities (Agra and Fathpur Sikri) under his Majesty's patronage, carpets and fine stuffs are woven and numerous handicraftsmen have full occupation."

Ralph Fitch, the only lay European traveller known to have visited Akbar's dominions, writes about Agra and Fathpur Sikri as follows: "Agra and Fathpur are two very great cities, either of them much greater than London and very populous. Between Agra and Fathpur are twelve miles and all the way is a market of victuals and other things, as full as though a man were still in a town, and so many people as if a man were in a market."[3]

Nikitin who was in India from 1468 to 1471, visited the Deccan when it was under the Bahmanis. Describing Bidar, he tells us, "Bidar is the

1. *Mongolicae Legationis Commentarius* (English summary published by Maclagan and Rev. Hesten.) p. 159-69.
2. *A Voyage to East India.*
3. *Principall Navigations* (Hakluyt Society).

chief town of the whole of Mahometan Hindustan; the city is large, and contains a great many people." Barbosa refers to it as a place "where there is great luxury." Chaul, an important port of the Bidar Kingdom at this time, was a centre of great trade where according to Barbosa "even in the months of December, January, February and March a great concourse of ships is found, the more part of which are from the land of Malabar; and from many other parts as well." Dabul was also "a great town of Moors and Heathen" and "a fine and well-situated place, which had a very good harbour" whither sailed many ships of the moors from diverse lands, to wit, from Mecca, Aden and Ormuz (which bring here many horses) and from Cambaya, Diu and Malabar which constantly dealt in goods of every kind, with many very worthy merchants of whom some in this land were of great wealth, as well Moors as Heathen," and where "great sums of money were gathered in at the customs house."[1]

The chief city of Gujerat was Cambay, which Nikitin found to be a "manufacturing place for every sort of goods as long gowns, damasks and blankets." Barbosa says that "it is a great and fair city in which dwell substantial merchants and men of great fortune, both Moors and Heathen. There are also many craftsmen of mechanic trades in cunning work of many kinds as in Flanders." Barbosa mentions about Ahmadabad also as a great centre of trade and administration. Abu'l Fadl says about Ahmadabad, "It is a notable city in a high state of prosperity, which for the pleasantness of its climate and its display of the choicest production of the whole globe is almost unrivalled."[2]

Abdur Razzaq, an envoy of Iran, who visited India in 1442 and travelled extensively in the South, was struck by the extent of commerce at Calicut. He says that vessels were continually sailing from there for Mecca mostly laden with pepper. About the same city Barbosa observes that "the Moors took on board their ships goods for every place and every monsoon ten or fifteen of these ships sailed for the Red Sea, Aden and Mecca, where they sold their goods at a profit, some to the merchants of India, who took them on thence in small vessels to Toro, and from Toro they would go to Cairo, and from Cairo to Alexandria and thence to Venice. These were pepper, ginger, cinnamon, cardamom, tamarind, canafistula(?), precious stones of every kind, seed pearls, musk, ambergris, rhubarb, aloes-wood, great store of cotton clothes and porcelains."[3]

Barbosa gives a detailed description of Diu as a centre of trade: "All these goods are carried by the folk of the country to Mecca, Aden, Ormuz, and other parts of Arabia and Persia, to a degree that this town now has the greatest trade of any found in these regions, and yields such a sum of money that it is an astonishing thing, by reason of the bulky and precious goods that are here laden and unladen. Thus from Mecca

1. *The book of Duarte Barbosa.*
2. *Ain-i-Akbari*
3. *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, Vols. 2, p. 85.

and Aden alone they bring hither coral, copper, quicksilver, vermilion, lead, alum, madder, rose water, saffron, gold, silver (coined and bullion) in such abundance that it can not be reckoned."[1]

Of Vijayanagar, which was the capital of a prosperous Empire in the south, Abdur Razzaq gives a glowing description. "The city of Vijayanagar is such that the eye has not seen nor the ear heard of any place resembling it upon the whole earth. It is so built that it has seven fortified walls, one within the other. Between the first, second and third walls, there are cultivated fields, gardens and houses. From the third to the seventh fortress, shops and bazaars are closely crowded together. The bazaars are very broad and long so that the sellers of flowers, notwithstanding that they place high stands before their shops, are yet able to sell flowers from both sides." According to Conti, the circumference of the city was sixty miles; its walls were carried upto the mountain and enclosed the valleys at their foot, so that its extent was thereby increased. "In the city," continues Conti, "there are estimated to be ninety thousand men fit to bear arms." Barbosa and Paes have also spoken about Vijayanagar in glowing terms. According to Barbosa, there were to be found in this city "metals both wrought and unwrought, copper in abundance, quicksilver, vermilion, saffron, rose-water, great stone of opium, sandalwood, camphor, musk and scented material."

In Bengal, the city of Gaur, in the days of the Husaini dynasty, was a great centre of trade and commerce. It is said to have been three leagues in length and to have contained two million inhabitants. Its streets according to De Barros "were so thronged with the concourse and traffic of people—that they could not force their way past." Sonargaon was another large town in Bengal. Hugli, Chittagong (Chatgaon) and Satagaon have also been referred to as seats of brisk trade. In Sind Thattah was likewise a great centre of commerce.

According to Manrique (1629-1643), there were as many as six hundred brokers and middlemen in Patna and most of them were wealthy. At Agra he found merchants of great wealth and speaks of vast sums of money piled up like heaps of grain in their houses. Similarly in Dacca he saw money heaped up in such large quantities that, being difficult to count it, it used to be weighed.[2]

The banias of Gujerat used to do business all over the coast of India and had commercial dealings even in Persia and Arabia. Among them were many rich merchants, for instance Virji Vora (1619-1670) controlled the entire trade of Surat and a large portion of the coastal trade to Malabar. He had his establishments in Agra, Burhanpur and Golconda and traded with the Persian Gulf and the Indian Archipelago. According to Thevenot, the French traveller who visited India in the seventeenth

1. *Ibid.*
2. *Travels of Sebastian Manrique.*

century, he was considered to be the richest man in the world.[1] The seths of Murshidabad and the chettis of South India were reputed to be very rich also. It seems that owing to the development of both internal and foreign trade a strong and competent mercantile community was built up all over the country.

Barbosa mentions about the wealth and opulence of the Muslim merchants of Rander, and Della Valle observes that the businessmen of Surat lived in a very aristocratic and luxurious manner. Evidently, this prosperity of the mercantile class would not have been possible without a flourishing trade, both internal and external.

Internal trade was well developed and in all the great centres of the country there were bankers and wholesale dealers who had large supplies of capital at their disposal. Through their intermediaries, they used to advance money to weavers and indigo growers and others to obtain the merchandise required for internal consumption or foreign export. There was efficient arrangement for transmitting money from one place to another and *hundis* (bills of exchange) were generally in use.

Each *subah* (province) supplied the requirements of the other. For instance, Gujerat supplied to Agra the articles imported from the countries of the near East or Europe, which consisted mostly of precious stones and metals, velvets, wines, African slaves and silk manufactures. Agra was the converging centre for all routes from the important centres of the Mughal Empire. Bengal supplied rice, sugar, cotton and silk goods. Sugar was sent from Bengal to Agra by way of the Ganges and the Jamna and to Malabar along the sea-coast. Lahore and Multan supplied sugar, opium, sulphur, nut-galls, paper and steel weapons. Agra was famous for its excellent Bayana indigo. Kashmir supplied fruits, wines, shawls, smoking hemp (charas), raw silk, borax etc. and imported cotton goods, indigo and salt. The most important emporium of South India was Golconda, which was directly connected with the three ports of Goa, Masulipatam and surat. Here a large variety of merchandise was available throughout the year.

The exports of India in the seventeenth Century were textile goods, spices indigo, saltpetre ginger, opium and sugar. The imports were gold, silver, horses, copper, tin zinc, lead, mercury, ivory, coral, amber, precious stones,velvets, perfumes, China goods, wines and African slaves. Cloth was made in different parts of the country and was the chief article of export to European and Near-Eastern countries and even to East Africa. Abu'l Fadl has enumerated thirty-three qualities of silk and thirty of cotton in the *Ain-i-Akbari* (p. 99-100) which, were manufactured in India. In connection with the *Karkhanas* (workshops) Abu'l Fadl says, "His Majesty pays much attention to various stuffs; hence Irani, European, and Mongolian articles of wear are in abundance. The Imperial workshops, the towns of Lahore, Agra, Fathpur, Ahmadabad

1. *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, ed. by Dr. P. C. Sen.

(Gujerat) turn out many masterpieces of workmanship and the figures and patterns, knots, and variety of fashion which now prevailing astonish experienced travellers. His Majesty himself acquired in a short time a theoretical and practical knowledge of the whole trade; and on account of the care bestowed upon them, the intelligent workmen of this country soon improved. All kinds of hair-weaving and silk-weaving were brought to perfection, and the Imperial workshops furnish all these stuffs which are made in other countries. A test for fine material has since become general. Abu'l Fadl's statement is corroborated by Bernier, who in the middle of the seventeenth century, saw these *Karkhanas* at work.[1]

The Mughal Empire, and even its predecessor, the Turco-Afghan Empire, helped a great deal in re-establishing the contact between India and other Asiatic countries which had been completely destroyed with the decline of Buddhism in its home. The centralized structure of the Mughal Empire was not only favourable to the development of internal trade but it also stimulated a vigorous prosecution of foreign trade between India and the countries of the Near East and Central Asia. No less than fourteen thousand loads of mercandise passed every year from India to Qandahar through the Bolan pass in the reign of Jahangir. Under Shah Jahan the traffic increased even more. A brisk trade from Surat was carried on in jewellery and in silver, imported from Turkey and Iraq, while cotton yarn was exported to Ormuz and Basra. Khafi Khan mentions that the Imperial ship, Ganj-i Sawa'i, which was bringing gold and silver worth fifty-two lakhs of Rupees from the sale of goods at Mocha and Jeddah, was attacked by English pirate in the Indian Ocean. This incident throws a revealing light on the volume of trade between India and Arabia alone.

The Mughal government facilitated and fostered commercial relations with European nations also and allowed them to establish their factories in coastal towns. This period of our history coincided with the rise of the energetic races of Europe into more civilized forms and manifold vigour and copiousness of life. The Mughals being a land power, neglected the building up of an efficient navy. There was no alternative for them but to be on friendly terms with the Portuguese and other Europeans who could otherwise disturb their pilgrim and other traffic in the Indian Ocean. And yet when the foreigner exceeded the limit set for them, they were properly dealt with as in the time of Aurangzeb.

In fact, the successful prosecution of internal and external trade depends on a reasonable security of life and property. In Mughal times roads were fairly secure in the interior of the country, although in less settled parts the traders were protected by guards, as is testified by Terry's account as well as by innumerable documents called 'Dastaks' in the Central Records Office, Hyderabad Deccan. These "Dastaks served the purpose

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1. *Travels in the Moghul Empire* (tr. by Archibold Constable)

of travellers' passports for providing facilities to persons proceeding on a journey from one subah to another. Tom Caryate was much impressed by the "long Walk," four hundred miles in length, "shaded by great trees on both sides," which was a highway between Agra and Lahore. Thus says Terry, It is looked upon by travellers, who had found the comfort of that cool shade, as one of the rarest and most beneficial works in the whole world? Generally[1] in inter-provincial highways serais (public inn) and wells were provided for the comfort of traders and travellers.

Terry also notes with satisfaction that the customs charged at the ports were not high, so that traders of all nations may have the greater encouragement to establish trade relation with the country under the Mughals.

Speaking generally, it would be correct to say that under the Turco-Afghan and Mughal rulers India enjoyed economic self-sufficiency. Even Moreland admits that "at this period India was very nearly self-supporting and that her imports were limited to certain metals and raw materials together with a large number of articles of luxury required for consumption by a very small proportion of the population."[2]

As regards the standard of life of the people, the material at our disposal is hardly adequate. We know that the nobles lived lavishly and more often than not beyond their means. "I was acquainted," says Bernier, "with very few wealthy Omrahs: on the contrary most of them are deeply in debt, they are ruined by the costly presents to the King and by their large establishments."[3]

The nobles usually followed the pattern set by royalty. They used to have a large staff of servants and retinue. Many men got employment in their households. A great deal of money was spent on entertainment. Terry has given a vivid description of the dinner given by Asaf Khan to Sir Thomas Roe, which gives us some idea of the lavishness of provisions and service maintained by the nobles of that period. We know that Abu'l-Fadl used to distribute his entire wardrobe every year to his personal servants and, one can say with certainty, that he was not the only noble to indulge in such lavish generosity. It is possible that the escheat system was to some extent responsible for the extravagance of the nobility.

There were some nobles who accumulated large fortunes, sometimes by trade. Mir Jumla is a case in point, but he is an exception to the rule.

With regard to the condition of the middle class, our knowledge is very meagre. It consisted of merchants and traders and government functionaries or the writer class, as they were called. The merchants and traders living in the coastal towns had definitely a higher standard of

1. *A Voyage to East India.*
2. *India at the Death of Akber*, p. 142.
3. *Travels in the Mughal Empire.*

life than those who lived in the interior of the country, the reason being that they had to come in contact with men of other nationalities and had to follow international standards of comfort and convenience.

The condition of the lower classes living in the towns and cities and the peasantry was much as at present. As regards housing accomoda-tion, most of the foreign visitors characterized it as miserable. Most of the peasantry and labourers lived in thatched huts. Pelsaert's account of the habitations of the mass of the people is as follows: "Their houses are built of mud with thatched roofs. Furniture there is little or none except some earthenware pots to hold water and for cooking and two beds; their bed-clothes are scanty, merely a sheet or perhaps two, serving as under-and over-sheet. This is sufficient in the hot weather, but the bitter cold nights are miserable indeed."[1]

Manrique's observations about Bengal corroborate the above state-ment: "The people usually live in huts of mud and clay, low and thatched with straw or olas, which is the leaf of a palm. They keep their dwellings very clean, usually scouring them over constantly with the exerement of cattle dung mixed with mud, this being used not only on the walls but also the floors."[2]

As regards the housing condition of the higher classes, Al-Qalqash-andi, who wrote in the last quarter of the fourteenth century, says that the houses of Delhi are built of stone brick, the roofs are of wood and the floor is paved with white stones resembling marble. According to him they did not build houses more than two stories high, often confining themselves to only one.[3]

Two centuries later Pelsaert made the following observation about the houses of the upper and middle classes:—"I shall now speak of the houses which are built here. They are noble and pleasant, with many apartments, but there is not much in the way of an upper storey except a flat roof, on which to enjoy the evening air. There are usually gardens and tanks inside the house, and in the hot weather the tanks are filled daily with fresh water, drawn by oxen from a well, in such quantity that it flows through a leaden pipe and rises like a recreation unknown in our cold country. These houses last for a few years only, because the walls are built with mud instead of mortar; but the white plaster of the walls is very noteworthy, and far superior to anything in our country. They use unslaked lime, which is mixed with milk, gum, and sugar into a thin paste. When the walls have been plastered with lime, they apply this paste, rubbing it with well-designed trowels, until it is smooth; then they polish it steadily with agates, perhaps for a whole day, until it is dry and hard and shines like alabaster, or can even be used as a looking glass. They have no furniture of the kind we delight in, such as table, stocks,

1. *Jahangir's India* tr. by Moreland and Geyl.
2. *Itenerio de la Missiones*, p. 28a.
3. *Subhal A'sha* I, Vol. V, p. 76.

benches, cupboards, bedsteads, etc.; but their cots, or sleeping places, and other furniture of kinds unknown in our country are lavishly ornamented with gold or silver, and they use more gold and silver in serving food than we do, though nearly all of it is used in the *mahal* and is seen by scarcely anybody except women. Outside the *mahal*, there is only the diwankhana, or sitting place, which is spread with handsome carpets, and kept very clean and neat."[1]

As regards the furniture used by the masses of the people, Manrique states that it consisted generally of a straw mat on which they slept, using cotton quilts as bed covers, four pots in which they cooked rice and a few simple stews and other things of the same class.[2]

Foreign travellers seem to have been greatly struck by the cheepness of food and milk in Indian towns and cities. Terry states that fish could be purchased "at such easy rates as if they were not worth the valuings" and that generally speaking, the plenty of all provisions was very great throughout the whole monarchy and everyone there may eat bread without scarceness."[3] This statement of a foreign visitor is of great significance indeed. It brings credit to the economic management of the period. That the Mughal government aimed at the improvement of the material conditions of life of the people is amply shown by Ain 2 of the *Ain-i-Akbari*. It reads, "Every man of sense and understanding knows that the best way of worshipping God consists in allaying the distress of the times, and in improving the condition of man. This depends however, on the advancement of agriculture, on the order kept in the King's household, on the readiness of the champions of the empire, and the discipline of the army. All this is again connected with the exercise of proper care on the part of the monarch, his love for the people, and with an intelligent management of the revenues and the public expenditure. It is only when cared for, that the inhabitants of the towns and those of the rural districts, are able to satisfy their wants, and to enjoy prosperity."

The mention of the word 'people' time and again in the *Ain-i-Akbari* strikes a new note in the policy of the Mughal rulers. The documents of the reign of Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb seem to be equally concerned with the welfare and prosperity of the inhabitants of the country. In this connection Parwanas reproduced in the *Selected Documents of Shah Jahan's Reign*"[4] (p. 23 and p. 157) prove conclusively that the Mughal Government put into actual practice the benevolent sentiments about the general material prosperity and well-being of the people. The words *riaya* and *baraya*, which have been constantly employed in Mughal documents, are significant, the former meaning the ryots and

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1. *Jahangir's India*, tr. by Moreland and Geyl.
2. *Ibid*
3. *A Voyage to East India* (Hakluyt Society publication).
4. Ed. by Dr. Yusuf Husain and published by the Central Records Office, Hyderabad-Deccan.

the latter meaning the people. The Regulations (*dastur-ul-'amal*) issued from time to time also testify to the deep concern of the government with regard to the welfare of the people.

It seems the Mughal government took practical steps to improve the condition of the peasantry. Akbar directed the Subedars to be energetic in the making of reservoirs, wells, water courses, gardens, serais and other pious foundations." Jahangir tells us in his *Tuzuk* that he gave an order 'that the officials of the Crown Lands and the Jagirdars should not forcibly take the royt's lands and cultivate them on their account.'

According to Pelsaert, who lived in Northern India in the time of Jahangir, there was a large number of wells in the Subah of Agra which were dug in summer for irrigation purposes. He mentions millets, rice, indigo, bajra, kangni, urd and mung as kharif crops and wheat, barley, gram and oil-seeds as rabi' crops. Bernier came across a good deal of irrigation between Agra and Delhi. Shah Jahan caused the old Firuz Shahi canal to be repaired and a new canal dug from Safidun to Delhi which was 30 *kos* long.

In Bihar cotton, sugarcane, rice and opium were the principal crops. In the Deccan, Nuniz mentions wheat, gram, rice and millet as the crops grown. Khafi Khan also mentions that jawar and bajra were the main support of the people of the Deccan, while rice was the principal food in the Telangana. Thevenot mentions cotton as being grown everywhere and sugarcane in some places.

The general prosperity of the country presumes a fairly high standard of administration without which no material advancement is possible. It is a pity that this aspect of Mughal history has not yet received as much attention from our scholars as it deserves. There are innumerable compendiums and documents bearing on the subject, which need scholarly interpretation and elucidation. If the documents in the Central Records Office, Hyderabad Deccan, and in the archives of Jaipur were properly edited and interpreted, a new field of historical research would be opened for the historian of Medieval Indian history. Such compendiums as *Siyaq Nama*, *Usulu's-Siyaq*, *Siyaqi Dakan*, *Zawabiti 'Alamgiri*, *Dehjhara Subajate Dakan*, and various other *Dastur-ul-'Amals* should not be ignored by scholars, who want to contribute fresh data regarding the administrative and economic set-up of the period. These compendiums are veritable mines of information about grants, taxes, land-tenures and other matters allied with the economic life of the period.

HISTORICITY OF '*DEVAL RANI-KHIZR KHAN*' §

A. L. SRIVASTAVA *

HISTORIANS have recently questioned the historicity of the celebrated historical romance of the great poet Amir Khusrau (1253-1325 A.D.), entitled *Deval Rani-Khizr Khan* and popularly called '*Ashiqa* or '*Ishqiya*', which was composed at the request of Khidr Khan himself. It is a long *mathnavi* in elegant Persian and relates the story of the loves of Khidr Khan (the eldest son of Sultan 'Alauddin Khilji (1296-1316 of Delhi) and Deval Rani, daughter of Raja Karan Deva Baghela of Gujerat. The story as related in this poem is as follows :—

Early in 1299 'Alauddin despatched an army under Ulugh Khan and Nusrat Khan to conquer Gujerat, which, though ravaged more than once, had so far eluded Muslim conquerors from the North-West. Raja Karan Deva was taken by surprise and fled towards Devagiri (modern Daultabad). His beautiful and prosperous capital Anhilwara (modern Patan) was sacked and his treasure and his women, including his principal queen Kamla Devi, fell into the hands of the invaders.[1] The lady was taken to Delhi and made to enter into 'Alauddin's harem. Some time after she was reconciled to her lot and requested the Sultan to have her daughter Deval Rani, a child of six months[2] at the time of their separation in 1299, brought to Delhi. Karan Deva had taken the child to Devagiri where he was hospitably received by the Yadava ruler Ram Chandra and given Baglana, a part of his territory, for his maintenance. Ram Chandra's son, Shankar Deva alias Singhana Deva, became a suitor for the hand of Deval Rani; but Karan's Rajput pride spurned the offer

1. *Tarikh-i-Vassaf*, Bombay Text, Book IV, Page 448. Barni only says that his women and treasure fell into the hands of the invaders.
2. According to Firishta (Per. Text, N. K. Press, Kanpur, p. 117) she was four years of age.

§ This study was inspired by a query of Shri K. M. Munshi, Rajyapal, Uttar Pradesh.

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as a *mesalliance*.[1] In 1308, however, when he was overwhelmed by a powerful Khilji army, despatched by the Sultan for bringing Deval Rani to Delhi, under no less a general than Alap Khan, he agreed to give her away in marriage to Shankar Deva, and sent her to Devagiri accompanied by a slender escort under the prospective bridegroom's younger brother, Bhim Deva (*Bhillama*). On the way her escort was attacked near the historic caves of Ellora and she was captured and taken to Delhi. At that time she was, according to Amir Khusrau, eight years of age. In due course she grew up into a peerless beauty and attracted the attention of Khidr Khan, the eldest son of the Sultan. They contrived to meet secretly and developed an ardent love for each other. But the prince's mother Queen Mahru entitled *Malaka-i-Jahan*, who had already chosen her brother Alap Khan's daughter for her son's bride, objected to his alliance with Deval Rani, and had his marriage solemnised with Alap Khan's daughter with great pomp and circumstance on 4th February, 1312. But Khidr Khan's romantic love for Deval Rani continued as before and became too open to escape the notice of his mother who consequently contrived to send her away from the Palace of Thousand Pillars (*Qasr-i-Hazar Sutun*) which was the Sultan's chief residence to the Red Palace (*Qsr-i-Lal*) in order to separate the lovers. The prince, however, managed to meet her secretly. Nevertheless, the long separation began to tell on his health, and Queen Mahru, upset by the turn of events, agreed eventually to their formal marriage. Within a few years of their wedding Khidr Khan, who had never displayed any capacity for administration or diplomacy, fell a victim to a conspiracy hatched by the all-powerful eunuch Malik Kafur, and was sent as a prisoner to the fortress of Gwalior where Deval Rani was allowed to bear him company. Desirous of making his way to the throne clear by removing his possible rivals, Malik Kafur artfully convinced the ailing Sultan that Khidr Khan was planning to seize the throne for himself. 'Alauddin first ordered the prince to be removed to Amroha and finally confined him in Gwalior. Here he was deprived of his eyesight at the instance of Kafur who had set himself up as a dictator on 'Alauddin's death (1316) and in 1318 murdered by order of his step-brother, Qutbuddin Mubarak, who had crowned himself king on the fall of Malik Kafur. The new Sultan married the unfortunate Deval Rani against her wishes. Amir Khusru's poem ends with the assassination of Khidr Khan and takes no further notice of Deval Rani. We, however, know from other sources that on account of her uncommon charms she was not allowed to pass the rest of her life in peace. When Qutbuddin Mubarak fell under the dagger of an assassin in 1320, his successor Nasiruddin Khusrau Shah probably took Deval Rani for himself. History is silent about the last days and the end of this unlucky princess.

1. Amir Khusrau says that 'Alauddin wrote to Karan asking for Deval Rani's hand for his son Khidr Khan and the Raja, preferring this to an alliance with the Yadava prince, prepared to send her to Delhi.

While no medieval writer of note ever suspected the authenticity of the above episode, modern historians are sharply divided on the question, some of them holding that the story is substantially true and others rejecting it as a piece of poetic fancy. Briggs and Elphinstone, Elliot and Lane Poole, V. A. Smith and Mohammad Habib, Wolseley Haig and K. S. Lal have accepted the story as correct. Gauri Shankar Hira Chand Ojha, Jagan Lal Gupta and Dr. K. R. Qanungo are, on the other hand, of the opinion that Amir Khusrau's *'Ashiqa* is a mere "fiction and not even a historical romance." The first two of this latter group of writers go to the extent of maintaining that the story was concocted for glorifying a Muslim at the expense of a Hindu. Gupta, for example, says that Deval Rani is a fictitious character born out of the Islamic bias of the poet who distorted the Deval Rani of *Hammir Raso* and *Hammir Mahakavya* in order to cast a slur on the Rajput ruling house of Gujerat. Ojha and Gupta (and the latter is not a historian) may not be taken seriously as being unacquainted with the *'Ashiqa* in the original, (they derived their knowledge of the episode from Elliot's English translation), but Dr. Qanungo is a front-rank historian with full knowledge of the literature in Persian and, therefore, his views merit close consideration. "It belongs", he says of *'Ashiqa,* "to the same class of works as *Yusuf wa Zulaikha, Shirin wa Farhad.*"[1] He adduces the following arguments in support of his views. Firstly, the earliest mention of Kamla Devi and Deval Rani occurs in Amir Khusrau's *'Ashiqa,* but the poet made no mention of them in other works, such as *Tarikh-i-'Alai, Khazain-ul-Futuh* and *Nuh Sipihr* which dealt professedly with historical events. Secondly, Dia-ud-din Barni, the first independent writer, who derived information from his uncle 'Ala-ul-mulk (Sultan 'Alauddin's trusted companion) simply writes that Rani Karan fled and his wives and daughters fell into the hands of the Delhi army.[2] He makes no mention of Kamla Devi or Deval Rani. Thirdly, Yahya ibn Ahmad, the next critical historian, has not a word to say about the above ladies.[3] Fourthly, although Nizamuddin Ahmad's *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* does include the name of Kamla Devi among Rai Karan's women and daughters (Zanan wa dukhtaran) that fell into the hands of the Khilji Army, the grammatical construction of the sentence is so palpably wrong that one cannot resist the conclusion that the name 'Kamla Devi' must have been added by a copyist.[4] And finally, Badauni, Firishta and 'Ali Muhammad Khan (the author of *Mir'at-i-Ahmadi*) were later writers and only uncritically copied the story from Amir Khusrau, who was a poet and no historian and had no other motive except that of creating a heroine for his epic.[5] Ingenuity might

1. The historicity of the love romance, *'Deval Rani wa Khizr Khan'* .... vide Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, Calcutta (1939) pp. 877-879.
2. Barni's *Tarikh-i-Firozshahi* (Bibl. Ind. Text) p.251.
3. *Tarikh-i- Mubarak Shahi* (Bibl. Ind. Text) p.76.
4. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* (Bibl. Ind. Text) Part I, p. 141.
5. Proceedings of the Indian History Congress of 1939, p. 879.

suggest a few more objections of the type raised by the learned historian. Vassaf, for example, who composed his book (*Tarikh-i-Vassaf*) in 1312 A.D., does not refer to any of the incidents relating to the story, though he gives a fairly detailed account of 'Alauddin Khilji's reign. The Moorish traveller, Ibn Batuta describes Khidr Khan's murder, but he makes no mention of Deval Rani or even of Kamla Devi. The story is based on a single event, namely, the invasion of Gujerat in 1299 A.D. and the falling of Rai Karan's women into the hands of the Sultan's troops. It may, therefore, be called a "brilliant literary romance created by the gifted poet out of his fertile imagination."

Besides, a critical examination of the '*Ashiqa* reveals a few improbabilities in the story described therein. Amir Khusrau says that Rai Karan was preparing to send Deval Rani with a handsome dowry to Delhi in response to 'Alauddin's demand, but as the Sultan changed his mind and in 1306 despatched an army under Ulugh Khan to invade Gujerat a second time and obtained possession of the whole of that kingdom,[1] the Raja had to flee to Devagiri along with his daughter whom he now agreed to give in marriage to Shankar Deva. Now we know for certain that Ulugh Khan[2] had died in 1302 and that there was only one invasion of Gujerat (1299) and not two[3] as related in the '*Ashiqa*. Further, it is unthinkable that Karan should have preferred to send Deval Rani to Delhi to be married to a Muhammadan, however highly placed, rather than give her to a Maratha prince like Shankar Deva whose father had given him shelter and subsistence. Thirdly, Amir Khusrau says that when Karan took shelter at Devagiri that kingdom was ruled over by Shankar Deva who sent his brother Bhim Deva to demand Deval Rani in marriage. The fact, however, is that Shankar Deva's father, Ramchandra Deva, was the ruler in 1308 and he visited Sultan 'Alauddin at Delhi in that year.[4] Fourthly, according to Amir Khusrau, the age of Khidr Khan at the time of Deval Rani's arrival in Delhi in 1306 was ten years, which cannot be taken as correct, for the prince was appointed governor of Chittor in 1303 and remained in charge of that fortress, so difficult to hold in face of a formidable Rajput opposition, until 1310.[5] A child of seven would not have been placed in a position of command in a strategic province of the empire. Finally, if Deval Rani was a child of six months[6] at the

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1. Elliot and Dowson Vol. III, p. 551.
2. *History of the Khiljis* by K.S. Lal, p. 114.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *History of the Khiljis* by K.S.Lal, p. 193.
5. An inscription dated 10th Dhil Hijjah 709 A.H. (13th May 1310) in Chittor mentions 'Alauddin as its ruler.
6. '*Ashiqa* p. 82. Amir Khusrau adds that she was eight years at the time of her arrival at Delhi ('*Ashiqa* p. 93). Firishta (p. 116-117) says that she was six years in 1299 A.D. In fairness to the poet it may be added that he gives 1307 as the date of this invasion. If this date is accepted, she would be nearly 8 years at this time

time of her separation from her mother in 1299, she could not be eight years at the time of her arrival in Delhi in 1308. One of the two statements of her age by Amir Khusrau must, therefore, be wrong. At any rate a girl of eight, however precocious, could hardly be so sex-conscious as to respond to a lover's amorous advances in sentiments bordering on maturity.

Notwithstanding the above arguments, it would be unscientific to reject the entire story as a figment of the poet's imagination. Dr. Qanungo's reasoning is negative. Amir Khusrau was not a mere poet; he wrote chronicles also, such as. *Tarikh-i-'Alai* (the only contemporary history of 'Alauddin Khilji's reign that is known to exist), *Khazain-ul-Futuh* and *Tughlaqnama,* besides historical *mathnavis* like *Qiran-us-S'adain, Nuh Sipihr* etc., and these contain precise dates and facts and are as good or as bad as histories of other medieval writers. If he did not record the episode described in the *'Ashiqa* in his other works and if Dia-ud-din Barni did not mention Kamla Devi by name, it should not be concluded that the episode had never taken place. *Tarikh-i-Vassaf* is a history of the Mongols in Persia and Ibn Batuta's travels are not a connected work of history; these could not for obvious reasons be expected to deal with all important happenings relating to the reign of 'Alauddin Khilji. Nor is it fair to dismiss lightly such first-rate writers as Nizamuddin Ahmad, Badauni and Firishta as uncritical copyists of Amir Khusrau. They might have had access to Kabiruddin's *Fathnama*, an official history of 'Alauddin's conquests which is now lost to us, and were in a better position to express their opinion on a matter connected with the private life of the members of the ruling family than contemporaries like Barni. At any rate they were not the first to accept the authenticity of the story. More than two hundred years before them the well-known 'Isami, a pretty nearly contemporary writer who had spent his boyhood (1311-1327) at Delhi and the rest of his life at Daulatabad, the scenes of Deval Rani's later and early activities respectively, and was consequently in a position to ascertain the truth, had noticed the story at length in his *Futuh-us-Salatin*[1] which was completed in 1350, that is nine years before Dia-ud-din Barni's *Tarikh-i-Firozshahi.* He described the capture of Deval Rani by Alap Khan's troops and Khidr Khan's falling in love with her at Delhi.

Besides, some of the events that constitute the foundation of the story are corroborated by unimpeachable Hindu sources. For example, Jina Prabha Suri,[2] an eye-witness, records that Ulugh Khan's invasion of Gujerat and sack of Anhilwara took place in Samvat 1356. It is equally certain that Madhava, the prime minister of Karan, fought the invaders, that the Raja fled to Devagiri and that his queen fled on foot,

1. *Futuh-us-Salatin* (Agra Text) edited by Mehdi Husain, p.228 and 314-318.
2. Chandra Prabha in Indian Antiquary, 1897, p. 194-195.

as is related by Padmanabh in a poem entitled *Kanbad de Prabandha* [1] composed at Jalore in 1454. We have, moreover, an unmistakable tradition recorded in *Rasmala*,[2] attributing the above invasion of Gujerat to the curse of the charming and persecuted Rup Sundari (wife of Karan's prime minister Madhava) who had been forcibly seized by Karan Deva. This in clear language means that Karan Deva's queen was seized by some one else as the Raja had wrongfully seized Rup Sundari. The internal discrepancies referred to above need not discredit the story as a whole. The poet's reference to two invasions of Gujerat is doubtless wrong; but it seems that Amir Khusrau mistook the expedition against Karan in Baglana (1308) for one against Karan in Gujerat. Ulugh Khan in the second expedition seems to be the copyist's mistake for Alap Khan and we are told by the learned editor (Rashid Ahmad Ansari) that in some manuscripts of the *'Ashiqa*, Alaf Khan is given in place of Alap Khan. There is nothing improbable in the story except perhaps the ages of the couple, 8 years of Deval Rani and 10 years of Khidr Khan, and this the poet may have done to make the story attractive.

The *'Ashiqa* is an absolutely contemporary work and was written in the lifetime of Khidr Khan and at his personal request. This is clear from Amir Khusrau's statement which runs as follows: [3]

زنو خواهم که این افسانهٔ راز   که کرد از رخنهائے سینه درباز
چنان سنجی زبهر این دل تنگ   که در میزان دلها کم سود سنگ
دل مرده حیات از سر پذیرد   وگر کس زنده دل باشد بمیرد
بود گاهی غم و اندیشه یاری   مرا و عالمی را غمگساری

In fact a narrative of the episode was supplied by Khidr Khan himself as the concluding lines on page 41 of the Aligarh text of the *Mathnavi* make it abundantly clear. The relevant verse is :—

بفرمود آنگهی کان نامهٔ درد   نهانی مرهمی سوئے من آورد

The present writer is, therefore, unable to agree with his respected teacher Dr. Qanungo that "Wrong translation by Elliot and Dowson of some extracts has given rise to a wrong notion that Amir Khusrau was given a manuscript of the love epic by Khidr Khan at whose request the poet rendered it into Persian. [4] Amir Khusrau commenced the work in September, 1315 and after four months and some days' labour completed it on 6th Dhulq'ada, 715 A.H. (February 1316 A.D.). He writes :—[5]

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1. *Imperial Gurjaras* by K.M.Munshi, p. 223.
2. *Rasmala*, translated into English by Forbes, p. 278.
3. *'Ashiqa* (Aligarh Text) p. 41.
4. Proceedings of the Indian History Congress (1939) p. 879.
5. *'Ashiqa* (Aligarh Text) p. 305-307.

بحمدالله که از عون آلهی   بپایان آمد این منشور شاهی
بقدر چار ماه و چند روزی   فروزان شد چنیں گیتی فروزی
جمال آراست این ماه دل افروز   زذوالقعده دوم حرف و سویم روز
مورخ چون شمار سال وی کرد   عطارد برسر ذوالقعدهی کرد
دگر تاریخ بکشائند زابجد   زهجرت پانزده گیرند وهفصد

This was when not only Khidr Khan, Deval Rani and other principal personages including the terrible 'Alauddin,[1] who figured prominently in the story were alive, and who would have taken offence, with consequence ruinous to the poet, had he woven a mere romance round their lives. After the martyrdom of Khidr Khan in 1318, Khusrau brought the story to an end by adding 319 verses to it. This is what he says of it :—[2]

پس از خون شهیدان پرانده   نوشتم سه صد و زان پس ده ونه
اگر بر راستی خواهی گواه خواست   شهید اینک گواهی مدهد راست
وگر زیر و زبر گردند همره   چهار الف است و پانصد بانه و ده

An old man of sixty-three at the time of writing the *'Ashiqa,* Khusrau could not have been so imprudent as to popularise 'love scandals' of the living members of the royal family, unless he had been commissioned to do so. The usual practice of poets and novelists is to take their characters from the past, and if anyone takes from them contemporary life, he substitutes imaginary names for real ones. On the other hand, Amir Khusrau's characters in his *'Ashiqa* are living historical figures—'Alauddin, Khidr Khan, Mahru, Ulugh Khan, Alap Khan, Malik Kafur, Rai Karan, Ramchandra, Shankar, Bhim Deva, Nizamuddin Auliya, Kamla Devi and Deval Rani. Not a Single person mentioned therein is fictitious or imaginary. His dates too have been found correct. For example, the date (23rd Ramadan 711 A.H.) of Khidr Khan's marriage with Alap Khan's daughter, of 'Alauddin's death (7th Shawwal 715), of the composition of the work (6th Dhulq'da 715 A.H.), accession of Qutbuddin Mubarak (24th Moharram 716 A.H.) etc., have been accepted by modern writers as accurate. Similarly, most of the incidents described in the *'Ashiqa* besides the main plot of the story, such as the ascendancy of Malik Kafur during the last days of 'Alaudin, the sultan's illness, his neglect by his queen and sons, the conspiracy against Khidr Khan, the murder of Alap Khan, the imprisonment of Khidr Khan and the circumstances leading to the death of 'Alauddin, have been found correct. There is little that is impossible in the basic theme of the'- *'Ashiqa* which stands the test of historical criticism and is substantially true.

1. 'Alauddin died when the last lines of *'Ashuqa* were being written and just one month before its publication.
2. *'Ashiqa* (Aligarh Text) p. 307.

FARRUKH HUSAIN, THE ROYAL ARTIST AT THE COURT OF IBRAHIM 'ADIL SHAH II §

NAZIR AHMAD *

AMONGST the sovereigns of the Deccan Ibrahim 'Adil II, who ruled over the dominion of Bijapur from 1580 to 1627, is a very interesting personality. Being a man of varied tastes he was passionately devoted to various branches of fine arts including music, poetry, painting etc. Historians have spoken in a general way about his skill in painting from which we cannot form any definite opinion about his achievements in this branch. Zuhuri in the following remark[1] is more definite but even then we cannot conclude anything substantial :

> "In the art of painting he (the Sultan) excels the painters. Placing the looking-glass before him he paints his own picture, he prepares a rouge for his face by mixing the red of the tulip with the white of the narcissus. It is no wonder if the pious have become image worshippers. If he paints the huge body of an elephant on the wing of a gnat or draws the picture of a tiger on the eye of an ant the one (the elephant) through the skill of painting makes his trunk a polo stick for the ball of the earth; and the other (the tiger) grapples with the bull of the sky ..Mani and Behzad should be thankful that they escaped shame and ignominy by not having lived in his time, else they would have felt ashamed of their poor art compared with his."

However, students of art have recently succeeded in discovering various portraits, miniatures and other paintings of a contemporaneous nature and have therefore concluded that the reign of Ibrahim 'Adil Shah may rightly be claimed as the high watermark of the Dakhani school of painting.[2] This school received fresh impetus at the hands of

1. *A History of the Persian Language and Literature at the Mughal Court, Vol. III*, p. 439.
2. Karl Khandalawala; *Marg*. (Vol. 5-ii.) pp. 28-29.

§ Paper read at All-India Oriental Conference held at Ahmadabad.

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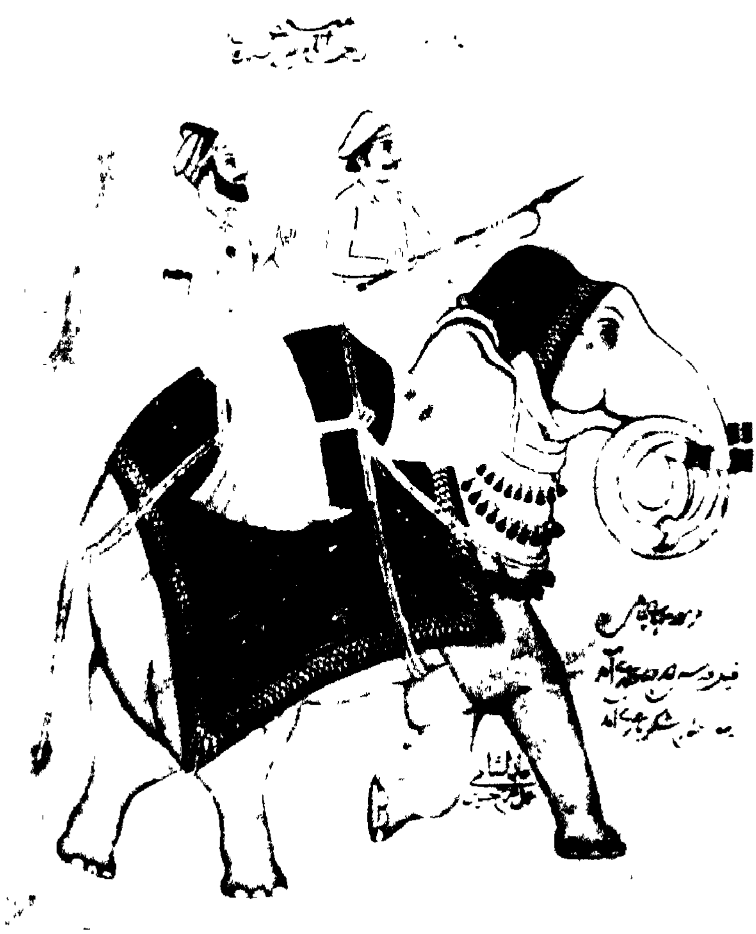
Persian, Indian and even European artists who are known to have been employed by the Prince of Bijapur.[1] But unfortunately we have no accurate knowledge of the contemporary artists of the 'Adil Shahi court. Only the names of three have come down to us of whom Murtada Khan Naqqash seems to be the earliest. One of his paintings, the bust of Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II is preserved in Sir Cowasji Jahangir's collection[2] in which the Sultan seems to be between 22 and 25 and accordingly it is assigned to 1593 or so. The other artist Mohammad 'Ali, one of whose miniatures, representing a poet in a garden, has been attributed to Ibrahim 'Adil by Mr. Khandalawala,[3] though Coomaraswamy styles it as Mughal. The claim of some scholars that these two painters were contemporaries of Ibrahim 'Adil Shah does not stand the test of evidence.[4] The third is Maulana Farrukh Husain who is claimed to be the royal painter of the court of Ibrahim. Zuhuri, the renowned scholar of the said court has given a brief account of this artist in his third essay in the *Seh Nathr* which indicates that Farrukh Husain was not merely an artist but one of the six most dominating personalities of the time. Though we do not learn much from Zuhuri from whom something better was expected, yet it is worth while to quote his view;[5]

> "Maulana Farrukh Husain than whose painting nothing better can be imagined. The expert painters take pride in being his pupils and having adopted the outline of his plain sketch as their model, put their lives under obligation. From the sight of his black pen the green haired (beautiful) have learnt wiles. The freshness of his painting has put the portrait of the beautiful to shame, and has thrown it into the whirlpool of the jealousy of his painting. He draws the musk naval and people smell its fragrance; he sows tulips and they reap its colour" (i.e. he turns effect into cause and allegory into reality).

POEM

With the portrait of the heart-bewitching beauties he washed off the impression of patience (i.e. the sight of his painting makes men lose their patience.
He represents the thorn so exquisitively that the eyes of the critic are pricked
If the water-fowl of his painting shakes its wings the faces of those

1. M. Taylor points out that the Sultan had employed Portuguese painters to decorate his palace.
2. *Marg*, Vol. 5 (ii) p. 29; but Dr. Moti Chand assigns it to 1586—*Ibid* book i, p. 27.
3. *Ibid* book ii, p. 29. Martean and Vever, *Miniatures Persanne*, pl. 19.
4. There is no historical evidence to prove this except the age of the Sultan in the former's and the similarity of the colour scheme etc., in the latter's painting.
5. *Hist. of the Language and Literature at the Mughal Court*, vol. 3, pp. 462-63.



Nauras - Paikar

present become wet with the falling of drops.

After finishing the decoration of the flower he busied himself in depicting the voice of the nightingale.

That magical painter has put in motion the "breeze which throws aside the veil from the face of the beautiful."

Fortunately a portrait of Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II by Farrukh Husain is preserved in the Salar Jung Museum, Hyderabad, and is of special significance. In this picture the Sultan is riding an elephant named Nauras-Paikar (briefly Nauras) the name being artistically embroidered in the covering over the animal. In front of the Sultan is sitting the mahout with a long goad in his hand. The elephant is in motion. The picture is in light colour, probably a pencil work and hence the intensity of the colour which was one of the special features of the paintings of this period is absent. The inscription on the top reads :

Hasbul Amr Ba Tarz-e-Hindi Kashida Shud i. e. in compliance with the (royal) order this picture was drawn in the Hindi style, (Hindustani a mixed style, as distinguished from Persian and other styles). Below the trunk of the elephant is a couplet in Persian composed by the Sultan on the occasion of riding the elephant. The couplet is headed by *Farmuda-i-Jahanpanahi,* i.e, composed by the refuge of the world (the King). The line, reads :

Fil-i-Nauras ke dar sawari amad *Bah Nutq-i-Sawar Shukr-i-bari amad.*

The Persian inscription in the space in between the two front legs reads : *'Amal-i-Farrukh Husain-i-'Adil Shahi,* i.e. the painting of Farrukh Husain of the court of Ibrahim 'Adil Shah.

Without entering into a discussion of the merits of the painting some points must be cleared at this stage. The painter Farrukh Husain seems to have been a Persian not accustomed to the "Hindi" style of painting. Dr. Moti Chand styles him[1] as Farrukh Hasan Shirazi, which implies that he was a Persian and a native of Shiraz. But his calling the artist Hasan instead of Husain and appending an appellative of his home or birthplace to his name is certainly due to some misunderstanding. The learned scholar has borrowed his information from Zuhuri's *Seh Nathr*[2] in which the painter's name appears as Farrukh Husain (without any appellative) exactly as in the miniature itself. In short though the artist was in all likelihood a native of Persia, he was not specifically a resident of Shiraz.

Farrukh Husain's portrait is superior to all known paintings assigned to the reign of Ibrahim 'Adil Shah because :

1. It is the only painting which may definitely be called contemporaneous. Mr. Khandalawala[3] has prepared a long list of 23 contemporaneous paintings excluding the Ragmala pictures which are claimed to be

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1. *Ibid.*
2. *History of the Language and Literature at the Mughal Court* Vol. III, pp. 462-63.
3. *Marg.* Vol. V, Book II, p. 27.

of the same nature. But no specific reasons have been given except that they[1] possess the particular characteristics of the period. But to a serious student of history this would appear ridiculous and so he would not agree with it. For example take the figure of the elephant appearing in Mr. Mehta's *Studies in Indian Painting* (No. 5 in Khandalawala's list). Mr. Mehta on the basis of an inscription, *Amal-i-Dakhanniyan* claims [2] it as the probable painting of a Dakhani artist. In the meantime "Asad beg's Mission to Bijapur [3] reveals that Chanchal was the famous royal elephant which was subsequently presented by Ibrahim 'Adil to Akbar with gold ornaments weighing two maunds. Since in the above painting the animal is richly decorated, it was deemed identical with Chanchal.[4] Or take the case of the Rag-mala paintings preserved in the Bikaner and some other Museums. Dr. Goetz has traced their origin[5] to Ahmednagar between 1565 and 1569 without producing any specific evidence for doing so. Mr. Basil Gray while agreeing[6] with the above conclusion finds 'a circumstance [7] tipping the balance in favour of Bijapur'. But both Dr. Moti Chand and Mr. Khandalawala are of the opinion [8] that it is more appropriate to ascribe them to no one else other than Ibrahim 'Adil on the ground that the latter was the first Dakhani monarch to think of representing the pictorial motifs associated with certain Ragas and Raginis, in his *Kitab-i-Nauras*. His devotion to music and his choice to be portrayed [9] with clappers in his hands are suggestive of his keen interest in having a series of Rag-mala pictures.

In the series of these paintings only Vasanta, Kanhara, Hindola, Kamod, Dhanasri, Khan Ghodi and Nut Balharika are definitely known to have been represented.[10] But among these only one, namely, Kanhara or Karnati has been visualised and only two, namely, Kanhara and Dhanasri have been reproduced in the Sultan's book. If these representations were contemporaneous, there seems no reason why the painters did not keep in view the particular Ragas and Raginis which

1. By Dr. Moti Chand and Mr. Khandalawala.
2. Pl. No. 47.
3. Potdar Commemoration Volume pp. 190, 194.
4. Vide Khandalwala's list : *Marg*, Vol. V, Book ii, p. 27.
5. *Art and Architecture of Bikaner State*, p. 1 01.
6. *Indian Miniatures*, pp. 8-10.
7. They were discovered at Adoni a place within the territory of 'Adil Shahi dominion.
8. *Marg*, Vol. 5, book i and ii, pp.28 and 27 respectively.
9. *Artibus Asiae*, MCM XXVII No. 1, p. 11 Figure 5 where it is incorrectly described by Coomaraswamy as Mughal and attributed to the period *circa* 1700 and vide also.
10. Vide H. Goetz, *Art and Architecture of Bikaner State*, pls. II and IV, pp. 18 and 54; *Bulletin of the Baroda Museum and Art Gallery*, Vol. i, pp. 37-42; *Indian Arts and Letters*, N S XXI, p. 40, *Indian Miniatures* pp.8-10; *The Art of India and Pakistan*, p 172, Nos.803 and 804.

were of much interest to the prince of Bijapur. It is interesting to note that the idea in representing the Kanhara Ragini is different at two places. In the *Kitab-i-Nauras* it is visualised [1] as a charming lady whose hands are as lovely and whose eyes are as tender as a lotus flower. She is dressed in blue *sari* and yellow bodice. In the spring season when the lady is separated from her lover she hears the cuckoo repeat his name and her affliction grows intensely. This pen-picture is not only different from the representation of the melody in the above series, but also from the idea associated with it in later paintings. In short Farrukh Husain's painting being definitely contemporaneous is superior to all.

2. It is the only picture drawn at the instance of the Sultan himself.

3. The picture of the royal elephant and its mahout aid immensely to the value of the painting.

4. It is a unique painting found nowhere in the world.

The Sultan is stated to have developed his attachment to the word *Nauras* after 1599,[2] but we have definite reasons [3] that his own book the *Kitab-i-Nauras* was completed earlier than this date. But it seems a fact that the word became popular only after the above date. Hence the painting containing the picture of the elephant which bore the title of Nauras could only have been painted much after 1599. The artist has been mentioned in Zuhuri's third esssay in the *Seh Nathr* which was completed after 1605.[4] The Sultan seems to be above forty hence the picture may safely be assigned [5] to 1613-14.

The inscriptions in Shikast hand appearing in the picture are good examples of Persian calligraphy.

The portrait is suggestive of the peculiar trait of the Bijapur School of painting in which the Persian style was gracefully blended with the Hindi style. The mixed Persian and Hindi style was popular even after 1605–6, the probable date when, according [6] to Dr. Moti Chand, the school began to borrow from the Mughal school.

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1. Vide song no 36.
2. Vide *Tadhkiratul Muluk*, pp. 352-354 where the circumstance in which the Sultan was enamoured of the word has been fully narrated. Vide also *Futuhat-i-'Adil Shahi* p. 367 which confirms the above. Vide also Potdar Commemoration volume pp. 190-94 and *Khulasatush shuara*, folio 45-46.
3. Zuhuri's second treatise in the *seh Nathr* which was a later composition, was completed in 1599. Hence the first essay, that is, the preface to the *Kitab-i-Nauras* and consequently the actual text were completed before this date.
4. Zuhuri's age at that time was 70, since he was born about 1535 (vide Zuhuri, *Life and works*, pp.33-34). The essay has been assigned to 1605.
5. The Sultan is known to have been born in 1592.
6. *Marg*, Vol 5, book I, pp.25-26.

SOME ILLUMINATED PERSIAN MANUSCRIPTS IN THE SA'IDIYA LIBRARY, HYDERABAD-DN.

KLAUS FISCHER *

THE Sa'idiya Library, Hyderabad-Deccan[1] preserves among other valuable manuscripts and books some very beautifully illustrated Persian texts which are not known to the wider public. The trustees of the library kindly gave me access to their treasures in such a generous and helpful way that the most important manuscripts could be studied and some photographed in order that they might serve to draw the attention of scholars. The library contains, in the first instance many original works of the members of Qadi Mahmud's family, the most important of which is, perhaps, the compendium of the Fatwas of Qadi Mahmud himself. His son, Radiuddin Murtada, compiled a short but authoritative treatise on rhetoric, known as "Tuhfat-ul-Haqir in 998 A.H., the original autograph copy of which is still preserved. Transcriptions of certain rare works are also available, such as 36 on Hadith, 22 on the Prophet's life, 9 on Islamic law, 28 on Kalam, 7 on Astronomy, 9 on Logic, 23 on Grammar, 9 on History, 14 on Sufism. There are further original old manuscripts: 2 of the 6th century A.H., 11 of the 7th, 16 of the 8th, 31 of the 9th, 49 of the 10th, and 119 of the 11th. There are also some rare printed books which deserve to be mentioned. For our short survey and photographs we have selected four of the most beautiful Persian manuscripts of the 16th century which are mature examples of the style prevalent in the time of Akbar the Great and which demonstrate a fine artistic unity of bookbinding, calligraphy and illustration.

GULISTAN [2]

The Gulistan of Shaikh Sa'di (who was born at Shiraz in Iran about

1. For reference, see Husain, B., *The Sa'idiya Library*. Hyderabad 1937—Libraries in India 1951. Delhi 1952, p. 159.
2. Husain, *l. c.* 1937, Nr. 9.

* Dr. Klaus Fischer, Ph. D. (Heidelberg), West Germany. His Thesis for his Doctorate degree was "*German architecture of the Baroque in Poland*". He has specialized in Archaeological Research.

585 A.H.) is his most popular work in the East, and one of the best known in the West.[1] The Sa'idiya Library preserves a leather-bound copy, inlaid with gold medallions, and embellished with gold Unwans, written in fine *nasta'liq* by Ibn-i-Husain Sharif-al-Husain-al-Mashhadi, 986 A.H. (1576 A.D.). Its size is 10″ × 6″ and it consists of 140 coloured illuminated leaves with gold-sprinkled borders. The main attractions of the manuscripts are six full page illustrations. This copy may be said to be the most valuable work in the library. The text is rendered in exquisite calligraphy and illustrated by paintings in the ripe Persian style, and the copy is bound with all the craftsmanship that had been developed in preceding centuries.[2]

The pasteboard cover of the manuscript is overlaid with a foundation of chalk on which a thin coat of lacquer is spread to act as a base for the painting. The painting in its turn is covered with various layers of transparent and opaque colours. It is only on the topmost coat that the reddish-brownish and golden tone of the scenes is painted with mother of pearl dust. The artist has depicted forest life with trees, brooks, lions and deer which are lifelike and at the same time contain some fine calligraphic patterns. On the sky we notice clouds and birds in the Chinese manner—indications of a decorative style which also occurs on the gold-sprinkled borders of the manuscript leaves.

The interior of the book cover represents the same style in a more or less regular system of decoration. Floral and animal designs round the oval centre are the most conspicuous features. In the *'Unwans* blue and gold colours are predominant. Here we see the fine *nasta'liq* in which the manuscript is written. The geometrical patterns of the frame work are of a well-known type, but betray, at the same time, the hand of an individual painter.

This is no more than the setting for the excellent illuminations of the *Gulistan* stories.[3] The illuminations cover full pages being framed by square or oblong borders, which are generally open towards the golden background of the page. Here, fabulous creatures are found along with real animals, Lions and dragons, griffins and real birds are conceived as single patterns or symmetrical compositions. Trees or architectural devices from the scenes are blended with this fantastic background, which, as a whole, is strongly inspired by the ideals of Chinese art.

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1. Rieu, *Catalogue of the Persian manuscripts in the British Museum*. London 1881 p. 597, with bibliographical notes on the art of Sa'di.
2. Compare: Schulz, Ph, W.: *Die persisch-Islamische Miniaturmalerei*, Zw. Bde. Leipzig 1914, Taf. 195.—Sarre, F.: *Islamische Bucheinbande*, Berlin 1923 (English: *Islamic Bookbindings*, London 1923). Pl. XXV and XXVII.—*A Survey on Persian Art*. Ed. Pope. London vol. 5, 1938, pl. 968 and 971 B.
3. Other Gulistan illustrations in: Martin, F. R.: *The Miniature painting and painters of Persia, India and Turkey from the 8th to the 18th century*. 2 vols. London 1912. Pl. 146.—Schulz 1914, p. 169.

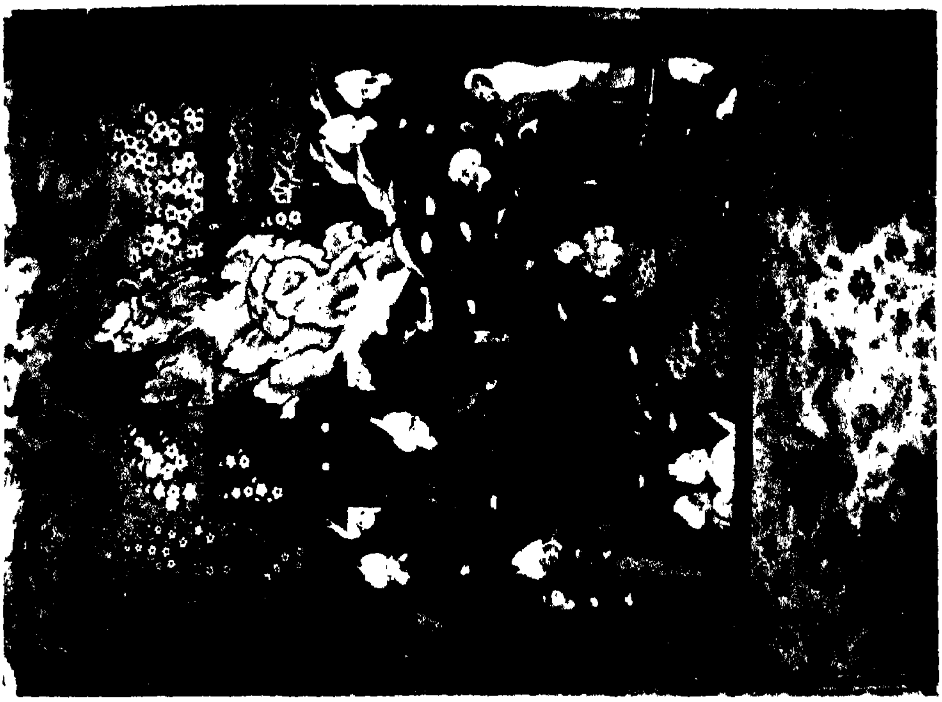
The paintings [1] exhibit supremely decorative qualities. Architecture, landscape, figures, animals—all represent real things that the artist saw in daily life; but everything is presented in a strange and radiant world glowing distinctly like a jewel. For the everyday vision of the ordinary man is substituted a vision of a romantically ideal world. There is a traditional formula, but every manuscript of this type, and every page of this particular manuscript reveals the personal insight and individual art of its painter.

The inscriptions give the contents of the story depicted and contain a summary of its moral meaning. In the story of the king and the boy a scene is rendered, where the suffering king is seated on the throne. For his disease the physicians have prescribed the spleen of a child. We find in the picture a bearded man bringing his son, with hands spread out and presenting the child to the king. The mother standing behind, with her finger on the chin, is half-heartedly supporting her husband. The courtiers appear to be speculating among themselves. The executioner is also ready with his sword, half-drawn. The story goes that the boy suddenly starts laughing. The king is greatly surprised at this and demands an explanation from the boy. The latter replies : "Parents adore their child; the Qadi holds the balance of justice in his hands; and the king is appealed to in the matter. My father and mother have both agreed to sell my blood; the Qadi accords his legal sanction, and the king is bent on my sacrifice for his own end. Now, I can look to no one for help but God alone." On hearing this, the story concludes, the king with tears in his eyes, embraces the boy, and sets him free recompensing him royally. The king is said to have recovered from his illness shortly afterwards.

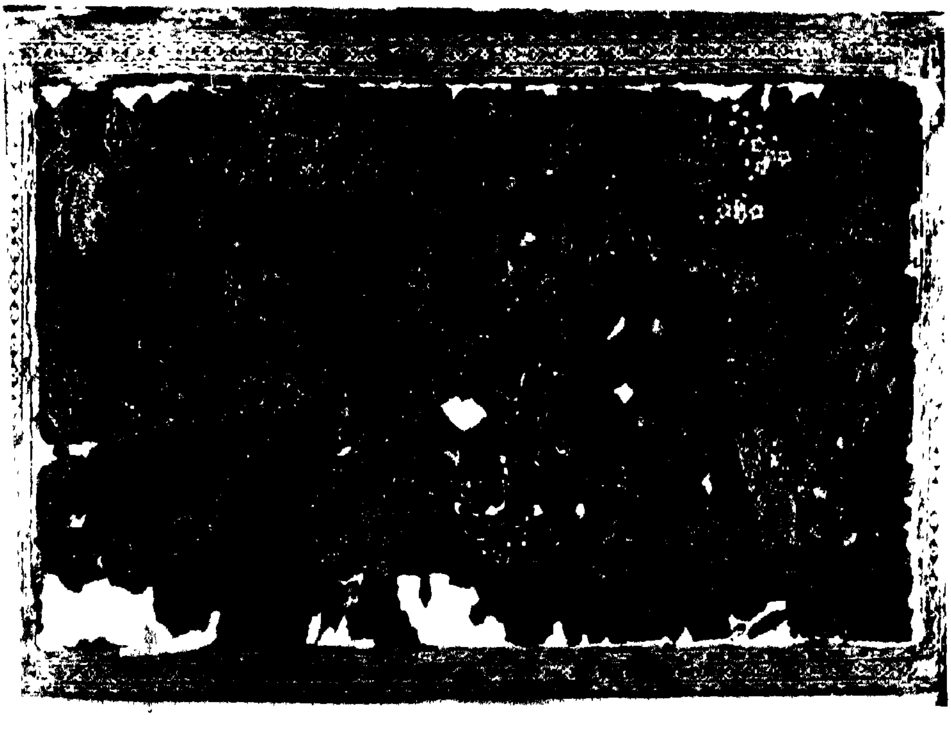
HILALI [2]

Sifat-ul-'Ashiqin : This is a mathnavi in Persian on the qualities of lovers, by Badruddin Hilali, Astarabadi, who died in 939 A.H. (1532 A.D.). The name of the transcriber is not recorded, but the year of its transcription is given as 986 A.H., the same as that of the copy of the *Gulistan* above described. It is noted on the last page that the manuscript was acquired through Mirza Farrukh Beg, on the 25th Muharram, the 25th year of the reign of Akbar at a cost of Rs. 1,945. It is in fine *nasta'liq*, size 10″ × 6″. Sixty-four well-decorated pages with 10 lines on each page have gold and pink ruled columns 3½″ wide. There are the usual ornamental and gold sprinkled headings in white, red, blue and green. Among the three full page illustrations in harmonious water colours one depicts Sultan Mahmud prostrating himself before Ayaz, his

1. The style described, among other works quoted supra, in '*The Poems of Nizami*,' described, by L. Binyon, London 1928.
2. Husain, op. cit. 1937. Nr. 10.



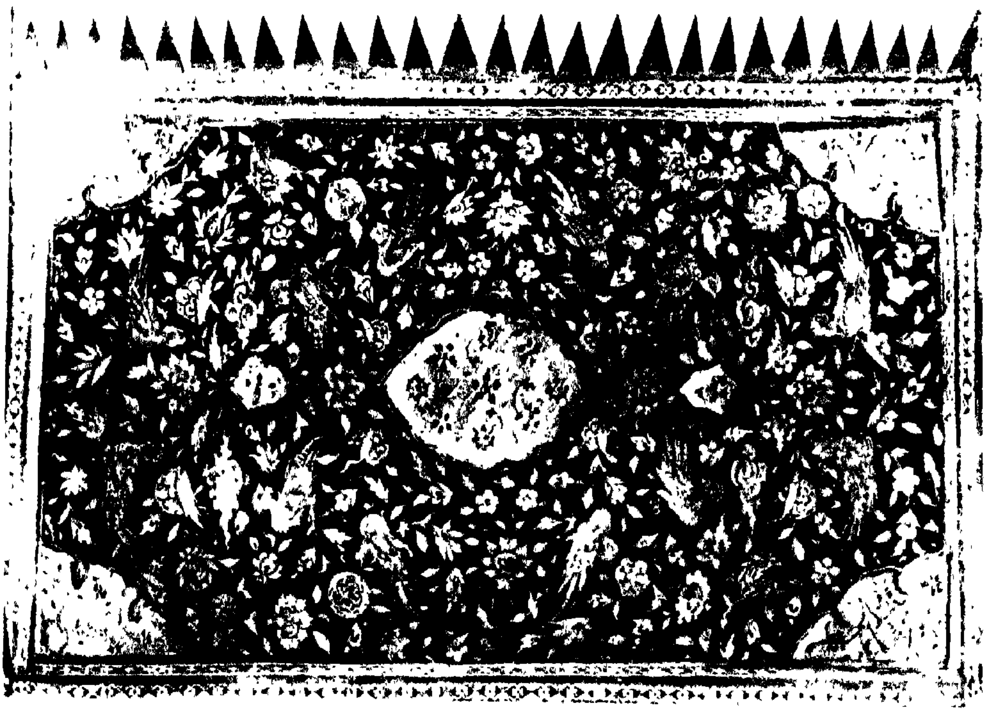
Gulistan, Story of the King and the Boy



Gulistan, Binding Exterior



Ikhtiyarat-i-Badi'i



slave. The scene in the picture is based on the couplet in the Mathnavi, which reads in translation: "Sultan Mahmud was overcome with the excess of his feelings, and bent his knee before his slave Ayaz, in abject humility and self-abasement.

IKHTIYARAT-I-BADI'I

Illustrations to this work of medical literature[1] are comparatively rare. The author is 'Ali B. al-Husain al-Ansari, known as Haji Zain-al-Ansari, Zain-ud-Din 'Ali, who traced his pedigree to 'Abd Allah Ansari, was born in A.H. 730, at Shiraz, where his father, Jamal-ud-Din Husain a physician from Isfahan, had settled. The present work is named after Badi'ul-Jamal, the name of the princess to whom it is dedicated. In some copies the date of the composition is given as 770 A.H. The work is divided into two books, the first contains medicaments in alphabetic order, while the second treats of compound medicaments and their different kinds of preparation. Our copy was enriched by four full page illustrations on opposite leaves from which one is missing. The remaining three paintings illustrate very vividly the life in Persian medical colleges and hospitals in the sixteenth century.

1. Copies of the work in calligraphy, but without illustrations, among others, described in Rieu op. cit. 1881, p. 469.—Catalogue raisonne of the Buhar Library. (National Library, Calcutta.) Vol. 1. *Catalogue of the Persian manuscript of the Buhar Library.* Calcutta 1921, No. 229.—Ivanov, W. : Concise Descriptive Catalogue of the Persian manuscripts in the Curzon Collection, Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta 1926, Nr. 588.

BABUR'S COURT IN INDIA

KHURSHID MUSTAFA*

THIS is an attempt to reconstruct the life lived at the Court of Babur in India.

The first thing that strikes us is the fact that the Court was not pious or puritanical. On the other hand it was almost riotous at times. The Emperor himself took intoxicants frequently, as is evident from his autobiography--"We ate a confection (معجون)"[1]; "After the morning (i.e. صبوح or morning wine) had been taken, Humayun arrived."[2] "We got on a raft and, drinking as we went, reached Qush Gumbaz"[3]; "Starting off the camp at dawn, we ourselves went on a raft, and there ate confection."[4] These are instances of solitary drinking but drinking parties were also frequent. "Most people drank on drinking days and took their morning; on non-drinking days there were parties for معجون (confection)."[5] These parties were sometimes inspired by beautiful scenery and were riotous at times. Of a drinking party held on a boat the Emperor writes, "There were several verse-makers on the raft, such as Shaikh Abu'l Wajd, Shaikh Zain, Mulla 'Ali Jan, Tardi Beg Khaksar and others. In this company we quoted the following couplet of Muhammad Salih:

'With thee, arch coquette, for a sweetheart, what can
man do?
With another than thou, where thou art, what can
man do?'

Said I, 'Compose on these lines'; whereupon those given to versifying did so. As jokes were always being made at the expense of Mulla 'Ali

1. *Babur Nama*, translated by A. S. Beveridge, Vol. II, p. 446.
2. Ibid, p. 447.
3. Ibid, p. 447
4. Ibid, p. 448.
5. Ibid, p. 447.

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Jan, this couplet, came off-hand into my head"...(a bawdy verse).[1] "The camp-fires made a wonderful illumination there at night; assuredly it was because of this that there had always been drinking there, and was so now."[2] "Araq was drunk on that day. Mulla Muh Parghari told many stories; never had he been so talkative. Mulla Shams was very riotous; once he began, he did not finish till night."[3] Thus we find that besides drinking, there was quoting of bawdy verses and relating of not very clean stories at these parties. This shows that the Emperor was not at all reserved in his cups with his companions, that the Court was rather free and at times almost riotous. High-ranking nobles entertained the merry monarch at wine parties. The Emperor tells us that "Khwaja Kalan had loaded several camels with Ghazni wines. A party was held in his quarters overlooking the fort, the whole camp, some drinking 'araq, some wine. It was a varied party."[4] The Emperor himself at times arranged wine-parties[5] and invited to them, as a mark of favour, persons politically important."...Awnings were set up at the edge of a large tank before the tamarind trees and an entertainment was prepared there. We invited Fath Khan Sarwani to a wine-party (and) gave him wine."[6] Even sons were allowed to be present at the drinking-bouts of their fathers. "Parties were frequent .....even Humayun was present at them and sinned every few days."

Besides drinking and drinking-parties, another amusement of the Court seems to have been listening to professional story-tellers. It would appear that every noble and prince had his own story-teller. Humayun also had one, for the Emperor tells us that in a skirmish, "Humayun's story-teller (قصه خوان) was struck by the arrow of his destiny and at once surrendered his life."[7] Another amusement was playing cards. But probably this was not very common as cards were not easily available, for the Emperor records that "Mir 'Ali the armourer was sent to Shah Hasan (Arghun) in Tatta to take him playing-cards he much liked and had asked for."[8] Princess Gulbadan also refers to the practice of card playing.[9] Other amusements were hunting—at times Qamargha hunts were arranged[10]— animal fights[11] and wrestling.[12]

The Imperial kitchen appears to have been a big establishment. Babur records that out of 50 to 60 cooks of Ibrahim Lodi he had kept four in his employment.[13] Besides these four Hindustani cooks, he must have had a large number of his own. This large number of cooks is an indication that the Court was fairly big and possessed of discriminating

1. Ibid, p. 448.
2. *Babur Nama*, Vol. II, p. 450.
3. Ibid, p. 453.
4. Ibid, p. 461.
5. Ibid, p. 461.
6. Ibid, p. 537.
7. Ibid, p. 460.
8. Ibid, P. 584.
9. *Humayun Nama* by Gulbadan Begam, p. 178.
10. *Babur Nama*, Vol. II, p. 451.
11. Ibid, p. 491.
12. Ibid, p. 650.
13. Ibid, p. 541.

palates, and that a large variety of good food was prepared. Tasters were employed and Babur mentions Ahmad چاشنی گیر.[1] It appears that luncheon time was after the afternoon prayer. The Emperor appears to have kept an open table, for he mentions several "braves" taking luncheon with him.[2] Food was eaten off porcelain plates.[3] We can form some idea of the type and variety of the food served at the Imperial table from the courses which, among others, were served at one luncheon. "Thin slices of bread were put on a porcelain dish..... and over this buttered fritters were laid." "Cooked meats were set out...... I ate a good deal of a dish of hare, much fried carrot .....and dried meat."[4] Everything was on a grand scale. When the minister Khalifa prepared a hasty meal (*"ma hazari"*) for Princess Gulbadan Begam, then almost a child, "it drew out to almost fifty roast sheep and bread and Sherbet and much fruit."[5] This was only a hasty meal! Babur's court must have been familiar with betel eating, though perhaps it had not become very common in his time, for we gather from the memoirs of Gulbadan Begam and Jouher that in the reign of Humayun "pan dishes" were already part of important entertainments.[6]

The library was an important part of the Imperial establishment, and books were greatly valued. A librarian was appointed and a room was set apart for the library. Babur's librarian was ʻAbdullah.[7] It appears that the Emperor was frequently in the book-room and records his having performed the midday prayer in that room.[8] Books were considered valuable gifts. "I went into Ghazi Khan's book-room, some of the precious things found in it, I gave to Humayun, some sent to Kamran. There were many books of learned contents, but not so many valuable ones, as had at first appeared."[9]

As regards the Court ceremonial, the custom was to kneel thrice before the Emperor.[10] The guilty, who had repented, appeared before the Emperor with swords hanging from their necks. In the case of Daulat Khan, Babur records, "I now ordered that the two swords he had girt to his waist to fight me with, should be hung from his neck....He hesitated to kneel; I ordered them to pull his leg and make him do so."[11] Special durbars were held on the occasion of the ʻId festivals, and gifts were bestowed on these occasions. "A few days after the ʻId of Shawwal....a large party was held in the pillared porch....of Sultan Ibrahim's private apartments. At this party were bestowed....to each according to his rank, sword-belts, dagger-belts and dresses of

1. Ibid, p. 541.
2. Ibid, p. 541.
3. Ibid, p. 541.
4. Ibid, pp. 541-2.
5. *Humayun Nama* of Gulbadan Begum, p. 102.
6. Ibid, p. 123; and *Tadhkirat-u'l Waqiat* by Jouher, p. 153.
7. *Babur Nama*, Vol. II, p. 569.
8. Ibid, p. 619.
9. Ibid, p. 460.
10. Ibid, p. 641.
11. Ibid, p. 459.

honour."[1]

Among the pious practices of the Court were visits to the tombs of saints,[2] sending of gifts to holy men and to holy places—"To holy men belonging to Samarkand and Khurasan went offerings vowed to God, so to Makka and Madina."[3] Holy and learned men were honoured by the Emperor. "The honoured Khwaja 'Abdul Haq having arrived...... I went to his tents and waited on him."[4] The fast of Ramadan was generally observed. "Ramadan was spent this year with ablution and tarawih."[5] This shows that this was not the case every year. Babur records having read the Qur'an forty-one times during this year.[6]

In illness dieting was a recognised remedy. When Babur was poisoned, he was put on diet. "On Saturday I drank a bowl of milk; on Sunday *'araq* in which stamped clay was dissolved.[7] As a stimulant "for raising the spirits," Babur records having taken "powders (سفوف) mixed with the flour of parched grain (ستو)."[8] Opium was a remedy for ear-ache. "Tonight I elected to take opium because of ear-ache."[9] Use of quick-silver was also a remedy. "I made a beginning of eating quicksilver (سیماب)."[10]

It would appear that grown-up princes had complete liberty in contracting marriages. They could apparently do so without the permission of the Emperor, for Babur records as having only heard that Kamran was marrying in Kabul—"Kamran was said to be marrying in Kabul."[11] Girls were also presented to the Emperor—"Sulaiman.... among other gifts brought two Circassian girls."[12] Before attaining the age of puberty, girls wore a high cap (*taq*) and after that a Muslin coif.[13]

Men shaved their heads. "I shaved my head which I had not done for the past two months."[14]

Fasts were kept on the occasion of the eclipse of the sun. "The sun had been eclipsed and fast was kept."[15]

The recognised method of the declaration of love was to send a handkerchief to the beloved.[16]

This is only a glimpse of life as lived at Babur's Court in India, but it is enough to justify the conclusion that the life was full of charm and variety, of splendour and magnificance, of pleasure and culture.

1. Ibid, p. 527.
2. Ibid, p. 475.
3. Ibid, pp. 522-3.
4. Ibid, p. 641.
5. Ibid, p. 584.
6. Ibid, p. 585.
7. *Babur Nama*, Vol. II, p. 543.
8. Ibid, p. 606.
9. Ibid, p. 609.
10. Ibid, p. 608.
11. Ibid, p. 618.
12. Ibid, p. 619.
13. *Humayun Nama* of Gulbadan Begam, p. 138.
14. *Babur Nama*, Vol. II, p. 649.
15. Ibid, p. 659.
16. *Humayun Nama* of Gulbadan Begam, p. 193.

SOME UNPUBLISHED VERSES OF BABUR[1]

SAYYID NA'IMUDDIN *

The Emperor Babur[2] (d. 937 / 1530) is celebrated for his martial exploits but he no less possessed poetical talents of a high order, as his works in Turkish and Persian amply indicate. His poetry in both the languages, though sometimes loaded with literary conceits, is extremely graceful and is especially noteworthy for the light it throws on the life and thought of the emperor himself.

E. Denison Ross discovered and edited for the first time the *'Diwan-i-Babur Padishah'* in 1910 which was published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal,* Vol. VI. Some years later A. Samoylovitch published *'Majmu'a-i Ash'ar-i Babur'*, Petrograd, 1917. The Persian verses ascribed to Babur in both these editions are identical. Prof. Fuad Koprulu in 1331 A.H. published a number of Babur's unknown Turkish poems in the *"Milli Tetebbuler"*, Istanbul, (nos. 2, 3, and 4). He however omitted the Persian poems of Babur from the *Diwan* which he had discovered. Below are cited the hitherto unpublished Persian verses of Babur contained in the above mentioned *diwan* which is in the Istanbul University Library. (Ms. No. 3743). This increases the number of Babur's known Persian verses and naturally gives a better idea of his poetic talents.

1. I gratefully acknowledge the favour of valuable suggestions given by Prof. Hadi Hasan to me during the preparation of this article. My thanks are also due to Prof. 'Abidin Itil of Ankara University for having kindly checked up *'Majmu'a-i Ash'ar-i Babur'* of Samoylovitch.

2. A compact and up-to-date account of the life and literary activities of Babur is that given in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (Turkish edition, 1949, vol. II pp. 180-187) by Fuad Koprulu, the most outstanding scholar of Turkey today. Lately Prof. Hadi Hasan, in his general account of the poetry of the Mughals has dealt with the poetry of Babur from whom a hitherto unpublished couplet has been cited. Further one of Babur's quotations has been traced to its origin. *Mughal Poetry : Its Cultural and Historical Value*, pp. 66-69.

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I *Ghazals :*

Fol. 99 b. (۱) ای ماه شام وصل تو صبح سعادتست روز جدائی تو ولی شام محنتست

O moon-like beloved : the night of union with thee is the morning of happiness, but the day of separation from thee is the evening of sorrow.

(۲) جانم بکن جراحت و راحت رسان بدل از تو بجان خسته جراحت چو راحتست

O my beloved : inflict a wound upon me and thereby give comfort to my heart, for a wound received at thy hands means balm to my afflicted soul.

(۳) خالی که ماندهٔ برخ لاله گون خویش برجان بدلان تو آن داغ حسرت است

The mole on thy tulip-like face is the scar of despondency on the soul of those who have lost their hearts to thee.

(۴) از کام جام باده بگیرید کام دل اکنون که وقت باده و هنگام عشرتست

Now that it is time for drinking and pleasure seeking, seek your heart's desire from (the palate of) the wine-cup (i.e. drink wine and enjoy yourself).

(۵) گر ریخت یار خون تو زنهار دم مزن خوش باش بابرا که همین دم غنیمتست
Fol. 100a.

If thy beloved hast shed thy blood, do not complain ; be happy, O Babur and consider even this as your good fortune.

(2)

(۱) لاله را داغ ازان دم که بدل حاصل بود داغ عشق تو مرا لاله صفت بردل بود [3]

Since the time the tulip received the scar on its heart, I too like the tulip have borne the scar of thy love on my heart.

(۲) عمر من رفت و مرا فرقت او ساخت هلاك چکنم عمر من دلشده مستعجل بود

(2) Here Babur may be writing a 'parallel' to Hafiz who has used the same metre and rhyme for one of his famous odes .

یاد باد آنکه سرکوی توام منزل بود دیده را روشنی از خاك درت حاصل بود

My life is over and separation from my beloved has killed me. What can I do? My life, love-lorn as I am, was fleet-footed (and transient).

(۳) رخ نمودی بمن و مردنم آسان کردی   ورنه در فرقت تو زیستنم مشکل بود

Thou didst show thy face to me and hast made it easy for me to die ; otherwise it would have been difficult for me to live separated from thee.

(۴) بابر از عقل فرومایه چه تشویش کشید   ای خوش آندم که زمی بیخود ولا یعقل بود

How much has Babur suffered at the hands of low-born Reason. 'Happy were the days when he was self forgetful and bereft of reason under the influence of wine.'

II Ruba'iyat

Fol. 101a.

(۱) من بندهٔ روی میراحمد قاسم   آشفتهٔ موی میر احمد قاسم
هرلحظ بلای دگر آرد برسر   اس شیوه و خوی میراحمد قاسم [1]

I am the slave of the face of Mir Ahmad Qasim. I am distracted by the hair of Mir Ahmad Qasim. The behaviour and temperament of Mir Ahmad Qasim bring every moment on my head a fresh calamity.

(۲) خواهم که حنیفه غمگسارم باشد   درمان و دوای دل زارم باشد
هر روز وهمه شب ز خدا میخواهم   یعنی سب و روز درکنارم باشد [2]

I wish that Hanifa may share my sorrows with me and may become a balm to my bleeding heart. I pray to God that she may be always with me, that she may be by my side night and day.

(۳) روی چو مه حنیفه را بنده شدم   موی سیه حنیفه را بنده شدم
خوی تبهش گرچه بلای جانست   خوی تبه حنیفه را بنده شدم

I have become a slave of the moon-like face of Hanifa and of her

1. This may be Ahmad-i Qasim Kohbur Chaghtai son of Haider-i Qasim. He was with Babur in A.H. 906.
(*Memoirs of Babur*, tr. A.S. Beveridge, vol. I p. 133, London 1921.)
2. Hanifa is evidently the name of a hitherto unknown mistress of Babur. Her name does not occur in the *Memoirs*.

black hair. Even though her devastating temper is a source of great mental torture to me, it is this very devastating temper which has made me her captive.

(٤) قاصد بمن آورد سلامت ای دوست   خوش حال شدم ز ذکر نامت ای دوست
تانام سلام باشد اندر عالم :: :: ::   نامی باشی وهم سلامت ای دوست [1]

The messenger has brought thy greetings to me, o friend: I was delighted to hear thy name mentioned, o friend. So long as the word 'salam' (=greeting) lasts in the world, may thy name and fame endure and may thou live in peace, o friend.

(٥) دو صاحب این مقبره پیر همه دان   درهر غم و غصه دسگیر همه دان
خانم بتو از من بشنو نادانی   فرزند علی بخوان و پیر همه دان [2]

O all-knowing *Pir* lying in this tomb, giving succour in every trouble and sorrow, I pray to thee, listen to me so that you may know; son of Ali and all-knowing *Pir* call me.

(٦) ای ملک مدار معدلت آثاری   باید که فراموش نگرد د یاری
در گوشهٔ افتادم از خاطر دور   غم نیست اگر گوشهٔ خاطر داری

O you, who are a manifestation of justice and on whom a kingdom depends, do not forget a friend. I have fallen in a corner away from your heart; I would not mind it if you have me in the corner of your heart.

(٧) ای آنکه بود بکام چرخ فلکت   بر رای تو می کند همیشه حرکت
از تو گله نیست لیک آن نوع بکن   ایمن شود این فقیر از جانبکت

O thou, according to whose wishes the heavens revolve and at whose will they move as directed, I have no complaint against thee but treat me in such a way that this humble suppliant may feel secure of his life.

III *Muqatta'at*:

Fol. 102 a

(١) مده بخویشن دگر زحمت ای قراچهره   میان ما و جوانی تراچه تشویش است
من و حکایت خود باجوان بی ریشی   تو ولخیغی (؟) خود چون میانجی وریش است

1. Obviously, this is addressed to a person "Salam" whom I have not been able to identify and on whose name Babur is punning.
2. Babur here may be referring to his family saint, Khwaja 'Ubaidullah 'Ahrar.

O blackamoor, do not worry thyself, why shouldst thou do so over my relations with a young person? Let me have my romance with a beardless youth and thou....(?)

(۲) بسی اسپان تازی مانده لاغر   شده گاوان ناهنجار فربه
چه باید کرد کار دهر دون را   جوی طالع زخروار هنر به

Many Arab horses have remained lean and uncouth oxen have become fat. What can one do with the (prevalent) state of affairs in this vile world, when a grain of luck is better than a heap of talent?

(۳) سیمیا جسته ام نیافته ام   مگر این حکم کیمیا دارد
رفت از یاد جمله از افلاس   مگر ابن علم سیم یادآرد

I have searched for 'Simiya'[1] and have not found it; perhaps it is as rare and unattainable as alchemy. Everything is wiped out of my memory due to poverty; maybe this science of 'simiya' reminds (me) of silver.

IV *Mufredat:*

(۱) تا چند در فراق تو سوزیم همچو عود   چون بوی دردهیچ نداری ازین چه سود

How long should I burn like incense in thy separation, what does it avail, since thou art devoid for pangs of love?

(۲) خراباتی و رند و می پرستم   بعالم هرچه می گویند هستم

I am a Bohemian devoted to the tavern and wine; I am all that which the world says about me.

(۳) دل شد اسیر درد یکی یار جانئی   دردا که او نکرد بدل مهربانئی

My heart has been captivated by a friend who is as dear to me as my soul. But alas, he has shown no kindness to my heart.

(۴) هردم از شوق توام میشود افزون گریه   سکنم درهوس لعل لب خون گریه

Yearning for thee weep more and more every moment. I am shedding tears of blood in my desire for thy ruby-like lips.

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1. An occult science by means of which it was supposed to be possible to transfer one's soul to another body.

Fol. 100 b

(٥) همه در پیش تو مقبول و مرا رد کردی   با بدان نیک شدی و دل من بد کردی

Thou hast accepted all and rejected me; thou hast treated evil persons well and done ill to my heart.

(٦) چون یار بیوفایم هردم بعمرو زید است   کردیم ترک عشقش عاشق شدن چه قیداست

As my faithless friend is always with Zayd and 'Amr (i.e., with others) I have given up loving him, for it is not incumbent upon one to love.

(٧) هستیم خوار و زار و اسیر و غریب هم   دور از دیار و یار و بمحنت قریب هم

I am friendless and miserable, afflicted and a prisoner and in a strange country; I am far from my native land and friends but near to misfortune and sorrow.

(٨) آن ماه را ز سوز خود آگاه چون کنم   امکان دم زدن نبود آه چون کنم

How should I inform my moon-faced beloved how I am burning with love for her? When it is not possible even to breath (a word) in her presence, how can I heave a sigh?

(٩) از بار و از دیار چو من بی نصیب نیست   گر یار بنده‌را بنوازد غریب نیست

There is none who is as unfortunately friendless and homeless as I am. It would not be strange if the beloved becomes considerate and kind to her slave.

(١٠) آن دل آزاری که باشد در دل آزارم ازو   فی المثل حور و پری باشد که بیزارم ازو

That tormentor of my heart on account of whom there is suffering in my heart, even though she be a fairy or angel, I have come to detest her.

(١١) زجور دور زمان چند پیچ و تاب خوریم   کجاست یک دو حریفی شراب ناب خوریم

How long am I to suffer from the tyranny of the revolutions of time? Where is a boon companion or two that we may quaff pure wine together?

(١٢) بسیرا به باز آر آن کوفته   بسی رابه بازار آن کوفته

Bring again, in the soup, that meat-ball which has made minced meat of (literally pounded) many persons in the market.[1]

(۱۳) بسوی که ز تقاضای دور آمده ایم   مگو بمیل تو مارا بجور آمده ایم

To whom have I come forced by circumstances? Do not say that I have come willingly, I have been compelled to come.

(۱۴) چومادی چوما مبتلای توایم   بهندوستان از برای توایم [2]

Give me a kiss as I am thy devoted lover. I am in India because of thee.

1. i.e. which has overcome the fastidious taste of many persons. The meaning is obscure because the poet was aiming at introducing the rhetorical device known as compound homonymy (تجنیس مرکب) : بسیرابه = بسی رابه and بازار = بازآر .

2. This verse was published in *Diwan-i-Babur Padishah*, p. 20, edited by Denison Ross in 1910. The editor says, 'the reading is doubtfull.' I am here for the first time making clear the use of two Urdu words (i.e. چومادے) by Babur.

This is in addition to other known Urdu words used by him.

FURTHER ELUCIDATION OF TECHNICAL MATTERS DISCUSSED IN IBN-AL-'AWWAM'S *KITAB-AL-FILAHAH*

(*Continued from p. 282 October Issue, 1955*)

MOHD. ABDUR RAHMAN KHAN*

CHAPTER VII

CHAPTER VII deals with plants that were generally cultivated in Andalusia (Muslim Spain), with an account of their chief varieties and characteristics—nature of soil required, methods of irrigating and manuring them.

§ *How to plant Olive trees.*

There are two kinds of olive (a) *Barri* and (b) *Ahli*. A grows naturally among rocks and does not thrive well in places where there is excess of water. B is a superior variety, with more oil in the fruit. Ibn Hajjaj quotes Yunius in his book, saying that the best soil for a good yield of oil in the olive is "thin" soil. Soft, white and moist soil produces bigger oily fruits; similarly black soil with boulders, and inclined to be white and sandy and free from 'salt'. But wet soil must be avoided, also very sticky soil or soil that cracks.

All horticulturists agree that there should be plenty of fresh air for olive trees, so they thrive best in hills. About the time for planting them, the autumn season is said to be the best; the spring will also do. The pit dug for it should be two hands deep and broad in the case of elevated ground; in the case of low land it should be more. *Shamayus* is of opinion that olive trees free of *Naql, Awtad,* and *'Ajar* are all good for planting. *Naql* is a part of *Awtad*; *Awtad* are those parts of a twig which are one hand long and one fist thick. *'Ajar* is the knot in trees resembling eggs, found on old and large olive trees. It is cut with a sharp iron

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weapon and planted with the twig. It is much better than *Awtad.*

Then follows a reiteration of recommendations made in earlier chapters on transplantation, etc. About manure Yunius writes that the dung of goats, sheep and cattle, also of horses and donkeys is useful but *not* human excreta. Care should be taken, however, that the manure should be applied *not* to the roots themselves but at some distance from them so that mixed with earth its 'heat' is regulated and moderated. The best time for planting the olive is stated to be that when the sun happens to be in the last part of the constellation Pisces and the moon is waxing bright. Then follows hearsay about the colour and age of the planter likely to yield the best results.

§ (ق) says that olive branches or twigs after being cut should be buried in the ground for seven days and planted without delay on the eighth. It is better to plant olive *awtad* or twigs at the time they begin to bear fruit rather than when the fruit gets ripe.

§ Olive fruit-stone should be sown in October. Olive fruit must not be plucked on a rainy day. The fruit of olive trees growing among rocks is plucked in January if they are fully ripe.

The next section deals with the cultivation of *Rand* (also known as *'As* and *Dhamast*-plants with long sweet-smelling leaves and yellow coloured fruits. The leaves are put in 'Otto' (attar, عطر). After that is described the method of sowing *Kharub,* which grows plentifully in Syria. Its fruit is sweet and is used as food also in times of scarcity (ground and kneaded into dough, when it ferments like leavened wheat or barley flour, and made into cakes).

§ *Planting of Rayhan (also called 'As)*

It is written in (ط) that *'As* is the king of sweet smells. It is of three forms and also of three colours; one is green (the most common variety), another blue (very scarce) and the third, yellow. *'As* does not require much attention, only the ground should be cleared of undesirable grass. Its fruit is used as food cooked into bread.

The next section treats of *Henna,* its varieties and modes of planting.

§ *Cultivation of Qastal (or Shah Ballut)*

(خ) recommends continuous watering of the tree until it bears fruit. Its fruit or stone moistened with water makes good food. The fruit put into cold water is eaten with honey; put into hot water it is eaten with sugar. Qastal dried in the sun and mixed with some gram, ground and leavened can be cooked as bread.

The Section that follows gives standard methods of Planting Ballut.

The next section is a dissertation on the planting of the *Guava tree* (*Amrud* or *Kumaththara*).

(خ) describes two kinds of guavas: *Jabali* (rocky) and *Bustani* (garden), subdivided into several other varieties. They are in general of sweet flavour, but some are said to be bitter. Some fruits are rich in moisture, some have little. Some are large, some are of average size and some others very small.

Ibn Hajjaj quotes Yunius as saying that the guava plant thrives best in '*barid*' (cold) soil with excess of water. Its twigs can be cut and planted, its *awtad* and seeds also. It is best to graft them. Its *awtad* should be at least 3 spans long and it should be planted in January or February.

The *Bustani* variety is planted from October to January; the *Barri* in autumn. It can be transplanted from the beginning of February to the beginning of April. (خ) says that planted after the third date of the lunar month, the guava bears fruit in 2 or 3 years. If planted after the fifth date it bears fruit in 5 years.

(ط) says that the guava responds well to grafting. It improves when grafted to another guava tree. It can be grafted with *Safarjal* and apple also. The guava can be kneaded into bread in the usual way and eaten as food.

§ *'Unnab (or Nabaq), Plum.*

The red variety yields large sized fruit, rather elongated but very sweet; another variety bears small fruit. It grows naturally in rocky soil and its tree is thorny. It is best to plant the twig of a good class of tree (on a Thursday when the moon is on the wane), in a pit three spans deep filled with soil unmixed with manure. Some recommend sowing its slit stone well-watered and transplanting it after two years. Its *awtad* should be planted in March or May only, with a distance of 15 to 20 arms length in between two. Excess of water is harmful to it as it is a rock-loving plant. The *Sarw* is planted in the same manner as the plum.

§ *Pistachio.*

There are two kinds of it, male and female. Fruits with tender skin on and wrapped in thin cotton wool are buried in pits with the open side facing the sky. Pistachio likes the company of walnut and almond. The same method is recommended for sowing their seeds also. All the three take a long time to bear fruit. Some hold that the male variety comes from the seed whose head points upwards and that

the female variety is sowed with it. It responds to *Takbis* also.

§ *Qarasia* (or Habb Muluk, Persian Mahu Dana)

It is cultivated in January or February. Rocky and moist soils are agreeable to it and its fruit increases in size and acquires good flavour. It is planted in gardens only. The best twig for it would be 'red' and 'oily', about six spans long. There should be a distance of about 15 arms length between two consecutive plants. Its stone seed is sown in large new earthen pots in the month of June, after putting them in water for 24 days till the month is over. Planted in winter or autumn it begins to sprout in March. It can be transplanted after two years. It does not require much water and should not be treated with manure.

§ This section deals with the planting of *Shanhi* or *Za'rur* (Persian *Kahl.*)

The next section is concerned with *Masagh*, a red fruit of the size of a gram. Its *awtad* are planted and its seeds also are sown. Being a rock-loving plant it does not require much water.

§ *Plantation of the Pomegranate.*

It occurs in a number of varieties, mostly sweet. Some are sour. A male variety of it is called *Jullanar*. Qastus says that the best soil for the pomegranate is 'dry'. It thrives well in rocky ground also. Another authority is of opinion that it grows well in flat moist ground, but acquires most sweetness and flavour when planted in dry soil which is *later* saturated with water.

Demiqrates recommends planting the uppermost twig of the plant to expedite its fructification. It has great affinity for the *'As* plant. It is well to plant the two together to ensure mutual growth.

Marghutis says that many people plant pomegranate trees close together to provide shade for its fruits because strong sunshine deprives the fruit grains of their colour and sweetness. Filahat-an-Nabatiyyah recommends sowing 7 to 14 seeds of the fruit in each of several pits in the month of February, irrigating them well till the plants acquire the height of a span. They should then be manured, (with equal parts of goat's and pigeon's droppings and mud). They can then be transplanted with soil sticking to their roots intact. Sighrit says that moistening the pits with human, camel's or cow's urine is very beneficial to pomegranates. Susad writes that the twig or seed of the pomegranate when planted or sown should be mixed with a handful of crushed *baqla'* or of powdered gram soaked in milk. If the seeds are coated with pure honey they sprout into sweet and seedless pomegranates.

After this follows a statement (said to be supported by ocular demonstration) that poisonous animals especially black and other kinds of snakes, shun the neighbourhood of the pomegranate tree. Its *mulukh* and *awtad* are also planted. It is amenable to *Takbis* as well as *Istislaf.*

Some recommend planting *awtad* in March and *mulukh* in February. December is the month for its *Takbis*. Then follow some authoritative statements about the pomegranate being a propitious plant—found in the gardens of Paradise.

The next section deals with the cultivation of *Jullanar*.

§ *Cultivation of almond.*

Yunius recommends putting almond seeds in plenty of water mixed with cow dung for three days and then sowing them in a pit prepared for them, not more than one span in depth. Its twigs can also be planted. The time for transplantation is autumn not spring. The seed can be sown both in autumn and spring. It requires much manure: cowdung, birds' droppings, human excreta mixed with urine, dry earth, almond fruit skin and leaves. It can be grafted with *Qarasia*, walnut and 'Uyunal-Baqar and other 'gummy' plants. An almond tree planted with the guava tree gets on very well.

Cultivation of Sanobar.

It is of three kinds:—(1) Jabali (or rocky) which is sexually feminine, with large fruits, (2) Masculine sexually and devoid of fruits, (3) resembling *Sarw*. Ibn Hajjaj recommends soaking the seed three days in water and then sowing it in early March, transplanting after two or three years. It thrives best in jungles with sandy soil.

Another method is to break open the hard coating of the fruit and sow it in a large unbaked earthenware vessel filled with manure at a depth equal to two fingers' breadth (in early January or February) and keep it well watered. It may be transplanted after two or three years.

§ *Tut (or Mulberry).*

It is stated in Ibn Hajjaj's book, on the authority of Qastus, that *tut* must be sown in early autumn. It is found in several varieties; one is white, of medium size, another is black. Some kinds are yellow or bluish or grey and they differ in flavour also from one another. Some are sweet, a few bitter and some tasteless. It is planted near springs or ponds, where it thrives well, especially when treated with manure. It responds to grafting also with analogous plants, and to *Takbis* also (in January). There should be a distance of 20 hands' length between two plants, as it grows to a good size.

§ *Cultivation of Walnut.*

It occurs in several kinds; one with large fruits is called Amlisi, and having a thin coating, another with small fruits known as *Tarhin* having a thick crust. Ibn Hajjaj says that the walnut prefers places where there is plenty of water and soft 'cold' soil. Other authorities are cited as

holding similar views. Its seed is sown in February and in autumn. Yunius is stated to be of opinion that its cuttings (or twigs) are also planted. Small twigs are plucked out of its tree, then roots sprout out in them.

The walnut tree is tall and sweet-smelling. If a man were to stand under it, he would feel inclined to be sleepy owing to its soothing smell. It needs no manure. To plant it in gardens, the plucked plant should be pulled out root and all, and after exposing it to the air for two days it should be covered with mud.

Demiqrates recommends planting the walnut plant or sowing its seed in February. If dry walnut fruit is put in tepid water it becomes soft and regains its freshness. If it is put in meat in process of cooking it removes all the defects of the meat. The best time for cultivation of the walnut is September. It may be transplanted without damage to roots after two or more years in the month of January. The pit prepared to receive it should not be under four spans depth. There should be a distance of 24 hands' length between every two plants. It will be well to sprinkle wood ash on its twigs. Some authorities say that the walnut plant should be irrigated very sparingly. There should be no other tree in its vicinity except the fig. Walnut trees are said to flourish for 200 years. Their roots may be scraped whenever necessary, else the fruit turns black. This rarely happens in rocky or sandy oil.

§ *Cultivation of fig.*

Ibn Hajjaj in his book states, on the authority of Qastus, that fig trees can be planted both in spring and autumn but wet ground is not good for them. Excess of manure is also harmful, but sand gives a sweet flavour to its fruit.

(ط) states that 'soft' earth is very agreeable to the plant. Its seeds can also be sown. Fruits left on good trees long enough to get dry should be put in the milk of a young woman or goat till they become sour and change in colour. Then three seeds should be sown in every pit in February and covered with mud. Water should be poured on them till they sprout up. As for manure, mud from the roots should be removed and ash from mulberry or rose tree should be mixed with cowdung and applied, then the roots covered up with mud.

The fig may be used to soften meat while cooking. While milk is heated on fire and stirred with a stick of the fig tree it solidifies. Ash made from burning the fig makes good powder for cleaning the teeth. The fig can be cooked into bread and eaten for food.

(ص) says that its *Mulukh, Awtad* and *'Uyun* are all useful for plantation. So also are the twigs that sprout up from old fallen fig trees.

Cultivation of the Rose.

(خ) describes several colours of rose flowers ; Some are red, some white, others bluish or yellow. Some others are blue inside and yellow outside. The rose plant itself is of various kinds. One is called rocky another, *Ahmar-i-Mud'af*, a third *Abyade Mud'af*, a fourth *Husaini.* The rocky variety has a number of subdivisions. One called Majusi is found in the East and in Syria, with five petals in each flower. Wardi Mud'af is a rose of superior quality and should be plucked before it unfolds. It is reddish white, but redder than the rocky variety with 40 or 50 petals, very beautiful to look at and very sweet smelling also.

All kinds of rose are planted in the same way. Ibn Hajjaj in his book says that low level is very good for the rose. In sandy soils it has a sweet smell. Its cuttings soon take root. When it grows to a large size, its twigs should be cut down and the ground around it gently dug out. Its blossoms open more in April.

(ص) says that its seeds and *Mulukh* also are planted and its twigs respond to *Takbis.* The rose plant with large flowers is planted in the beginning of autumn after the rains, in October and November-and it yields flowers the same year. Its thin twigs should be planted in the same months. It should not be pruned in January.

Water in large quantities agrees well with the rose. Planted near a spring it thrives splendidly. Some say that the rose plant grafted to apple or almond yields large flowers.

Note. Ward-i-*Mud'af* mentioned in the text as having 40 or 50 petals is by no means a rarity. Herodotus has described roses with 60 petals and Theophrastus, roses with from 5 to 100 petals. The Romans had a religious interest in the rose, and they grew many different types ; but with the fall of the Roman Empire rose cultivation dwindled and many varieties were lost. The Arabs liked roses and rose water was a great favourite with them. On the fall of the Arab Empire rose cultivation again suffered a set-back, though the Persians, Mongols and Turks contributed amply to its revival. It was the Mughal emperors of India who seem to have brought the rose first to the country. (Vide, Rev. Shepard's *History of the Rose*, Macmilan & Co. New York, 1954).

(The rose of Istanbul is very large and is much used in preparing *gulqand.* M.A.R. Khan).

§ *Jessamin* (*Yasamin*).

(خ) describes several kinds of it : one with white flowers, another with yellow not with very sweet smell, a third with black flowers a fourth with *arghawani* (i.e. orange) colour. They are all garden plants. There are two wild varieties of it also. Some jessamin trees grow to

a very large size. Its twigs are cut and planted in the *Naysan* season (when the Sun enters the Zodical Constellation Aries). Its flowers open out in all seasons, but are at their best in summer. It is planted in February, March and early April. Its cultivation from *Awtad,* etc., is described at great length.

(خ) states that the seed of the jessamin is " black like that of ʿArʿar with a stone inside ". It is satisfied with a moderate supply of water. Its *awtad* are planted in cisterns and earthen pots. At least three spans length of *awtad* should protrude above the mud and the rest buried underneath, with a distance of three spans intervening between every two of them. Irrigation should be continued till the ground is white which happens in about 15 days. Then the usual manure (droppings of quadrupeds and pigeons with human excreta should be applied. A wild variety of the jessamin known as *Ziyan* grows wild in the jungles and is transported from there into gardens and is treated like *Khyzuran* (or bamboo) which will be discussed in the following section. Its flowers are generally yellow ; some varieties are white. Its leaves are black. (ط) calls jessamin and *Nasrin* (Persian Nastaran, Urdu Seyuti brotherly flowers,).

§ *Plantation of Khyzuran* (*bamboo*).

(خ) gives two varieties of it, one growing in jungles, the other in rocks. One is called *Majlub* also. Its twigs are very thin and leaves-tiny —of the size of a finger-nail and pointed. Its flowers are not formed in the leaves. Some people graft it with jessamin. Soft low ground like that among rocks (*Harsha*), etc., is well suited for it. It is transferred with mud in February or March and is planted by the side of water, being extremely fond of it. A variety called *Majri* grows near river-sides and spreads like jessamin.

§ *Cultivation of Utrujj* (*Citron*).

(خ) says *Utrujj* (*Citron*) Naranj (Orange also called Ribuʿ) and lemon are all fruits of the same kind. (Their juice contains citric acid-M.A.R. Khan.)

Utrujj is also known as *Tuffah-i-Yamani*, (one variety sweet, the other sour). The leaves, branches and wood of the sour variety are blackish with large thorns, while those of the sweet variety are yellow with small thorns. Cordovan Qurtubi *Utrujj* fruit is large and elongated ; *Qasti* has round unctuous or oily fruits ; *Sini* with round fruits resembling brinjal is sour. The orange fruit is a modification of *Utrujj* (round in shape and red in colour). *Dhahabi* is another variety of the same. The lemon fruit is also a modification of *Utrujj* of yellow colour and somewhat bigger than *Hanzal.*

Ibn Hajjaj recommends planting of ' *Utrujj* in autumn or spring. The southerly wind is good for its growth. It is well therefore to plant it near a well that will protect it from the northerly wind. Demicrates writes that the *Awtad* of *Utrujj* should be about a hand in length and planted in March. Goat's droppings are best for it as manure. Its seed is sown in February in a pot with the same precautions as have been mentioned in case of 'weak' seeds. It can be transplanted after two years in September with its surrounding mud. A distance of six hands should intervene between two consecutive plants. It is best to plant it by the side of a spring, fully exposed to sunshine. Old manure, especially nauseating human excreta, supplied to *Utrujj* trees makes the fruit large and the pulp inside its skin soft. These remarks apply to lemon also. *Utrujj* and its family members (above referred to) are amenable to *Istislaf* and *Takbis* also. Their branches may be passed through pots filled with mud for new roots to sprout.

§ *Cultivation of Orange.*

Qothami in *Filahat-an-Nabatiyyah* calls orange an Indian fruit but it is found everywhere, especially in countries inclined to be warm. Black soil with a nauseating smell is well suited for its cultivation. Its seeds are sown in the usual way (in a large new earthen pot filled with mud) in January and well watered. The plant begins to sprout in March. It should then be transferred to cisterns.

(خ) recommends that the tree should not be transplanted before it grows to a man's height. There should be a distance of 6 hands' length between two consecutive plants. Its *awtad* can also be planted. A uniform twig should be selected and cut into pieces 2½ spans long, 2 spans buried in soil and the rest left above it. The ground should be well prepared and mixed with manure, watered at first every alternate day. When leaves come out, the ground around the *awtad* should be gently dug up, but not close to them and treated with horse and mule litter.

Saghira, Mar and *Farasiyun* (Sadab) must not be planted near the orange (or other *Utrujj*) trees as they are injurious to them.

§ *Plantation of Zanbu (Bastanbun).*

According to (خ) it resembles the orange with the difference that its fruit is broader (?), granular, yellow coloured and intensely sour. Hard ground suits it well. Its seeds are sown; its twigs are amenable to *Takbis*. Its *awtad* are also planted. The plants are transferred after two years into positions facing East, with a distance of six hands' length between every two of them.

§ *Cultivation of Lemon.*

(خ) says lemon resembles small *Utrujj*, it is elongated and its leaves are more yellow and bitter. (ط) describes it as round, originally green, then turning yellow. A variety of it is both red and yellow. Soft soil with a little saltishness and red soil mixed with some sand suit it well. To strengthen its growth it is recommended that cotton seed be burned with *Utrujj* or orange wood and its ash be mixed with wine sediment and fermented, then dried and ground to powder and sprinkled on the roots and twigs of the lemon tree.

Fruits of the *Utrujj* family when eaten are believed to reduce sexual desire in women. Lemon peal and leaf are said to mitigate poisonous effects.

Ghubaira (*or Sapistan*).

(خ) writes that its tree is large; its flowers are white and small; its fruits resemble *Mushtahi* and are called *lufah* (some call it *Za'rur-i-barri*) and that it is identical with what the Berbers call *Hudar*). Its bark is used in tanning. (ط) says its fruits look like plum with stone seed inside and have a good flavour. Its twig, fruit and root are all viscous. It thrives both in soft and hard ground. Its seeds are sown, its twig and *awtad* are planted (the best time is January). It is transplanted in pits 3 spans deep with a distance of 12 hand's length between two, near springs. It has a pleasant smell. Its flowers are beautiful and open in May. But it is *not* amenable to grafting. The jungle and wild country is the natural place for its growth. It is recommended as a cure for palpitation of the heart. Women on smelling its flowers are believed to become more apt for work (both manual and sexual).

§ *Wadhi* has red flowers and fruits inclined to black. It prefers hard and rocky ground. Its flowers put in wine make it more intoxicating. It is used in 'Iraq for this purpose. But even two *Mithqals* of the intoxicant are said to be fatal.

§ *Kadhi* (called *Kewra* in Urdu) resembles the date palm somewhat, and is planted in the same manner as *Wadhi*.

(Note. Its trunk is *not* so solid or firm as that of the date palm. Its flowers are whitish with a very pleasant smell and are used in making perfume. Mohd. A. R. Khan).

§ *Safarjal* (Pear or Quince, called also *Bihi* or *lauz-i-Hindi*). It is of two kinds: one round (either small or large), the other elongated. It tastes both sweet and bitter. It requires for its cultivation level and moist ground. Sandy soil will also do, provided it is manured and watered.

Demicrates writes that the *awtad* of *Safarjal* are planted in February. According to another authority its *Mulukh* are planted in pits, laying

them horizontally. Such of its shoots as sprout near its roots are also planted. Some people sow its seeds and the trees that grow from them are large. *Safarjal* trees should be planted close to one another to prevent the fruit getting burnt in strong sunshine.

Benushad recommends soaking *Safarjal* in pure water before eating it, to remove its viscid or semifluid matter. This increases its utility. In times of scarcity of cereals *Safarjal* is ground to powder, kneaded and made into loaves. Its large branches are amenable to *Takbis.* (Time from December to January). Its seeds are sown in October. The 'heat' of manure does not agree with it. It can be grafted with kindred plants.

Then follows an account of its salutary properties (especially as a heart stimulant) when eaten—based on the Traditions of the Holy Prophet of Islam.

§ *Apple Cultivation.*

(خ) describes 3 chief varieties of apple (among others). *'Alibi* is sweet. *Shu'aybi* is sour and *Rukhami* is tasteless. The second has neither flowers nor seeds.

Ibn Hajjaj says horticulturists are unanimous in their opinion that moist soil and pasture lands are best suited for its cultivation. Its thin roots are pulled out and planted. Its *Mulukh* are also planted. Its *awtad* and seeds also, after special preparation, twice every year—in spring and autumn. According to (ط) the same kind of soil and atmosphere are suitable for it as for *Safarjal.*

To sow its seeds, a ripe fruit is plucked, its seeds are dried in a cool place and sown in mid-February and sprinkled with water. When the shoot sprouts to a good size (about half the length of a hand) the supply of water should be increased. The best time for planting it (or sowing its seed) is when the moon is waxing bright. The usual cow dung manure with apple and sweet almond leaves is recommended. It can be transplanted from November to the end of March. [But (ص) says it should be transplanted in January and February, with a distance of 20 spans between two plants. The best place for it is near springs.]

If the apple plant flowers before its new leaves come out it is a sign that it will bear fruit the same year. It is amenable to grafting with allied plants. Ibn Sina writes that the apple invigorates the heart. It is both food and medicine.

§ *Cultivation of Mees* (a variety of *Nashm*)

It has round fruits black in colour (somewhat bigger than *filfil* or pepper), with stone seed. They are somewhat sweet and are eaten in October.

§ *Azadarakht.*

According to (ط) it grows from seed and is a hardy plant. It is made into a paste and applied to human hair which it colours black and strengthens its growth.

§ *Mishmish* (*Zard Alu*), apricot, also called al-barquq in Arabic and *Tuffah-i-Armani* (*Prunus Armeniaca*).

(خ) gives two varieties of it; one with small grains, the other with large. Its seeds are sown and *Khuluf* (thin twigs sprouting near roots) are also planted. The seeds are sown from the beginning of February to the end of March (4 to 7 seeds put in each pit). When the roots sprout they should be protected from cold in winter and transplanted later, the ground being dug up and properly prepared. Saghrit recommends sowing and planting during the waxing of the moon.

§ *Shaftalu* (or *Tuffah-i-Farsi, Prunus Persica*). It is of various kinds; *Misri, Shatavi* etc. Yunius is quoted in support of the view that if it is sown in soil rich in natural moisture it bears large fruits and grows very fast. It is well to graft it with *Alu Bukhara* (Prunus domestica). It is better to sow *Shaftalu* seeds than plant its *Mulukh, awtad* or *Nawami* (as it is a gummy plant), and to sow the seeds in August and September and transfer the sprouts to cisterns or earthen vessels in January and February. When it grows to a fair size (in about two years) it should be transplanted in pits three spans deep with ten hands length distance between two. But it is better to keep them close to support each other's weight of fruit.

Apricot ('Uyun-ul-Baqar, Alu Bukhara).

Solon recommends sowing it in damp pits. (ط) writes that it requires treatment with manure (Cow dung, human excreta and dry earth well mixed. Its fruit stone is sown in January or February in cisterns or earthen pots with a distance of a span between two fruit-stones covered with mud and manure three fingers deep and watered till it sprouts, which will happen in March to April. Then it is transferred from vessel to cistern after a year, and transplanted the following year in pits at least three spans deep (in October, January, February and March) with twelve hands length distance intervening between two pits. It can be grafted to *Zard Alu* (i.e. *Prunus Armeniaca*) and *Habb-ul Muluk* etc.

§ *Cultivation of the Date Palm.*

It is of various kinds with a number of different names like *Barri, 'Ajwah, Shahrir, Kasnah* etc. Ibn Hajjaj, on the authority of Yunius recommends sinking a pit of depth equal to two hands and of the same breadth and filling it with mud mixed with manure, but leaving about half a hand length unfilled. The date fruit-stone should be laid in it lengthwise (not erect) covering it with a mixture of mud, manure and salt.

The pit should then be overspread with grape-wine twigs and irrigated freely. When the plant sprouts and grows to a good size it may be transplanted, if necessary.

Demicrates is of opinion that the pit should be only one hand deep and completely filled with mud and manure; that the depression along the length of the seed should be cut into a slit and buried with the slit surface in contact with the ground. The surrounding soil should be dug and loosened every year and treated with common salt. When the same kind of date fruit-stones are sown different varieties of flowers and fruits come out, but if the fruit-stones of a tree that has grown from a fruit-stone are sown the same kind of fruit will be obtained.

Dates from a green fruit stalk may be used to make bread as follows:—Remove their skin and cut their soft inner portions into small pieces; then dry them thoroughly in the sun. When these pieces are ground to Powder and boiled once or twice with a salt solution (to remove the acrid taste) and treated with leaven from wheat or barley flour and left alone for a time, they can then be kneaded into dough with water mixed with salt and baked. Shoots sprouting from the roots of a date palm are also planted. (They give better fruits).

Date trees must be supplied with salt every year. Sediment from old wine is also said to be good for them.

Horticulturists provide for the mating of male plants with female date plants by sprinkling the dust or powder that is formed on the flowers of the male plant on the flowers of the female. This is performed naturally by bees in their search for honey.

In the Traditions of our Holy Prophet it is recorded that he used to break his fast with dates. According to Abu 'Abdullah fresh ripe dates are a good cure for ordinary ailments and are always very soothing. It is stated that if a man eats seven ripe dates regularly before going to bed all the bad worms in his stomach will die.

§ *Cultivation of Funduq (Indian equivalent, Kashmiri or Hill almond).*

(ج) gives four kinds of it:—*Amlisi, Tarjin, Ba'rar and Masdi.* It prefers white soil with plenty of water. Some kinds have round and others elongated fruits. It is really a wild plant and flourishes among rocks. Its root is cut and planted in gardens where it grows well and bears fruit. It needs no manure and no attention. Poisonous animals shun it. Snakes and scorpions do not come near it. It is said that scorpions run away from a man who carries it.

Its fruit-stones are sown and its upper and lower twigs are amenable to *Istislaf.* The pointed end of the stone-seed is placed upward and its twigs are spread out like the grape-vine. Its pit is dug four spans deep with a distance of ten spans between two, and profusely watered. But it needs no manure. It bears fruit in May, which ripens

in September or early October.

§ *Cultivation of the grape-vine.*

Grapes are found in different forms and colours : some round, some elongated; some red, others yellow; some are fit to be eaten soon, others after a long time. Ibn Hajjaj found autumn the best time for their cultivation, as there is less water then and the vine takes root in the soil firmly. Vine cuttings should be planted in an inclined position.

According to Yunius the grape-vine must be planted in good soil well mixed with manure, and the mixture sprinkled on its roots also.

Ibn Hajjaj quoting Yunius says that vine cuttings should be planted in soil free from thorny shrubs and rubbish. After a year when the cutting will have taken root the surrounding ground should be dug out and the roots that appear on the surface should be removed by a piece of iron to enable the roots to sink deep. After two years the soil round the plant should be dug out and loosened. Its pit should be three feet long and one foot broad. Whether the vine stands by itself or is trained to creep on trees (not higher than 8 feet), vine twigs should as far as possible be made to assume easterly directions (not towards west or north). There should be a distance of 15 hands' length between two creepers. Fruit trees (with small roots, like pomegranate, apple or olive) may be planted between them; they will do no harm.

Yunius is of opinion that black soil that is not very hard is good for vine cultivation (as it does not absorb much water in the rainy season). Elevated ground like the side of a hill is agreeable to vine cultivation for the heat of summer would be moderated by the blowing of the wind.

Yunius is of opinion that land bordering on rivers is good for the vine "as it contains both moisture and heat." Curiously enough he condemns planting the vine near streams which are infested with abundance of frogs.

Demicrates and Qastus hold that the vine cuttings should be neither from old trees nor from very new ones but from trees of average age. They must not be very hard nor very light. Their knots should not be very distant from one another. They should also be planted immediately after they are cut; preferably after moistening them with water.

Sholon does not recommend planting twigs from vine not yet seven years old, nor from much older vines.

In (ط) it is written that the proper time for cutting twig from grape-vine is from the 1st. to the 5th. of the lunar month, during morning hours and the best season is autumn (as stated previously). It is well to plant the cuttings in sandy soil. If the *'uyun* (eyes on a twig are close to one another a length of 8 to 12 *'uyun* is recommended. If they are distant, the length should be from 6 to 8.

§ *What distance should intervene between consecutive grape-vines?*

In the case of vines that are not trained to climb round a support but are allowed to spread on the ground, there should be a distance of 6 steps between two rows and of 4 steps between their roots. In the case of vines that climb round trees there should be a distance of 20 steps between their rows and 7 steps between their roots. For vines trained to grow on trellis-work, the corresponding distances should be reduced to half.

According to Saghrit, trees on which the vine is made to climb should consist of only a single stem (like the *Sanobar* or Fir). Trees with multiplicity of branches are not suitable for this purpose. These trees also should be treated with manure but to a lesser extent than the vine. First of all the vine with its root should be planted in a pit 3 hands' length distant from the tree and the ground round the vine should be dug up regularly until the vine becomes robust then it should be spread on the ground and brought nearer and nearer to the tree until it comes into contact with it, pulling out with finger-nail all the *'uyun* except one. (Then follows a discourse of conflicting views as to whether it is best to let the vine climb trees or trellis-work or lie on the ground. We need not take notice of it).

When the grape-vine attains to 10 or 12 years age, it begins to bear fruit, some say, after 15 years. As a safeguard against cosmic and mundane calamities it is recommended to place small pieces of stone between consecutive plants. Susad gives the following recipe for improving and invigorating vines. Vine leaves should be mixed well with pumpkin and *Khatmi* leaves, dried in the sun, pounded together, mixed with droppings from pigeons, human excreta and cow dung, then moistened with water till the colour and smell of the mixture is changed. It is then dried and treated with mud from dust heaps and roads, and pounded with linseed husk till it resembles dry earth. The ground round the vine roots is dug up and this mixture is applied to it with plenty of water.

§ *Time for sowing grape seeds and Zabib (Hindi=Dakh).*

The time recommended for sowing large seeds of *Zabib* (also called *Mawiz*) is from mid-February to the end of the month. The seed should be soaked in olive oil for 7 days, and 7 to 12 seeds should be sown in each pit and covered with mud and well irrigated. Some barley flour may with advantage be put in warm water and baked with mud.

Saghrit recommends planting between vines such vegetables as Cucumber (cucumis utilissimus), Pumpkin and *Khurfa* (Portulaca Oleracea). Some others mention *Baqla, Mash* (black gram), *Krisnah* (i.e. *Matar* or pea, *Lobia* (Phaseolus lunatus), *Kuzbarah* (Urdu Dhanya= Coriander) and similar vegetables. Planting of beetroot is also stated

to be good for the grape-vine.

§ *Cultivation of grape-vine according to seasons and the lunar months.*

Vine twigs are amenable to *Tat'im* (feeding), also to *Takbis* (extraction of suckers) for roots to sprout, and to transplantation afterwards by *Istislaf*. Its *awtad* can also be planted and seeds sown. The time for all these operations is stated to be from the beginning of the lunar month to the 24th day. But (ق) recommends the latter half of the lunar month or in October, when the fruit is fully ripe for plucking. As already stated, the proper soil for it is sandy and salt.

[The next section deals with the methods in vogue in Ishbelia (Seville in Spain) for vine cultivation.]

Thereafter follow in succession sections dealing with planting of twigs that are later transplanted, and with planting of vine in pits and sowing of grape seeds.

§ *Cultivation of Sugar-cane.*

Ibn Hajjaj says its roots can be planted till 20th March. Andalusian horticulturists are of opinion that low ground exposed to sunshine and close to water is good for it. Its shafts as well as roots are used in cultivation. Deep pits should be dug and filled with thin nauseating manure, (or simple cow dung).

(خ) is of opinion that if its root is planted it should be plucked and put in a pit of dimensions appropriate for its size, and covered with mud and manure—with a distance of 1½ hands' length between two roots, and watered every fourth day. When it grows to the size of a span the ground should be dug up and loosened, treated with excess of goat's manure and irrigated every eighth day till the following October; then the watering should be stopped.

To plant its *Qasab* (or shaft) a thick portion should be selected with knots close to one another. They should then be buried completely in mud and left there till March; then taken out and cut into pieces, each piece containing at least 3 knots, (some say 6 knots). Then they should be planted in cisterns, with at least 4 knots submerged in soil, (the rest exposed to air above) and sprinkled with cow dung). There should be a distance of a hand's length between two pieces. This is done in autumn (September or October) and treated liberally with water till the shafts grow.

Another method of planting its *Qasab* (or shaft) is to make it stand erect. This ensures its rapid growth. It should be cut every year in February. According to (خ) its life period is 3 years. It is best to plant it in a place where goats and sheep are quartered and their

droppings accumulate.

To extract sugar from the sugar-cane, it should be cut in small pieces and put in a revolving press (Arabic *Mi'sarah*) and its juice squeezed out, collected and poured into a large deep open vessel and boiled for a suitable time. The scum that accumulates on the surface should be carefully removed and the clear liquid again placed on the fire till it is reduced to a fourth of its original volume. Then the liquid should be poured into clean earthenware vessels and left to crystallize in the shade. Its residue is given to horses to fatten them.

§ *Cultivation of the banana or plantain.*

(خ) describes plantain leaves to be very large with rounded and thin edges. Their length is stated to be about 12 spans and breadth about 3 spans. In (ط) we find that soft black and tasteless soil is good for it. Such soil always needs careful supervision. North and west winds are said to be particularly injurious to the banana plant but south and east winds are said to be salubrious. A shoot or sucker resembling the onion develops near the root of the banana plant. When this is planted we get the plantain.

Another method of its cultivation is given as follows: A good banana fruit is taken and a yam (or *Qulqas*) root is ground fine and made into a ball with it, sown in the ground and well-watered.

(خ) and (غ) recommend making cisterns (close to a wall facing the sunshine) in well-prepared ground, treated with liquid manure and irrigated. Plantain suckers or shoots are plucked in March and planted in cisterns in pits 2 or 3 spans deep with 6 hands' length distance between two plants. The pits are then filled with mud mixed with manure and *gently* pressed. The day the suckers are planted they should be well-watered. Later on they may be watered every fourth day till the following March, afterwards every eighth day.

(خ) says the plantain tree grows to a height of 10 spans and bears fruit after 2 years in the form of a large cluster or bunch, weighing about 50 *ratls*. The bunch may be cut (when grown to its full size) and hung in the house to ripen slowly. After cutting the fruit bunch the branch carrying it withers and falls, but a new shoot soon grows by the side of the old one.

§ *Cultivation of the Bamboo (Qasab) i- Bayan).*

It is known also as Persian *Qasab* and grows well in low moist sandy soil by the side of canals or springs. (But *Narkal* or reed thrives in dry soil).

Bamboos are used in making sheds for houses and supports for grape-

vines etc. The bamboo is planted in the same way as the sugar-cane. Its root is extracted in January or February and is planted in rows along lines dug out in the ground. A hand's length distance is recommended between two lines. Pits are dug along these lines and the roots planted in them and covered with mud 3 fingers deep, with a distance of 3 spans between two pits and irrigated. All this is done in autumn on a cloudy day, and cattle manure, especially cow dung applied.

(خ) recommends watering it once in four days until it begins to grow, then once a week till summer. The bamboo is cut in early autumn. It is injurious to cut it after October. When cut, care should be taken not to leave any portion of it on the ground.

Fresh green pieces of the bamboo are planted for cultivation. Every piece should have at least two knots on it. If it is not convenient to remove the stumps that remain on the ground after cutting the tree, they should be covered with dry grass or straw and burnt. The bamboo should not be planted in a place where there is much smoke as it breeds worms which do much injury to it.

§ *Cultivation of Dardar (Persian Kanjak)*, Urdu *Bewla*.

(خ describes three kinds of it, one fruitless, the other two with fruits. These latter are subdivided into 2 varieties : one bearing thick fruits, the other thin. (ص), (خ), (غ) and other horticulturists recommend low ground for it near springs or canals. Its *awtad* are planted and seeds are also sown (in January or February). As its tree grows to a large size there should be a considerable distance between them.

§ *Cultivation of Safira.*

There are several kinds of it. Some grow in water and have leaves like the mulberry plant (only smaller in size). Some bear no fruits, others do. Their fruits are poisonous. Only its leaves are of use in dyeing. It is said to be quite extinct now.

§ *'Ullaiq or Ward-i-Jabali.* (Trees planted round gardens.)

Medical men call *'Ullaiq* and *Ward-i-Jabali, Nasrin* (in Urdu *Seyuti*). Abu Hanifah is reported to have held that *Ward-i-Jabali* resembles the rose and after a year turns into *'Ullaiq*. Its fruit is like *Bahmani* and is red with pointed edge. Inside the fruit there is soft pulpy matter like cotton wool and its flower resembles the white rose tinctured slightly red. Its twigs are cut and planted ; its seeds are also sown. When the fruits ripen their seeds are pressed out and washed, then dried and sown in October before the rains set in. An alternative method is to

bury the ripe fruits with their robust twig in the ground, cover with mud and irrigate.

§ *Cultivation of Ẓa'rur.*

It grows wild among rocks. Its fruits are deep red or deep yellow, with one, or more generally two soft seeds inside. It is rather difficult to cultivate as it is prone to catch disease, from which it can be cured by sprinkling with warm water and blood.

§ *'Ausaj.*

It is planted generally round gardens and vineyards for their protection. There are a number of varieties of it; some have white flowers, some red. Some bear fruits which are gathered and eaten. When it becomes very old, its fruit assumes a deep red colour and acquires the size of a gram, with delicious flavour.

NEW BOOKS IN REVIEW

KITAB-I-NAURAS (Urdu) Edited by Dr. Nazir Ahmad, published by Danish Mahal, Lucknow, pp. 168, Price Rs. 2/8.

KITAB-I-NAURAS is a collection of poems of Ibrahim 'Adil Shah (988-1037 A.H.) who was the sixth king of the 'Adil Shahi dynasty of Bijapur. He was a king who patronised art, letters and music. During his long reign of 45 years, Bijapur became the centre of learning, arts, music and architecture. Hundreds of men of eminence in various cultural fields thronged his court. They came from Persia, Arabia, 'Iraq, Northern India and Gujerat. When Gujerat was conquered by Akbar, this king of Bijapur sent his envoys with rich presents to the literary men and artists of Gujerat to come to his court where they all readily assembled and were munificently rewarded. A great many people migrated to Bijapur during his reign, with the consequence that the language of Bijapur itself was influenced to such an extent that some of the Dakhni poets who composed poems after this influx named their language Gujri. This shows that their style of writing was enormously affected

Ibrahim 'Adil Shah himself composed many poems in a language which is neither Dakhni nor Gujri, but a mixture of languages that were used by musicians for musical songs in those days all over India, including Kannada which was the language of the soil.

Dr. Nazir Ahmad has done a great service to Indian music and philology by preparing a text of these poems after collating about ten manuscripts and publishing them with an introduction and notes. But his life sketch of the author, Ibrahim 'Adil Shah, is not quite satisfactory. He ought to have given a complete biography of the poet-king whose life was full of political and social adventures. His birth, his pedigree, and the influence of Chand Sultana of Ahmednagar who was his aunt should have also been dealt with in a detailed manner. Because it was she who influenced him to be a man of letters, a broad-minded gentleman, a generous king and a valiant warrior. The editor has mentioned the fact that he came to the throne at the early age of nine, but he has not pointed out the genial surroundings in which he was brought up under the control of that sagacious ex-queen of Ahmednagar.

He has also omitted to mention that Ibrahim flourished in an age which was an epoch of poetry and music, that his contemporaries all over the world were patrons of art and culture, such as Queen Elizabeth of England, Louis XIV of France, Shah Abbas Safavi of Persia, Akbar the Great and Md. Quli Qutb Shah of Golconda. He could have easily compared these courts in their patronage of arts and literature, and the significance of Ibrahim who had not only patronized arts and letters but had himself composed a unique work in Indian poetry and music, and was acclaimed as "Jagat Guru" by famous poets and musicians of India. He was a reformer and patron of the famous Karnataka music which is now considered to be a very advanced music of Southern India. This is the reason why he composed mostly in Kannada *Rags* which the editor had failed to mention (see p. 18).

He should have, at least, gone through the *Ibrahim Namah* (the life of Ibrahim) in Dakhni This *mathnawi* gives all the cultural details of his life, his everyday programme, his palaces, his favourite elephants

and horses, his musical instruments, and other details. Copies of the manuscripts of this life of Ibrahim are treasured in the library of the Idara-i-Adabiyat-i-Urdu of Hyderabad and the library of the Raja of Oundah. But unfortunately the editor has ignored this source also. He has also forgotten to mention another published work which deals with the regents who ruled his state during his minority. This is written by Mr. 'Ali Mohsin, and was published by the Osmania Graduates' Association in 1932.

It is a mistake to consider *Nauras* as a book in the Dakhni language. This shows that the editor probably has not gone through the Dakhni books of Ibrahim's age. Shah Miranji and Shah Burhanuddin Janam wrote Dakhni poetry in Bijapur before and after the birth of Ibrahim and their books are found in many libraries of India, and some of their poems have been published also, such as the *Sukh Suhila* of Janam printed in the Allahbad University Journal, and many selections in *Urdu Shahpare, Urdu-i-Qadim, Dakhan-men-Urdu,* and *Tadhkirah-i-Urdu Makhtutat.*

It is due to this that observations made on the language of *Nauras* have been miscalculated and lead to several kinds of misunderstandings and wrong information. The Editor has not recognised the existence of Braj Basha and Kannada words and technical terms as well as verbal forms and thus has not understood and has not translated many poems correctly. The portion which deals with the grammar and characteristics of this language is copied from *Hindustani phonetics and Hindustani Lisaniyat* by Dr. S. M. Qadri Zore without giving reference (pp. 28-32).

He has misread many Dakhni words and terms also. The mother of Ibrahim 'Adil Shah was popularly called Bare Sahib and not Bari Sahiba, as the editor has read and transcribed (Geet No. 11 pages 74 and 120). Nusrati and other poets of Bijapur have also used this title of the Queen Mother in other poems in this way. The editor has not realised that in the Deccan respectable women are also addressed as men. Even today they say not "Begum Sahiba bolin" but "Begum Sahib bole" i.e. in the masculine gender. The verb forms are also become masculine. Another example of misreading is the word '*Kanchini*' (dancing woman) which has been pronounced and transcribed as 'Ganijan' (page 8). Many such examples are to be found in the main text of the *Nauras* also. (See Achrach on pages 34,106 in place of Achraj an ordinary Hindi word. See Mulki Jahan for Malikae jahan on page 83).

The editor also says nothing about the religious tendencies of the author. Had he dealt with this topic he could have added more material to many portions of this work, e.g. their subject matter, and the various topics on which the King expressed his feelings and ideas. As a matter of fact Ibrahim 'Adil Shah, like Akbar the Great, had changed his religious outlook several times in his long reign of nearly half of a century (i.e. Imamia or Shi'ite). He was born a Sunni but in his childhood he followed the religion of his uncle, 'Ali 'Adil Shah who was the then reigning monarch. Afterwards, owing to the influence of Chand Sultana, he reverted to Sunni rites. After that he again became a Shi'a. Later he turned to patronize Wahabism and Mahdawism. In the meanwhile he began to evince keen interest, like Akbar in Hinduism This is the reason of his praising the Hindu deities (like Indra, Parbati, Som, Durga, Laxmi, Ganesh), in some of his poems which the editor has erroneously attributed to the influence of musical technical terms.

Another striking mistake committed by the editor and dealt with and dwelt upon in a detailed manner (pages 19-23), while comparing different existing manuscripts of *Nauras* (pages 42-59) is that he considers it to be a continuous book. As a matter of fact it was not compiled continuously or at one stretch only. Ibrahim 'Adil Shah composed different *dohas* and songs in different periods of his life and for different occasions. The same is the fact with the *Diwan* of Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah of Golconda. Both these contemporary kings used to compose poems for different occasions and ceremonies. They were meant to be sung in their courts by court musicians. They were collected by the court musicians and poets at different times. Thus the editor's discussions about the date of compilation of this book is superfluous and futile. The reference to

Chand Sultana (his aunt) or Chand Bibi (his wife, who was a sister of Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah of Golconda) to decipher the date of compilation, is quite unnecessary and misleading. He might have written a poem when Chand Sultana was alive, but this does not prove that all the poems were written during her lifetime. Thus it may be inferred that his *Nauras* is an anthology of poems. These poems were collected and compiled at different occasions during the King's last forty years and the difference in text is due to the fact that they were copied by different royal calligraphists on different dates. Hence they differed in the number of *dohas* and also in some cases in spelling and pronunciation of words and technical terms.

The editor's knowledge of the history, culture and customs, and language of the Deccan seems incomplete as is evident here and there. In the 'Adil Shahi and Qutb Shahi dynasties the kings did not use new titles after their coronations as was the case with the Moghal Emperors. They generally appended their family titles after their names, for example, Ibrahim and Mohammad of Bijapur were called Ibrahim 'Adil Shah and Muhammad 'Adil Shah and those of Golconda were called Ibrahim Qutb Shah and Muhammad Qutb Shah but the editor of this book thinks that their real names are Ibrahim 'Adil and Muhammad 'Adil and calls them as such (see page 144). Such names were never in vogue in the Deccan. The princes were addressed as only Muhammad Sultan or Ibrahim Sultan and not as Muhammad 'Adil or Ibrahim 'Adil. The title 'Adil Shah or Qutb Shah was added after the original names only when they ascended the throne.

While appreciating the pains the editor has taken, it is suggested that the book may be revised and the mistakes pointed out correctd. As it is likely to be translated into English and Hindi, it is advisable that the corrected edition may be translated.

S. M. Qadri Zore.

KULLIYAT-I-ABJADI IV Sharhi-Tuhfati Iraqain p. 288 and (Haqiqat Nama p. 15) by Ismail Khan Abjadi,—edited by Mohd. Husain Mahwi & Mohd. Yusuf Kokan Madras University Islamic Series No. 16.

IN the Preface Mr. Mohd. Yusuf Kokan has given in urdu a detailed biographical sketch of the poet—Afzaluddin Ibrahim ibn 'Ali Haqa'iqi, Surnamed Khaqani. Khaqani has left many qasidas in praise of a number of kings, nobles etc., of his time. He lived in Tabriz and died there, probably in (A.H. 595/1198 A.D.) and lies buried in the graveyard of Surkhab. During the last stage of his intellectual career he seems to have become disgusted with urban life. He disliked wine and has composed several poems disparaging it. He does not seem to have had much respect for philosophy and its devotees as is evident from some of his verses. He also realized that wealth and real merit rarely go together.

The Commentary was written by Mir Ismail Khan Abjadi, Poet Laureate at the Court of Walajah I of Madras, ruler of the Carnatic in 1200 A.H. (1785 A.D.). A press copy of the Commentary was prepared by Maulawi Muhammad Husain Mahwi in 1948. The printing of this work could not be done during his tenure of office. When it was taken up in 1952, it was found necessary to revise the press copy. As Abjadi's explanatory notes did not include in full the verses of *Tuhfat-al-Iraqain*, the reader would have found it difficult to follow the Commentary without the aid of the original text. Therefore all the relevant verses commented upon had to be inserted in their proper places in order to provide greater facility for the reader. This was done in Urdu entirely by the present Junior lecturer Mr. Mohd. Yusuf Kokan. He has also re-written the introduction to the work prepared by Mr. Mahwi and has added new notes whenever necessary.

Afzaluddin Khaqani was a great persian poet—one of the greatest of all times. Abjadi's Commentary is comprehensive and throws much light on the life and poetry of Khaqani.

Haqiqat Nama is a short treatise in Urdu verse by Mir Ismail Khan Abjadi. It gives mystical interpretation of some of the verses of the *Mathnavi* of Maulana Jalaluddin Rumi.

Mohd. Abdul Rahman Khan.

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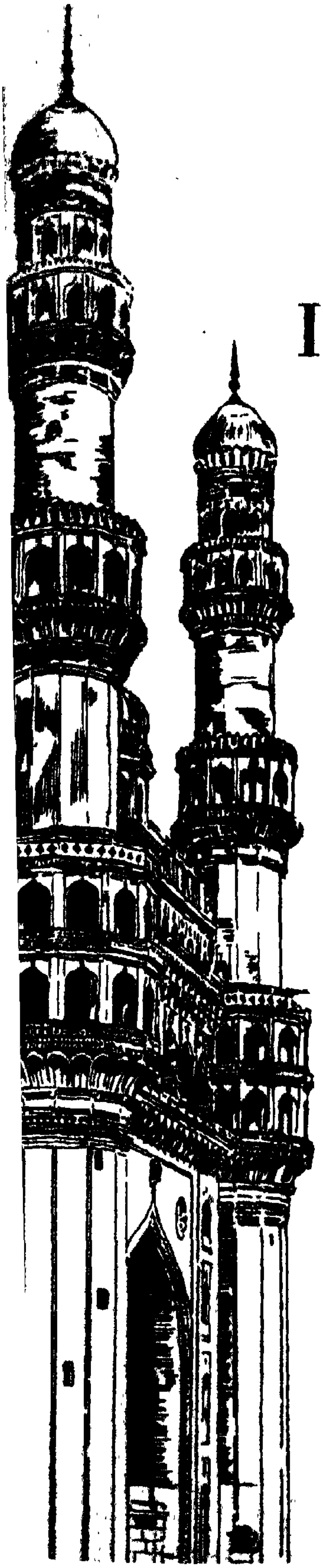
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[*And say: My Lord! Increase me in Knowledge.—Qur'an*]

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CONTENTS

LITERARY AND SCIENTIFIC DEVELOPMENT AND THE GROWTH OF RATIONALISM IN THE TIME OF AL-MAMUN

S. B. SAMADI*

IT is a remarkable fact that the Arabs—later so renowned for their literary pursuits did not pay much attention to knowledge in pre-Islamic days. Their civilization then was at a low level and they did not require much learning and thought in their ordinary daily life of simple habits and easy manners. Most of them could not even read or write. Except poetry very few arts or sciences appear to have been known to them. They, however, started to study the sciences, at first for the sake of understanding their own religion and to settle disputes and various controversies arising out of different interpretations of the Quranic text. By and by they began to discuss and write in detail on such matters, which led to a stupendous growth of religious sciences.

Their political victories brought them into touch with new things including various exact sciences of which the Syrians, Greeks and Persians were the masters and who under their Arab masters' yoke contributed a great deal to Arabic knowledge and culture.

A phenomenal progress was witnessed following the period of the orthodox Caliphs. The Umayyads were the beginners of the cultural advance which reached its utmost height when al-Mamun was ruling the Islamic world from Baghdad. Among the Umayyads, 'Abd al-Malik and his viceroy, Hajjaj Ibn-Yusuf, were great patrons of literature and the sciences. We are told that an Umayyad prince, Khalid Ibn-Yazid, busied himself with alchemy and medicine. He died in 85 A.H. (704 A.C.)[1]

He procured Greek and Coptic works on alchemy and himself wrote three treatises on that subject.[2]

1. Bakhsh-*Studies Indian and Islamic* p. 145. Ameer 'Ali: *Short History of the Saracens* p. 206 f. n.
2. Nicholson, *Literary History of the Arabs* p. 358.

* Dr. S. B. Samadi, M. A., Ph. D. Lecturer in Arabic, Lucknow University.

The first thought of the Umayyads was to arabicise the non-Arab conquered races[1] and for this purpose they improved the Arabic script and adopted Arabic as the official language replacing Syrian, Coptic and Persian. This provided a sound basis for the study and interpretation of the Qur'an as well as for the collection of Hadi*th* (Traditions of the Prophet).

The Arabic alphabet consisted almost entirely of consonants which gave rise to many difficulties in pronunciation, and foreigners found it difficult to learn and master Arabic characters, thus there was a great hindrance in the spread of this language. Hajjaj Ibn-Yusuf came to the rescue of Arabic. He had formerly been a schoolmaster of Ta'if and thus familiar with such things. He exerted himself in promoting the use of vowel marks (borrowed from the Syriac) and of dots placed above or below consonants.[2] Under his rule the conditions of life also became more settled and so there was leisure for the cultivation of learning. During this period a diligent study of the Qur'an and Traditions was made.[3]

This intense study of religion naturally led to freedom of thought which is the natural outcome of religious discussions and various interpretations were imparted to the Quranic readings. Many parties holding different views sprang up and destroyed the unity of Islam. Philosophy, which was introduced in Islam mostly by the Persians and Greeks, transformed the early tenets of Islam which were simple and pure. This foreign influence, after the downfall of the Umayyads led to the development of the exact sciences as well. Scientific progress and criticism of old beliefs are corelated.

The foreign trends affecting the Muslims were partly Indo-Persian and Syrian but mainly Hellenic. General development evolved out of the idea of rendering foreign knowledge into Arabic and translations were made from Persian, Sanskrit, Syriac and Greek.[4]

Scientific study took great strides during the Abbasid age and the School at Jundeshapur[5] continued to teach Greek philosophy and medicine down to the age when al-Mansur and al-Mamun were at the helm of affairs at Baghdad.

1. Nicholson : *Lit. Hist.* p. 201; Gibbon : *Decline and Fall* Vol. ii., p 27—under the reign of the Umayyads the studies of the Muslims were confined to the interpretation of the Qur'an, rhetoric and the poetry of their mother-tongue.
2. Nicholson : *Lit. Hist.* p. 202; Jurji Zaidan; *Umayyads* etc. p. 56. Nasr ibn 'Asim introduced the system of dots and vowel signs though prior to him Abu al-Aswad al-Duili, died in 69 A.H. (688-89 A.D.), had rendered signal service to the cause of grammar and punctuation; Ref. Nicholson : *Lit. Hist.* pp. 342-43; Jurji Zaidan: pp. 55-56.
3. Nicholson : *Lit. Hist.* p. 202.
4. cf. Huart *History of Arabic Literature*, (1903) p. 280.
5. After the name of Shapur I the Sassanian king. It stood on the site of the modern village Shahabad in Khuzistan, south-western Persia.

In the time of the second Abbasid caliph, al-Mansur, the task of translation of Greek learning into Arabic was taken up seriously,[1] and the movement begun by him developed still more assiduously under al-Mamun.[2]

At al-Mansur's instance books were, for the first time, translated into Arabic from Sanskrit e.g. *Kalilah wa Dimnah*, the famous collection of Indian stories. It was rendered into Arabic by Ibn al-Muqaffa'-a Zoroastrian convert to Islam from Pahlawi (medieval Persian), which was itself a rendition from Sanskrit.[3] What gives the Arabic version special significance is the fact that the Persian original was lost as was the Sanskrit one, though the material, in an expanded form, can still be found in the *Panchatantra*. The Arabic version, therefore, became the basis of all existing translations into some forty languages.[4] The other book translated was *Siddhanta* (Arabic *Sindhind*) [5], the original Indian work on astronomy.

From Greek were translated several books of Aristotle, the *Almagest* of Ptolemy,[6] and the book of Euclid's Elements. Besides these notable works many other old Greek, Byzantine, Persian, Syriac, Nabataean, Hebrew, Latin and Coptic books were translated.[7]

Mas'udi records that as soon as these books became accessible they were read and studied with eager and breathless enthusiasm.[8]

George Sarton in his *Introduction to the History of Science* [9] remarks that al-Mansur's age was memorable for the many translations from ancient oriental languages that were done under his benign patronage. Theodor Nœldeke has devoted a chapter to al-Mansur in his book, *Oriental Skizzen*,[10] but says little about the translators.

It is said that once some of the rugged Sheikhs of Arabia waited upon al-Mansur, seeking admission to the Caliph's presence and chafed at the Caliph's extreme engrossment in arts and sciences, which perhaps deprived them of seeing him.[11] Gibbon says that al-Mansur, besides his knowledge of Muhammadan Law, had applied himself with success to the study of astronomy.[12]

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1. Arnold : *Legacy of Islam* p. 315.
2. Ibid. p. 380.
3. Hitti : *History of the Arabs*. p. 308.
4. Cf. Rifa'i : *'Asr al-Mamun*, vol. i, p, 161.
5. Cf. Hitti : *Hist. of the Arabs*, p. 307.
6. *Al-Magisti* was first translated for Yahya ibn Khalid Barmecide, See Jurji Zaidan's tr. of *Tamaddune Islam* by Aslam Jairajpuri, vol. iii, pp. 139, 141.
7. Arnold : *Leg. of Islam*, p. 147; Cf. Ameer 'Ali *Spirit of Islam*, pp. 544-45; Jurji Zaidan, p. 143; Rifa'i : *'Asr al-Mamun*. vol. i, pp. 379-394.
8. Mas'udi : *Muruj al Dhahab* (Berbier de Meynard ed.), vol. viii, p. 291; Jurji Zaidan, p. 143.
9. George Sarton —*Introduction to the Hist. of Sciences*, Carnegie Instt. Washington Publication (William and Wilkins Co., Baltimore—1927) vol. i, -3.
10. Nœldeke: *Oriental Skizzen* (Berlin—1892), tr. into English by Black, Chap. iv., pp. 107-45.
11. Philby : *Harun al-Rashid*, p. 26.
12. Gibbon: *Decline and Fall* etc., vol. ii, p. 27.

Masha Allah and Ahmad ibn Muhammad al-Nihawandi—the oldest of the Arab astronomers—lived in the reign of al-Mansur. The former, who had been called by Abu al-Faraj the Phoenix of his time, wrote several valuable treatises on the astrolabe and the armillary sphere, and the nature and movements of the celestial bodies, works which still evoke the admiration of scientists. Ahmad al-Nihawandi wrote from his own observations an astronomical table *al-Musta'mal*—which was a decided advance upon the notions of both the Greeks and the Hindus.[1]

Ibn Khaldun has pointed out how al-Mansur tried his level best to do what he could for literary and scientific development. He says that he wrote to the Roman Emperor to send him some books on *Ta'lim.* He accordingly sent to al-Mansur the book of Euclid[2] and some books on the physical sciences. The Muslims studied these books, came to know of their contents and became still more eager to acquire what remained of them to be learnt.[3]

Once when he was afflicted with a stomach disease, which had baffled his physicians, al-Mansur summoned from Jundeshapur, the dean of its hospital, the Nastorian Jurjis (George) ibn Bakhtishu'[4] (ca. 771). There the language of instruction was Aramaic. Ibn Bakhtishu' making Baghdad his home, as we shall see presently, became the founder of a brilliant family, which for six or seven generations,[5] covering a period of two centuries and a half, exercised a complete monopoly over the court medical practice.

It was due to similar influences that we find the science of medicine to be the first and foremost among the sciences studied and patronised by all when literary and scientific studies began to grow during the days of al-Mansur and thus his reign may be called the golden age of learning and advancement.[6]

According to Hitti[7] Medicine was treated as the foremost among the sciences which were translated, as we shall see while discussing each branch separately. When dealing with each of them we shall take up the distinctive services rendered by Jurjis, his son Bakhtishu' and his grand son Jibril to the cause of Medicine.

Among other sciences developed in the age of al-Mansur, was astronomy. An Indian traveller introduced into Baghdad about 156 A.H.

1. Ameer 'Ali: *Spirit of Islam*, (1891) p. 550.
2. But this translation was dedicated to al-Mamun according to *Ency. Brit.* vol. iv, p. 758 and was called *Mamuni* while another one, called *Haruni*, was done during the days of Harun al-Rashid by Hajjaj ibn Matar, Jurji Zaidan: p. 141; *al-Fihrist* pp. 265 & 268.
3. Ibn Khaldun: Pr. p. 91; Hitti: *Hist*: p. 12.
4. *al-Fihrist*, p. 296; Ibn-al-'Ibri, pp. 213-15; Bakht, while ibn Abi 'Usaibiah p. 125 takes it for a Syriac word meaning servant is for Pahlawi Bokht (had delivered) making the family name mean "Jesus hath delivered."
5. Hitti: *Hist.* p. 309.
6. Gibbon: *Decline and Fall* etc. vol. ii, p. 27.
7. Hitti: *Hist.* pp. 308-09.

(773 A.D.) a treatise on Astronomy *Siddhanta* (Arabic *Sindhind*)[1] which by order of al-Mansur was translated by Muhammad ibn Ibrahim al-Fazari (between 796 and 806 A.D.), who subsequently became the first astronomer in Islam.[2] The famous al-Khwarizmi, (ca. 850) whose life sketch we shall take up in due course, based his widely known astronomical tables (*Zij*) on al-Fazari's work and synchrotized the Indian and Greek systems of astronomy, at the same time adding his own contribution.

It was also in al-Mansur's time that Abu Yahya ibn al-Bitriq (between 796 and 806 A.D.) translated from Greek major works of Galen and Hippocrates (fl. ca. 436 B.C.).

Following the age of al-Mansur was the age of Harun al-Rashid and that of al-Mamun. Both of them were highly interested in such activities. Philby remarks; "the reign of Harun al-Rashid and his son al-Mamun stands out conspicuously against the dark background of the world's ignorance as Beacons welcoming the rebirth of the arts and sciences after their long eclipse. The treasures of the past were eagerly sought out in their obscure hiding places, and the stored up knowledge of ancient Greece was replaced at the disposal of the world in Arabic translations of the works of her philosophers, astronomers, doctors, herbalists *et hoc genus omne*, while the more recondite tastes of the masses were catered for in treatises on astrology and hypnotism and the like. The torch of knowledge was relit and the taste for learning revived."[3] Thomas Arnold in the *Legacy of Islam*, which he edited, points out that the golden age of sciences and learning may be reckoned from 750 to 1100 A.D. but after 900 A.D. the period of decline started. The period under review is from 750 to 900 A.D. At this time the treasure houses of Islamic sciences just began to be opened and the old belief that philosophy undermined religion and that only the Book of God was sufficient to study gave away to new ideals.

It is related that a jew, Masir Jawaih, wrote a book on medicine in Arabic in the early Umayyad period and it was deposited in the Government treasury. People wished to study it during the reign of 'Umar II who hesitated in allowing this. Continually for forty days he invoked guidance from God[4] whether it ought to be done or not and then allowed

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1. According to the author of *'Asr al-Mamun*, Husain ibn Hamid known as ibn al-Adami relates in his book of a history entitled *al-Kabir* well known as *Nizam al-'Iqd* that this man possessed a unique book which was translated into Arabic by al-Fazari. This translation called *Sindhind al-Kabir* is considered to be the origin of all knowledge concerning this science. Its vernacular commentary was called *al-Dahr al-Dahir* cf. Rifa'i 'Asr. vol. i, pp. 162 et. seq.
2. Sa'id ibn Ahmad (al-Qadi al-Andalusi) *Tabaqat al-Umam* (ed. L. Chikho) pp. 49-50; Yaqut: *Udaba* vol. vi, p. 268; Mas'udi vol. 8, pp. 290-91; *'Asr al-Mamun* vol. i, p. 161.
3. Philby: *Harun al-Rashid* p. 60.
4. Istikharah equal to consult God by divination.

it. It was not a religious book yet they were so particular about it.[1]

Al-Mansur himself was interested in theology but he allowed books on astronomy, geometry and medicine to be translated into Arabic whereas no books on philosophy had been translated prior to the reign of al-Mamun. In the time of al-Mahdi some books on philosophy became popular but he ordered such books to be written as might refute "false notions" and this led to the development of scholastic theology.[2]

In the time of Harun al-Rashid people had become familiar with the ancient sciences as there was a constant influx of foreign doctors, physicians and scholars. People were cultured in general. It was a common practice to hold literary debates and discussions. They also patronised philosophy and logic and the Caliph showed respect to such people and entertained them at his court.[3]

Orders were issued to preserve libraries in the conquered countries and transfer them to the capital. Thus a large number of valuable books were collected at Baghdad. Harun al-Rashid himself followed this practice when he conquered Anqarah and Amuriah. He ordered his physician Yuhanna to translate many books into Arabic.[4] But the latter translated only books on medicine and did not touch those on philosophy.[5]

Freedom of thought provided a great stimulous to art and learning and all persons found it convenient to do what they wanted individually. Books on every subject were translated and introduced to the Arabic reading public and all national, religious and other restrictions were removed.

Al-Mamun from the very beginning of his life was an ardent lover of philosophy and free thought and was interested in the exact sciences as well,[6] so much so that one scholar and theologian, Fadl Ibn 'Iyad used to pray for a long life for Harun al-Rashid so that al-Mamun might never come to the throne as he apprehended great danger, through him, to Islamic tenets.[7] In the time of Rashid people were afraid of entering into religious discussions where Islam was criticised but as soon as al-Mamun occupied the caliphal throne, a change was observed. He was much in favour of rationalistic tendencies and being a master of theology he had studied all the niceties of religion with great assiduity. He had also read all the important books translated from other languages, and was fond of philosophy and logic. This led him to choose the

1. *Tarikh al-'Ulama* cf. Zaidan : *Islamic Civilization* pp. 130, 160; *Tarikh al-Hukama*.
2. Zaidan: p. 140.
3. Zaidan : pp. 140-41 for further details.
4. *Tabaqat al-Atibba* I, 175.
5. Abu al-Faraj p, 227; J. Z. J. p. 141.
6. E. I. iii, 221.
7. Nœldeke says al-Mamun was much ahead of his time. While he delved in philosophical discussions, Charlemagne studied knee-bent along with his companions in the palace-school, Rif. i, 394.

doctrine of rationalism (*the Mu'tazilah* doctrine) as his religion.

To understand free thought more thoroughly, he got Greek philosophy translated into Arabic so that he might find new arguments to convince people of his own views on rational religion. Moreover he was eagerly inclined towards the rationalistic sciences and did not consider any harm in getting them introduced among Arabs and Muslims. He got all the books of Aristotle translated into Arabic.[1] It was now that the new learning reached its climax.

According to authentic historians[2] Aristotle appeared to him in a dream and assured him that there were no real differences between religion and religious laws.[3] Al-Mamun put certain questions to Aristotle who was seen seated on a high throne. This may only be an allegory but nevertheless al-Mamun strove hard to get all the works of Greek philosophers, especially Aristotle translated into Arabic. For this purpose he requested the ruler of Sicily as well as the Byzantine Emperor to send old books to him and is credited to have dispatched emissaries as far as Constantinople in quest of Greek knowledge.[4] In this connection it is pointed out that the Emperor of Byzantine allowed some scholars of his court to go to al-Mamun and this he did after some hesitation. The hesitation on his part was on account of the following two reasons: (i) he did not want to let others have those treasures which he considered to be precious (ii) he felt a sort of humiliation in doing so. But finally he consented due to the fear he had of al-Mamun and further he was advised by the high priest (al-Matran al-Akbar) to accede to the request of the Abbasid Caliph because he told him that any nation, which adapted itself to such learning, was doomed to be destroyed.[5] It is also related that al-Mamun, who was a passionate lover of mathematics, sent for Leon, an adept mathematician, who resided at Constantinople, so that he might consult him at Baghdad and, on his refusal al-Mamun is said to have prepared even to take arms against the Byzantines.[6]

Thus old Syriac versions of Sergius (?) were revised and new ones added. The translators,[7] mostly Nestorian-Christians, had a command over Greek, Syriac, Arabic and Persian. Most of them wrote first in Syriac. In general the Syriac versions were prepared for Christian disciples and friends, while those in Arabic were intended for Muslim patrons. There was a general atmosphere of culture and learning all round, following the example of al-Mamun.[8] It seemed as if all the world from the

1. J. Z. J. pp. 142-3.
2. *Al-Fihrist*, p. 243; Cf J. Z. J. p. 143.
3. *Nich.* p. 359.
4. *Nich.* p. 358, Rif. vol. i, pp. 375-377; *Gib.* ii, 27.
5. Rifa'i. p. 375.
6. *Will.* VII-VIII, 211-15.
7. A detailed list of whose names will follow. See infra.
8. *J. Z. J.* p. 143.

Caliph down to the humblest citizen suddenly became keen students; and people, in quest of knowledge, travelled over three continents and returned home like bees, laden with honey, to impart their precious stores to a crowd of eager disciples.[1]

To quote Hitti: "There was an unparalleled intellectual awakening culminating to its fullest under al-Mamun's patronage."[2]

In his age poetry and literature reached their golden prime. It was then that Ibn Bakhtishu', Hunain b. Ishaq, Hubaish al-A'sam, Qusta b. Luqa, Masar Jawaih, Karkhi, Thabit b. Qurrah, Hajjaj b. Yusuf b. Matar, Istifan b. Basil, Musa b. Khalid, Sargis Yuhanna b. Baktishu', al-Bitriq, Naubakht, Hasan b. Sahl—the astronomer—and Ishaq b. Yazid flourished. Of these renowned scholars the family of the first seven of them also made a definite contribution to learning. Besides these, Ibn wahshiyah, the Nabataean, and some Hindus namely Manka and Ibn Dahan were also found there.[3]

The names of such poets and anthologists as Abu Tammam[4] and Buhturi, who made a halo round al-Mamun, may also be mentioned. Al-Waqidi, the historian, Al-Bukhari, the traditionist, and Ahmad b. Hanbal, the jurist were among the luminaries of this age.[5]

The names of Khwarizmi, Jabir b. Hayyan, al-Kindi, sons of Musa b. Shakir-viz Hasan, Ahmad and Muhammad, Yuhanna b. Masawaih, al-Farghani, al-Razi al-Battani, al-Farabi and many more[6] who need not be detailed here, should be included, as all of them individually as well as jointly contributed something tangible to the intellectual awakening that started in the time of al-Mamun. He certainly gave his name to the century of which he assured the literary glory.[7]

Al-Mamun in 830 A. D. at Baghdad developed the activities of the scientific academy called the Bait al-Hikmah or the House of Wisdom[8] and established a library and observatory.[9] The library contained about a million books,[10] many of which were in Indian, Persian and Greek languages. Attached to this house was a bureau of translation which in many respects proved the most important educational institution since the foundation of the Alexandrian Museum in the first half of the third century B. C.[11] He also established a college at Khurasan and a medical

1. *Nich.* p. 281.
2. *Hitti.* p. 298.
3. *J. Z. J.* pp. 144-49; *Hitti.* pp. 314-15.
4. *Ency. of Islam.* iii, 221.
5. *Arnold, Legacy* p. 17.
6. The names of al-Razi and al-Battani are included here as they were famous but no details need be given as they were not the contemporaries of al-Mamun.
7. According to a French historian quoted by Br. p. 259.
8. Huast. p. 281.
9. Sarton. p. 558. There was an astronomical observatory besides a well-stocked library under the charge of Sahl b. Harun. Nich. p. 359.
10. *J. Z. J.* p. 213.
11. *Hitti.* p 310; *F. I.* iii, 221.

school in Jundeshapur to which he devoted special care.[1]

The translations of the ancient works through the medium of Syriac brought antiquity to life as it were,[2] and it is very creditable that within three quarters of a century after the foundation of Baghdad, the Arabic reading world was in possession of the chief philosophical works of Aristotle, of the neo-Platonic commentators, and most of the medical writings of Galen as well as Persian and Indian scientific works. To continue the description of the school of Savants or the House of Wisdom, founded by al-Mamun, it may be added that it was meant to carry on the study and translation of Greek works with the utmost vigour and the Arabs gathered within a short interval of only a few years all that which took the Greeks centuries to develop.[3]

There were many other large libraries in the important cities of the vast empire mostly attached to some mosque or religious institution. For example, there were several of them founded and dedicated by the Barmecides or persons like Khatib al-Baghdadi.[4] Other dignitaries and wealthy persons interested in literary pursuits established semi-public libraries and endowed them handsomely. In these libraries books on logic, philosophy, astronomy and similar other sciences were found in abundance.[5]

Some of these libraries were quite modernised, with the books arranged in cases and listed in catalogues, with a regular staff to administer them.[6] Once in Rayy there flourished a 'House of Books' with over four hundred camel-loads of volumes, listed in ten large catalogues.[7] Libraries were also used as meeting places for literary and scientific discussions and debates.[8] Before discussing the various sciences developed during the reign of al-Mamun it will be better to give a list of some important books translated during the reign of al-Mamun and other Abbasid caliphs.[9]

I. BOOKS TRANSLATED FROM GREEK

(a) Philosophy and Literature

(i) Books of plato:

Name of work		Translator
1. *Kitab al-Siyasah*	(كتاب السياسة)	Hunain b. Ishaq
2. *Kitab al-Munasabat*	(كتاب المناسبات)	Yahya b. 'Adi

1. *Ency. Brit.* xiv, 758 of *Ency. Islam.* iii, 221.
2. *Ency. of Islam* iii, 221.
3. *Hitti* p 310.
4. Rifa'i. p. 375; *Yaqut* i, 252, and iv, 287.
5. *Yaqut*, v. 467.
6. *Maqdisi* p. 449; *Yaqut* v. 446.
7. *Yaqut*, ii. 315.
8. *Hitti*, pp. 413-14.
9. Rifa'i. pp. 381-94; J. Z. J. pp. 152-63.

(*i*) Books of Plato :—(Continued)

Name of work		Translator
3. *Kitab al- Nawamis*	(كتاب النواميس)	Hunain and Yahya
4. *Kitab Timaus*	(كتاب طيماوس)	Ibn al-Bitriq, corrected by Hunain
5. *Kitab Aflatun ila Aqartun*	(كتاب افلاطن الى اقرطن)	Yahya b. 'Adi
6. *Kitab al-Tauhid*	(كتاب التوحيد)	,, ,,
7. *Kitab al-Hiss wa 'l-Lazzat*	(كتاب الحس واللذة)	,, ,,
8. *Kitab Usul al-Handsah*	(كتاب اصول الهندسه)	Qusta b. Luqa

(*ii*) Books of Aristotle :

Name of work		Translator
1. *Qatighuriyas (al-Maqulat)*	(قاطيغورياس المقولات)	Hunain b. Ishaq
2. *Kitab al'Ibarat*	(كتاب العبارت)	Hunain (rendered it into Syriac)
3. ,, ,,	,, ,,	Ishaq (rendered it into Arabic)
4. *Tahlil al-Qiyas*	(تحليل القياس)	Theodore (تياذورس) corrected by Hunain
5. *Kitab al-Burhan*	(كتاب البرهان)	Ishaq (rendered it into Syriac and Mathews (متى) into Arabic)
6. *Kitab al-Jadl*	(كتاب الجدل)	Ishaq (rendered it into Syriac and Yahya into Arabic)
7. *Kitab al-Khitabat*	(كتاب الخطابة)	Ishaq and Ibrahim b. 'Abdullah
8. *Kitab al-Shi'r*	(كتاب الشعر)	Abu Bishr rendered it from Syriac into Arabic
9. *Kitab al-Sama, al-Tabi'i*	(كتاب السماء الطبيعى)	Abu Ruh al-Sabi and Hunain
10. *Kitab al-Sama wa 'l-'Alam*	(كتاب السماء و العالم)	Ibn Bitriq and corrected by Hunain
11. *Kitab al-Kaun wa 'l-Fasad*	(رساله الكون و الفساد)	Hunain rendered it into Syriac and Ishaq al-Dimashaqi into Arabic
12. *Kitab al-Athar al-'Alawiyah*	(كتاب الآثار العلويه)	Abu Bishr wa Yahya

(*ii*) Books of Aristotle :—(Continued)

Name of work		Translator
13. *Kitab al-Nafs*	(كتاب النفس)	Hunain rendered it into Syriac and Ishaq into Arabic
14. *Kitab al-Hiss wa al-Mahsus*	(كتاب الحس والمحسوس)	Abu Bishr and Mathews (متى) b. Yunus
15. *Kitab al-Haiwan*	(كتاب الحيوان)	Ibn al-Bitriq[1]

(b) Books on Medicine and on its Branches

(i) Books of Hippocrates :

Name of work	Translator
1. *Kitab 'Ahd-i-Abqarat*	Hunain into Syriac and 'Isa into Arabic
2. *Kitab al-Fusul*	Hunain
3. *Kitab al-Kasr*	,,
4. *Taqdimah al-Ma 'rifah*	Hunain and 'Isa b. Yahya
5. *Kitab al-Amrad al-Harrah*	'Isa b. Yahya
6. *Kitab al Ikhlat*	,,
7. *Kitab al-Ma 'wa 'l-Hawa'*	Hunain wa Hubaish
8. *Kitab al-Tabi'at al-Insan*	Hunain wa 'Isa

(ii) Books of Galen :

Name of work	Translator
1. *Kitab al-Farq*	Hunain b. Ishaq
2. *Kitab al Sana'ah*	,, ,,
3. *Kitab al-Nabd*	,, ,,
4. *Shifa al-Amrad*	,, ,,
5. *Al-Maqalat al-Khamsin*	,, ,,

1. The following three books of Aristotle were also translated by the translators mentioned below : in brackets (كتاب الحروف والالهيات) *Kitab al-Huruf wa al Ilahiyat* (Ishaq and Yahya and Hunain)— Kitab al-Akhlaq (Ishaq), (كتاب الاخلاق) Kitab al-Mir'at (كتاب المرآة) (al-Hajjaj b. Matar).

(*ii*) Books of Galen :—(Continued)

	Name of work	Translator
6.	*Al-Istiqsat*	Hunain
7.	*Kitab al-Mizaj*	,, ,,
8.	*Al-Quwa al-Tabi'at*	,, ,,
9.	*Al-Ilal wa 'l-Amrad*	,, ,,
10.	*Ta'arruf 'Ilal al-'ada al-Batinah*	,, ,,
11.	*Kitab al-Nabd al-Kabir*	,, ,,
12.	*Kitab al-Himayat*	,, ,,
13.	*Al-Buhran*	,, ,,
14.	*Ayyam al-Buhran*	,, ,,
15.	*Tadbir al-A'sha*	,, ,,
16.	*Hilat al-Bura*	,, ,,
17.	*Al-Tashrih al-Kabir*	Hubaish al-A'sam
18.	*Ikhtilaf al-Tashrih*	,, ,,
19.	*Tashrih al-Haiwan al-Hayy*	,, ,,
20.	*Tashrih al-Hawian al-Mait*	,, ,,
21.	*'Ilm al-Abqarat bi-'l-Tashrih*	,, ,,
22.	*Al-Hajat il-al-Nabd*	,, ,,
23.	*'Ulum-u-Arastu*	,, ,,
24.	*Tashrih al-Rahm*	,, ,,
25.	*Ara al-Abqarat wa Aflatun*	,, ,,
26.	*Al-'Adat*	,, ,,
27.	*Khisb al Badan*	,, ,,
28.	*Al-Mani*	,, ,,
29.	*Manafi 'al-A'da*	,, ,,
30.	*Tarkib al-Adwiyah*	,, ,,
31.	*Al-Riyadat bi 'l-Kurrat al Saghirah*	,, ,,
32.	*Al-Riyadat bi-'l-Kurrat 'l Kabirah*	,, ,,
33.	*Al-Hathth 'ala Talim 'l-Tibb*	,, ,,
34.	*Quwa al-Nafs wa Mizaj al-Badan*	,, ,,
35.	*Harakat al-Sadr*	Istifan corrected Hunain
36.	*'Ilal al-Nafs*	,, ,,
37.	*Harakat al-'Adl*	,, ,,
38.	*Al-Hajat ila-al-Nafs*	,, ,,
39.	*Al-Imtala'*	,, ,,

(ii) Books of Galen :—(Continued)

	Name of work	Translator
40.	*Al-Mirrat wa 'l-Sauda*	,, ,,
41.	*'Ilal al-Saut*	Hunain
42.	*Al-Harakat al-Majhulah*	,,
43.	*Afdal al-Hai'at*	,,
44.	*Su'al-Mizaj al-Mukhtalif*	,,
45.	*Al-Adwiyat al-Mufridah*	,,
46.	*Al-Maulud li Sab'at Ashhurin*	,,
47.	*Ridat al-Tanaffus*	,,
48.	*Al-Zubul*	,,
49.	*Quwa al-Aghdhiyah*	,,
50.	*Al-Tadbir al-Multaf*	,,
51.	*Mudawat al-Amrad*	,,
52.	*Al-Buqrat fi-'l-Amrad al-Harrah*	,,
53.	*Ila Trasubulus*	,,
54.	*Al-Tabib wa 'l-Failsuf*	,,
55.	*Kutub Abqarat al-Sahiha*	,,
56.	*Mihnah al-Tabib*	,,
57.	*Aflatun (Plato) fi Timaus*	Hunain and Ishaq
58.	*Taqdimat al-Ma'rifah*	'Isa
59.	*Al-Fasd*	'Isa and Istifan
60.	*Sifat li Sabiyin Yasrikhu*	Ibn al-Salt
61.	*Al-Auram*	,,
62.	*Al-Kimus*	Thabit and Hubaish
63.	*Al-Adwiyah wa al-Adwa'*	'Isa
64.	*Al-Tiryaq*	Ibn al-Bitriq

Besides these well-known books on medicine, a book entitled *al-Adwiyah* was translated by Istifan b. Basil and Hunain and 'Isa b. Yahya rendered the book *al-Sab'in Maqalat* into Syriac. He further translated it into Arabic.[1]

III. Books on Mathematics and astronomy[2] and other branches of knowledge including music, and mechanics etc. are as follows :

1. Rifa'i : *'Asr al-Mamun,* Vol. I. p. 385.
2. In which Hindus in India excelled over others. Cf. Jurji Zaidan *Isl. Civ.* Vol. 3 Tr. Jairajpuri p. 156.

1. *Euclid*—A book consisting of the principles of geometry was translated by al-Hajjaj b. Matar by order of Harun al-Rashid and as there were two translations of this work, this one was called *Haruni* while the next one done by Ishaq b. Hunain and corrected by Thabit b. Qurrah, was called *Mamuni*.[1] Abu 'Uthman al-Dimashqi also translated it (*Mamuni*) later on and it is still extant.[2]

2. Some other books of Euclid whose translators are not known are *Kitab al-Zahirat, Kitab Ikhtilaf al-Manazir, Kitab al-Qismat, Kitab al-Musiqi, Kitab al-Qanun and Kitab al-Thiql wal-Khiffah*.[3]

3. Among other works of repute the works of Ptolemy are worthy of note. His books *al-Magest* (المجسطى)[4] and *Kitab al-Arba'*, a book on geography, were also translated by Ibrahim b. Salt and Thabit, respectively. Hunain corrected the translation of the former.[5]

4. Books on music by Euclid and Pythagoras were also translated. Astronomical works such as *Kitab al-Usturlab al-Musattah, Jirm al-Shams wa 'l-Qamar, al'Amal bi Dhat al-Halaq, Jadawil Zij* by Ptolemy and *al'Amal bi 'l Usturlab* were also translated. Such works as *al-Hiyal al-Ruhaniyyah* or *Sahl al-Athqal*—the theory of raising or lifting heavy bodies or one about the flow of water named *Istikhraj al-Miyah* and another about the apparatus, which carried sound to a distance of sixty miles, that is *al-Alat al-Musawwita 'ala Sittina milan* were also rendered into Arabic but their translators are not known.

II.—BOOKS TRANSLATED FROM PERSIAN[6]

	Name of work	Translator
1.	*Kitab Rustam wa Isfandiyar*	.. Jablah b. Salim.
2.	,, *Bahram Shush*	.. ,, ,, ,,
3.	,, *Khudai Nama fi al-Sear,*	.. 'Abdullah b. Muqaffa'
4.	,, *Ain Nama*	.. ,, ,,
5.	,, *Kalilah wa Dimnah*[7]	.. ,, ,,

1. *Al-Fihrist* by Ibn al-Nadim, p. 265; Jurji Zaidan *Isl. Civ* cit. above pp. 141, 156 Rifa'i —*'Asr. al-Mamun* cit. above p. 385; also Jurji Zaidan cit. above p. 167.
2. Rifa'i, *'Asr. al-Mamun*, cit. above pp 385-86.
3. Rifa'i, *'Asr al-Mamun* cit. above p. 386; Jurji Zaidan *Isl. Civ.* cit. above p. 156.
4. Jurji Zaidan *Isl. Civ.* cit. above pp. 141-156. Its mention is made before hand there it is given that Yahya b. Khalid the Barmecide took interest in this book.
5. Rifa'i, *'Asr al-Mamun*, cit. above p. 386.
6. Rifa'i, *'Asr. al-Mamun* cit. above pp. 387-88; Jurji Zaidan *Isl. Civ.* cit. above pp. 157-58.
7. It was first translated from Sanskrit into Persian and then from Persian into Arabic which version only could be preserved while its original Sanskrit version and Persian translation were lost and the Arabic version alone served as the original, Nicholson, *Lit. Hist.* cit. above pp. 346, 363: Rifa'i, *'Asr al-Mamun* cit. above p. 386; Jurji Zaidan—*Tamaddun-i-Islam* tr. Margoliouth and Bukhsh—*Umayyads and Abbasids* Leyden 1907.

Books translated from Persian--(Continued)

	Name of work		Translator	
6.	*Kitab Mazdak*	..	'Abdullah b. Muqaffa'.	
7.	,, *al Taj fi Sirat Anushirwan*	..	,,	,,
8.	*al-Adab al-Kabir*	..	,,	,,
9.	*al-Adab al-Saghir*	..	,,	,,
10.	*al-Yatimah*	..	,,	,,
11.	*Kitab Hazar Afsana*	..	Translator not mentioned	
12.	*Shahr Zad ma'a Abarwez*	..	,,	,,
13.	*al-Karnamah Anusherwan*	..	,,	,,
14.	*Dara wa Sanam al-Dhahab*	..	,,	,,
15.	*Bahram wa Narsai*	..	,,	,,
16.	*Hazar Dastan*	..	,,	,,
17.	*al-Dubb wa al-Tha'lab*	..	,,	,,

III. TRANSLATIONS FROM SANSKRIT.

These included books on medicine,[1] astronomy, mathematics, geometry, numismatics and history. Most of these books formed the basis of future knowledge, for example a reference to India (Hindus) is often found in the *Qanun* of Ibn Sina (Avicenna) saying that they used to call a disease so and so and cured it in such and such a way.[2]

a) Books on medicine (Indian)

Name of work	Translator
كتاب سرد فى الطب	منكه
,, اسماء عقاقير الهند	منكه لاسحق بن سليمان
,, استانكر الجامع	ابن دهن
,, صفوة النجح	,,
,, مختصر الهند فى العقاقير	لم يذكر ناقله
,, علاجات الحبالى للهند	,,

1. He was a very proficient physician of India and translated books into Persian. Rifa'i *'Asr al-Mamun* p. 389: Jurji Zaidan *Isl. Civ.* cit. above p, 159.
2. Rifa'i *'Asr al-Mamun* p. 390; Jurji Zaidan *Isl. Civ.* cit. above p. 159 the last book in the list on poisons, by Shanaq was translated into Persian by Mankah. Yahya b. Khalid ordered Abu Hatim al-Balkhi to translate it into Arabic. Again it was translated for al-Mamun by 'Abbas b. Safaid al-Jauhari.

Name of work	Translator
كتاب روسا الهندبة فى علاجات النساء	لم يدكر ناقله
,, السكر للهند	,,
,, التوهم فى الامراض والعلل	,,
,, رأى الهند فى اجناس الحيات وسمومها	,,
,, النموذار فى الاعمار	كنكه
,, اسرار المواليد	,,
,, القرانات الكبير والصغير	,,
,, من نصنيف سيرك الهندى	عبدالله بن على
,, فى علامات الادواء و معرفة علاجها	
قوى الادوية	
فروع الطب	
كناب فى السموم من نصنبف شاناق نقله منكه الى الفارسى واوعز يحيٰى بن خالد الى ابى حاتم البلخى نقله الى العربى ثم نقله المامون على بد العباس دن سفيد الجوهرى	

b) Indian books on astronomy and mathematics.

Among prominent Arab scholars to devote themselves to these sciences and study Indian theories and books were Muhammad Ibrahim al-Fazari, Habash b. ʿAbdullah al-Baghdadi and Muhammad b. Musa al-Khwarizmi. Al-Fazari was the first to use the astrolabe (*usturlab*) among the Arabs [1] and next to him comes Abu Raihan al-Biruni.[2] The latter came to India, visited many places there, and learnt Indian sciences and literature.[3] Some Arabs engaged themselves in the translation of such works as reached them from India.

List of Indian books on astronomy translated into Arabic.

١ ـ جوامع الموجود لخواطرالهنود فى حساب التنجيم

٢ ـ خىال الكسوفين عندالهند

٣ ـ كيفبة رسوم الهند فى تعلم الحساب

٤ ـ تحصل الان من الزمان عندالهند

٥ ـ الجوابات على المسائل الواردة من منجمى الهند

٦ ـ حكاية طريقة الهند فى اسخراج العمر [4]

1. *Al-Fihrist* by Ibn al-Nadim p. 273. 2. Who died in 440 A. H. (1048-49-A. C.).
3. Rifaʿi *ʿAsr al-Mamun* p. 391; Jurji Zaidan *Islamic Civ.* cit. above p. 160.
4. Rifaʿi *ʿAsr al-Mamun* p. 391; Jurji Zaidan *Isl. Civ.* cit. above p. 161.

List of books on Indian Literature translated into Arabic.

They included Indian books on literature, history, logic, fiction and mythology.[1]

(فمنها كتب الهند فى الادب والناريخ والمنطق والاسماء والخرافات)

كتاب كابلة ودمنة	كتاب الهند فى قصة هبوط آدم
كتاب سندبادالكبير	كتاب طرق
كتاب سندبادالصغير	كتاب ديك الهندى فى الرجل والمرأة
كتاب البد	كناب حدود منطق الهند
كتاب بوداسف بوذاسف مفرد	كماب ساد پرم
كتاب ادب الهند والصين	كتاب ملک الهند و القمال والسياح
كتاب هابله فى الحكمة	كتاب بيدباق الحكمة

A book on Indian music was also translated. Its Indian name was *Biyafar* (ساقر) which means 'fruits of wisdom'. It contains all the rules pertaining to melodies, musical notes and modulations in music.[3]

IV. TRANSLATIONS FROM NABATAEAN

Nabataean[4] was studied side by side with its sister language Syriac, which was employed as a medium of rendering many Greek works into Arabic. Ibn Wahshiyyah was a reputed scholar of this language but his period was much later than that of al-Mamun. Some of his translations, however, include the following :-

كتاب الفلاحة النبطية	كماب الفلاحة الصغير
كتاب طردالشياطين و نعرف بالاسرار	كناب فى الطلسمات
كتاب السحر الكبير	كناب الحياة والموت فى علاج الامراض
كتاب السحر الصغير	كماب الاصنام
كماب دوار على مذهب النبط	كتاب القرابين
كتاب مذاهب الكلدانين فى الاصنام	كماب الطبيعة
كتاب اشارة السحر	كتاب الاسماء
كتاب اسرار الكواكب	

1. The original writer is said to be Bidpai. It was first translated into Persian then into Arabic as given above.
2. *Al-Fihrist* by Ibn al-Nadim p 305; Jurji Zaidan *Islamic Civ.* cit. above p. 161; Rifa'i *'Asr al-Mamun* cit. above pp. 391-92.
3. *Trajim al-Hukama;* Jurji Zaidan *Islamic Civilization* cit. above p. 161; Rifa'i *'Asr al-Mamun* p. 392.
4. Another name for it was *Kildaniyyah.*

Most of these works were translated into Arabic by Ibn Wahsh-iyyah.[1]

1. His period was from about 291. A.H. to 318. A. H. (903-4 A.D. to 930-31 A.D.) i. e. almost about a century after al-Mamun.(Jurji Zaidan, cit. above pp. 161-62; *al-Fihrist* cit. above p. 312; Rifa'i *'Asr al-Mamun* pp. 392-93.

2. *Al-Fihrist* cit. above p. 23; Jurji Zaidan *Islamic Civ.* cit. above p. 162.

(To be Continued)

EARLY YEARS OF SHAYKH 'IRAQI'S LIFE†

Y. D. AHUJA*

IN the historical map of ancient Iran Ecbatana,[1] the modern Hamadan, occupies a very distinguished place. Its foundation dates back to that dim antiquity about which the chronicles of Iran possess but a vague knowledge. As the legend puts it, Jamshid[2] was its original founder. It was in this valley that the mighty Cyrus established a great Iranian Kingdom on the ruins of the Median Empire.[3] Ecbatana, the royal residence of the Medes,[4] was converted into the summer palaces[5] of the Achaemenians, with its splendour unrivalled in the whole of Iran. The Achaemenian Empire was, in its turn, overthrown by Alexander, and it was to this city, as the story goes, that he carried thousands of carts and camels loaded with the priceless booty.[6]

Rightly has Mustawfi quoted in his *Nuzhat-u'l-Qulub* :[7]

همدان جای شهان کز قبل آب وهوا　　درجهان خوشتر ازآن بقعهٔ خرم نبود

'Hamadan is such an abode of kings that in climate the world does not possess a more delightful place.'

Iranian history is full of the accounts of its fabulous wealth, its glory and grandeur which have now become a thing of the past.

Here too lies buried[8] the great Abu 'Ali ibn Sina, popularly known as Avicenna to the Westerners. From here came that sweet singer in delightful dialect, Baba Tahir-i-'Uriyan,[9] the Burns of Persia.

1. The Cunieform inscriptions give its name as Hagmatana, meaning, as Prof. Herzfeld points out, "the meeting place" or "of the covenent". Lockhart: *Famous Cities of Iran :* p. 47.
2. Lockhart: Ibid, p. 47.
3. See Roger's *History of Ancient Persia*, p. 336.
4. According to the Greek Historian Polybius. Lockhart, *Famous Cities of Iran*, p.48.
5. Ibid., P. 47.
6. Roger's *History of Ancient Persia.*, p. 336.
7. E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Edition, p. 47.
8. Lockhart : *Famous Cities of Iran*, p. 52.
9. Ibid.

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† This is a part of the thesis accepted for the Ph.D. Degree of the Punjab Univer-city.

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It was in this historic land, in the suburbs[1] of Hamadan, that our popular Sufi poet, the 'Glory of Religion', Shaykh Ibrahim 'Iraqi was born in the year 606 A. H.[2] in the village of Kumjan.[3] One of the oldest authorities extant, Mustawfi's *Tarikh-i-Guzideh*,[4] refers to this place as belonging to the district of 'Alam,[5] while, on the other hand, his *Nuzhat-u'l-Qulub*,[6] assigns the same village to the Shrahin district of Hamadan.

As is the case with most Iranian men of letters, there is a marked dearth of purely biographical literature on 'Iraqi. His father's name has hitherto been commonly admitted to be Shahriyar[7] by almost all the biographers in the Orient as well as the Occident. On the other hand, in the *Guzideh*, compiled in 730 A. H., only forty-two years after the death of the poet, this name appears as Buzurjimihr[8] ibn

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1. Jami: *Nafahat-u'l-Uns:* Page 392.
2. Hermann Ethe: *India Office Catalogue*, Column 1069.
3. Dr. A. J. Arberry has translated this name as Kamajan: *The Song of Lovers:* Page xiii. *Guzideh* gives its name as کونجان the *Nuzhat-ul-Qulub* as کومجان Whereas 'Iraqi gives the name of the Village, in one of his verses as کمجان.
4. Edited by Prof. E. G. Browne, p. 822.
5. Prof. Browne while translating the *Tarikh-i-Guzideh*, at another place has given its reading as Mahal and the same has been adopted by the editor of the Bankipore Catalogue.
6. E.J. W. Gibb Memorial Edition, Persian Text, Page 72. Also Le Strange's translation on page 75.
7. (i) *Catalogue of the Bankipore Library* p. 126.
   (ii) Rieu: *Catalogue of the British Museum*: Vol. II. p. 593.
   (iii) W. Ivanow: *Catalogue of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.* p. 227.
   (iv) A. Sprenger: *Catalogue of the Libraries of the Kings of Oudh*, p 440.
   (v) Dr. A. J. Arberry: *Catalogue of the India office Library*. Vol. II. part 6, p. 220.
   (vi) Edward Edwards: *Catalogue of the Persian Books in the British Museum*, p. 203.
   (vii) Hermann Ethe: *Catalogue of the Library of the India Office* Vol. II. Column 1069.
   (viii) Hermann Ethe: *Catalogue of the Bodleian Library Part I, Column* 525.
   (ix) Prof K. M. Maitra: *Catalogue of the Kapurthala State Library*, p. 111.
   (x) Yusuf I'tisami: *Catalogue of the Library of Majlis-shura-i Mili:* p. 667.
   (xi) Daulat Shah Samarqandi: *Tazkirah:* edited by Prof E. G. Browne p. 215.
   (xii) Mohd. Qasim Firishteh: *Tarikh-i-Firishteh* p. 405.
   (xiii) Shir Khan Lodhi: *Mirat-u'l-Khayal* p. 46.
   (xiv) Sandelvi: *Makhzan-ul-Gharaib.* under 'Iraqi.
   (xv) Zakhmi: *Anis-u'l-'Ashiqin*: Vol. II. Rotographs plate 31.
   (xvi) Siraj-u'd Din Khan Arzu; *Majma 'u'n Kafais* Fol. 569.
   (xvii) Jamali; Siyar-u'l-'Arifin. Fol. 14. b.
8. (i) *Tarikh-i-Guzideh* by Hamdu'llah Mustawfi, edited by Prof. E. G. Browne, p. 882, and
   (ii) *The Deebacheh*: edited by Dr. A. J. Arberry: in "*Song of Lovers*," Persian Text, Foot note on p. 4.

'Abdu'l-Ghaffar al-Juwaliqi.[1] One of the copies of the *Deebacheh* also bears testimony to this fact.

From the title al-Juwaliqi[2] we may infer that 'Iraqi belonged to a family of sufis and dervishes.

All else that we know of his parentage points out that Shaykh Ibrahim 'Iraqi's family enjoyed position and prestige. His ancestors were known for their scholarship and learning.[3] His mother is supposed to have been a sister[4] of the celebrated sufi saint and spiritual teacher, Shaykh u'sh-Shuyukh Shaikh Shihabu'd-Din Suhrawardi.

While writing about Firdawsi, the author of the *Shi'r-u'l-'Ajam*[5] has related a story that at his birth Firdawsi's father saw in a dream that the new-born baby went on the roof and raised a cry which was answered by a loud applause from all sides. Next morning the father consulted Najib-u'd-Din, the famous dream-reader of those times, who interpreted that the baby was destined to be a poet the fame of whose verses would spread far and wide in the world. Fact or fiction, this shows at least the popular tendency to associate certain events with the hour of their hero's birth that mark him out for a man of destiny.

The occasion of 'Iraqi's birth, too, is hallowd with an auspicious dream,[6] and the designation 'Iraqi was conferred on him, according to the same tradition, by no less a personage than Hazrat 'Ali.

About a month before 'Iraqi's birth, his father dreamt a dream. He found himself in the presence of Hazrat 'Ali, the Commander of the Faithful, who stood in a garden in the company of the Imams.[7] He saw that a man appeared[8] with a child which he laid on the ground at the

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1. Only in the *Guzideh* : by Hamdu'llah Mustawfi : edited by Prof. E. G. Browne, p. 882.
2. Juwaliq (for P. Jolakh) A religious tunic, a dervish's mantle of a blue colour : Steingass : Persian English Dictionary, p. 376.
   Jolakh : A woollen cloth worn by religious mendicants : Ibid : p. 379.
3. (i) Mulla 'Abdun-Nabi : *Maykhaneh* : p. 27.
   (ii) *Deebacheh* : *Song of Lovers* : edited by Dr. A. J. Arberry, Persian Text : p. 5.
4. (i) Mohd. Qasim : *Tarikh-i-Firishteh* : p. 405.
   (ii) Mir Husayn Dost : *Tazkirah-i-Husayni* : Fol. 179b
   (iii) Dervish Jamali : *Siyar ul-Arifin* : Fol. 14b.
   (iv) Imam-u'd-Din : *Tawarikh ul-Auliya* : Vol. II. p. 317.
   (v) Ghulam Sarwar : *Khazinat-ul-Asfiya'* : p. 701.
5. Maulana Shibli : *Shi'ar-u'l-'Ajam* : Vol. I. p. 77.
6. (i) *Deebacheh* : *Song of Lovers* : edited by Dr. Arberry, Persian Text, p. 5.
   (ii) Mulla 'Abdun-Nabi : *Maykhaneh* : p. 27.
7. As given in the *Maykhaneh* : *The Deebacheh*, p. 5. says :—
   باجمعی از ابرار with a company of the pious.
8. *The Maykhaneh*, p. 27, adds :—
   ناگاه شخصی بیامد i.e. all of a sudden a man came forward.

feet[1] of the Commander of the Faithful. The latter picked up the baby, called the poet's father to him and, placing it in his arms, said, "Here is our 'Iraqi. Take care of him for he will be world-famous."

A fit of ecstatic joy awakened 'Iraqi's father out of his dream.[2]

"On his birth," his father used to say, "when 'Iraqi was brought to me, I saw in him the very image of the child that was bestowed on me by the Commander of the Faithful.[3]

When the period of nursing was over, 'Iraqi left the cradle. When he was five,[4] he was sent to school. He was not slow in displaying the inborn qualities of his head and heart. He is said to have learnt by heart, the Holy Qur'an, at a very tender age.[5] The authors of the *Maykhaneh*[6] and the *Deebacheh*[7] would have us believe that in the brief period of nine months after joining the school, he had committed to memory the whole of the Holy Qur'an.

Nature was benevolent to this young *hafiz* of the Qur'an in another respect as well. 'Iraqi was gifted with a sweet, melodious voice.[8] His recitations of the Holy Qur'an charmed the people of Hamadan.[9] After spending his day in the school, 'Iraqi, when he returned home at night,

1. As given in the *Maykhaneh* : *The Deebacheh* p. 5, says
و در نظر امیرالمومنین بر زمین نهاد
2. Only in the *Deebacheh* : *Song of Lovers* · Persian Text, p. 5-6.
3. *Deebacheh*: *Song of Lovers*: Persian Text, p. 6 and *Maykhaneh* by Mulla Abdu'n-Nabi : p. 28.
4. (i) *Deebacheh*: *Song of Lovers*: Persian Text, p. 6.
   (ii) Mulla 'Abdun-Nabi : *Maykhaneh* : p. 29.
5. (i) Jami · *Nafahat-u'l-Uns* : p. 392.
   (ii) Amin Ahmed Razi : *Haft Iqlim* : Fol. 187a.
   (iii) Dara Shikoh : *Safinat u'l-Auliya :* Fol 76b
   (iv) Imamu'd-Din : *Tawarikh-u'l-Auliya :* Vol. II, p. 317.
   (v) Ahmed 'Ali : *Qasr-i-'Arifan* : Fol. 125.
   (vi) Ghulam Sarwar : *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya' :* p. 701.
   (vii) Junaidi : *Ma'athir-i-'Ajam* : p. 179.
   (viii) Nizam Haji Gharib Yamani : *Lata'if-i-Ashrafi* Fol. 592a/1188.
   (ix) Browne : *Literary History of Persia* : Vol. III, p. 125.
   (x) *Catalogue of the Bankipore Library* : p. 126.
   (xi) A. Sprenger : *Catalogue of the Libraries of Kings of Oudh* · p. 440.
6. Mulla Abdun Nabi : *Maykhaneh*: p. 29.
7. *Deebacheh* by an anonymous author edited by Dr. A. J. Arberry in his *Song of Lovers*. (Iraqi's *Ushshaq Nameh*), Persian Text, p. 6.
8. (i) Jami : *Nafahat-u'l-Uns :* p. 392.
   (ii) Sultan Husayn : *Majalis-u'l-Ushshaq :* p. 121.
   (iii) Nizam Haji Gharib Yamani : *Lataif-i-Ashrafi* : Fol. 592a/1188.
9. (i) Jami : *Nafahat-u'l-Uns* : p. 392.
   (ii) Amin Ahmed Razi : *Haft Iqlim :* Fol. 187a.
   (iii) *Catalogue of the Bankipore Library* : p. 126.
   (iv) Prof. E. G. Browne : *Literary History of Persia* : Vol. III, p. 125.
   (v) Imamu'd-Din : *Tawarikh-u'l-Auliya* : Vol. II, p. 317.
   (vi) Ghulam Sarwar : *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya'* : p. 701.
   (vii) Nizam Haji Gharib Yamani : *Lataif-i-Ashrafi* : Fol. 592a/1188.

would revise his daily lessons of the Qur'an. At times, as the author of the *Deebacheh*[1] continues, with eyes wet with tears, he would read his lesson in a voice full of pathos which captivated the hearts of all those who heard him. The fascinated neighbours would wait for him to come and begin his recitations.

He and his class-fellows were so fond of one another that they could hardly bear a moment's separation. The moment his class-fellows were released by their teachers, they would, in a body, go to 'Iraqi and spend the whole night in his company, so much so that their holidays were entirely devoted to him.

The author of the *Deebacheh*[2] continues further that by the time 'Iraqi was eight years of age, he had become a popular figure in Hamadan. Having said his afternoon prayers he would recite the Holy Qur'an and people would gather in large numbers to hear him.

On a certain day, absorbed in his recitations, he was reading the Sura Taha and tears were flowing from his eyes when a party of Jews happened to pass by that side. 'Iraqi had reached the verse:

وکذلک نجزی من اسرف و لم یومن بایات ربه ولعذاب الاخرة اشد و ابقی

"Thus do we reward him who is prodigal and believeth not the revelations of his Lord, and verily the doom of the Hereafter will be sterner and more lasting".[3]

Three of the party came to a stop and began to listen. They entered the mosque and fell at the feet of 'Iraqi and voluntarily accepted Islam at his hands. All the inhabitants gathered and took them round the town in a solemn procession. To the new converts they offered wealth without measure but they accepted not a penny. On reaching home they offered Islam to other members of their family and this resulted in five more conversions.

In this way 'Iraqi's schooling[4] continued. During these years he was educated in several well-known Madrasahs of his native land[5] and he acquired the knowledge of different exoteric sciences.[6] By the time he was seventeen he had become well-versed in various branches of learning pertaining to natural sciences and religion.[7] We are told that at this

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1. *Deebacheh : Song of Lovers :* Persian Text: p. 6.
2. Ibid.
3. Sura Taha: XX. 127.
   The Glorious Qur'an: Translation by M. Pickthal, vol. ii, page 417.
4. (i) *Nafahat u'l Uns* by Jami p. 392.
   (ii) *Haft Iqlim* by Amin Ahmed Razi: Fol. 187a.
5. *Catalogue of the Bankipore Library*; p. 126.
6. (i) Imamud Din: *Tawarikh-u'l-Auliya*, vol. ii, p. 317.
   (ii) Ahmed 'Ali: *Qasr-i-'Arifan*: Fol. 125.
7. (i) *Deebacheh*: *Song of Lovers*: Persian Text p. 7.
   (ii) Mulla 'Abdun-Nabi: *Maykhaneh*: p. 29.
   (iii) Nizam Haji Gharib Yamani: *Lataif-i-Ashrafi*: Fol. 592a/1188.

comparatively tender age he had left the students' desk and had occupied the teachers' chair.[1] As a teacher he came to be known for his scholarship. It is said that he had built in Hamadan, a clean tank and a grand Madrasah, where, in the courtyard, he used to give lessons for the benefit of his students.[2]

It was not very long afterwards that 'Iraqi left for India. There are different stories describing how his visit to India was occasioned.

Some of the biographers have, for reasons of brevity or lack of interest, made just a passing reference to the poet's visit to India. The majority of those biographers who have described the details of his visit fall under two distinct groups.

One of these two groups, including among them some wellknown biographies[3] like the *Tadhkirah* of Daulat Shah Samarqandi, the *Riyaz-u'sh-Shu'ara*, the *Makhzan-u'l Ghara'ib*, the *Nishtar-i-Ishq* and the modern *Atish-Kadeh* have stated that 'Iraqi, prior to his visit to India had been a pupil of the famous sufi saint, Shaykh-u'sh-Shuyukh Shaykh Shihab-u'd-Din Suhrawardi. Some of these biographers have explained how Shaykh Suhrawardi, on an impudent reply from 'Iraqi, ordered him to proceed to Multan for his spiritual purification under Shaykh Baha-'ud-Din Zakariyya, a deputy of Shaykh Shihab-ud-Din Suhrawardi.

According to the version by Daulat Shah,[4] 'Iraqi had a platonic love for the fair-faced. On a certain day it was reported to Shaykh Shihab-ud-Din Suhrawardi that 'Iraqi, sitting face to face with a farrier boy, had been admiring his looks in the market-place. The Shaykh

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1. (i) Jami: *Nafahat-u'l Uns*: p. 392.
   (ii) Mulla Abdun-Nabi: *Maykhaneh*: p. 29.
   (iii) *Deebacheh*: *Song of Lovers*: Persian Text, p. 7.
   (iv) Mohd. Qasim Firishteh: *Tarikh i-Firishteh*: p. 405.
   (v) Amin Ahmed Razi: *Haft Iqlim*: Fol. 187a.
   (vi) Dara Shikoh: *Safinat-u'l Auliya* Fol. 76b.
   (vii) Imamud-Din· *Tawarikh-u'l-Auliya*: vol. ii. p. 317.
   (viii) Ahmed'Ali: *Qasr-i-'Arifan*: Fol. 125.
   (ix) Ghulam Sarwar: *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*: p. 701.
2. (i) Dervish Jamali: *Siyar-ul-'Arifin*: Fol. 14b.
   (ii) Mohd. Qasim Firishteh: *Tarikh-i-Firishteh*: p. 405.
   (iii) Mir Husayn Dost: *Tadhkirah-i-Husayni*: Fol. 179b.
   (iv) Ghulam Sarwar: *Khazinat-u'l-Asfiya*: p. 691.
3. Some of the biographies are as follows:—
   (i) "*Memoirs of the Poets*," by Daulat Shah, p. 215.
   (ii) *Makhzan-u'l-Gharaib* by Sandelvi: under 'Iraqi.
   (iii) Husayn Quli Khan 'Ishqi: *Nishtar i-'Ishqi*: Fol. 33.
   (iv) Zakhai: *Anis-u'l-'Ashiqin*: Rotograph: Plate No. 31.
   (v) Waleh Daghistani: *Riyaz-u'sh-Shu'ara*: under ردیف ع
   (vi) Haji Lutf 'Ali Beg Azar: *Atish Kadeh*: p. 271.
   (vii) Catalogue of the Bankipore Library: p. 126.
   (viii) A. Sprenger. Catalogue of the Libraries of Kings of Oudh. p. 440.
4. (i) Daulat Shah: *Memoirs of the Poets*: Edited by Prof. E. G. Browne; p. 215.
   (ii) Sandelvi: *Makhzan-u'l-Ghara'ib* under 'Iraqi.

admonished 'Iraqi with the words, "The glance that you are casting is the fire that you are setting to the very structure of the honour of dervishes. Don't you see that the critics are lying in wait and the enemies are lurking in ambush"? To this 'Iraqi is said to have replied, "Where is anything other than Him, O Shaykh, that you are seeing duality?"

It was, the story says, probably due to this impudence of 'Iraqi that the Shaykh got annoyed. 'Iraqi's long repentance, however, propitiated the Shaykh, but as a measure of chastisement for his audacity, he commanded 'Iraqi to proceed to India and to sojourn for some time in that 'training centre of ascetics' and to become purified like silver in the crucible. In this way Shaykh Shihab ud Din Suhrawardi entrusted the fate of this young ascetic to Shaykh Baha'-ud Din Zakariyya, his deputy at Multan.

Siraj-ud-Din Khan Arzu, the author of the *Majma-u'n-Nafais*,[1] has pointed out the falsehood of yet another attempt at fabrication of such tales. He has related[2] a story advanced by Taqi Auhadi saying that 'Iraqi was a disciple of Shaykh Shihab-ud-Din Suhrawardi, and that on a certain occasion, Shams-i-Tabriz, the famous wandering mystic of Iran, found Iraqi lost in gazing a young boy in the market-place. Shams i-Tabriz, thereupon, enquired of Iraqi, "What are you busy with?" Iraqi replied, "I am observing the moon in a water-basin." Shams-i. Tabriz then remarked, "If you are not suffering from a boil (on your neck), why dont you look up to heaven and see in the right manner?"

As a matter of fact, as pointed out by Khan-i-Arzu, and as given in the *Lata'if-i-Ashrafi*[3] and the *Safinat-ul-Auliya*,[4] this conversation of Shams-i-Tabriz took place with Auhad'-ud-Din Kirmani and not with 'Iraqi.

All such stories may be set aside as incorrect.

Another account of the circumstances which led to 'Iraqi's visit to India is given in the version unanimously adopted by such authorities as have given fuller details of his life. None of them specifies 'Iraqi to have remained a disciple of Shaykh Shihab-ud-Din prior to his visit to India. This version is given by the anonymous author of the *Deebacheh*,[5] Jami,[6] Mulla 'Abdu'n-Nabi,[7] Jamali,[8] Ahmed 'Ali,[9] Nizam Haji Gharib

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1. *Majma'-un-Nafais* by Khan Arzu : Ms. Fol. 569.
2. Ibid.
3. Nizam Haji Gharib Yamani: Lata'if-i-Ashrafi: Fol. 122b/245.
4. Dara Shikoh : *Safinat-u'l-Auliya* : Fol. 117 b.
5. *Deebacheh* : edited by Dr. A. J. Arberry : *Song of lovers* : Persian Text, page 7-8.
6. Jami: *Nafahat-u'l-Uns* : Page 392.
7. Mulla 'Abdun-Nabi *Maykhaneh:* page 27.
8. Jamali: *Siyar-u'l-'Arifin* : Fol. 14b-15a.
9. Ahmed 'Ali : *Qasr-i-'Arifan* : Fol. 125.

Yamani[1] besides some others[2] also. They relate the well-known story of Iraqi's coming to India in pursuit of a handsome boy who was accompanying a band of Qalandars. On his arrival at Multan he became a disciple of Shaykh Baha-ud-Din Zakariyya.

It is said that on a certain day 'Iraqi was sitting in his circle of students and was giving lessons to them when, all of a sudden a party of wandering Qalandars made their appearance and making a noise they went past the doors of 'Iraqi's class-room.[3] The Qalandars just then began their typical circular dance singing in melodious notes:—

مارخت ز مسجد بخرابات کشبدیم   خط بر ورق زهد و کرامات کشیدیم
درکوئی مغان درصف عشاق نشستیم   جام از کف رندان خرابات کشیدیم
گردل بزند کوس شرف شاید ازین پس   چون رایت دولت بسموات کشیدیم [4]
از زهد و مقامات گذشتیم که بسبار   کاس تعب از زهد و مقامات کشبدیم

"Bidding farewell to the mosque we have entered the tavern. The page of piety and miracles we have obliterated."

In the tavern-street we sat in the rows of the lovers. We took a cup from the hands of the drinkers in the tavern.

It is not improper if, henceforth, the heart proclaims its greatness, for we have raised the banner of good fortune to the skies.

We have abandoned piety and devotion,[5] for in piety and devotion many a cup of trouble did we drink."

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1. Nizam Haji Gharib Yamani : *Lataif-i-Ashrafi* : Fol. 592a/1188.
2. Including the following :-
   (i) Mohd. Qasim Firishteh : *Tarikh-i-Firishteh* : page 405.
   (ii) Mir Husayn Dost : *Tadhkirah-i-Husayni*. Fol. 179b-180a.
   (iii) Amin Ahmed Razi : *Haft Iqlim* Fol. 187a.
   (iv) Sultan Husayn Mirza : *Majalis-u'l-Ushshaq* : P.119.
   (v) Imam-u'd-Din : *Tawarikh-u'l-Auliya* : Vol. II. p. 317.
   (vi) Prof. E. G. Browne: *Literary History of Persia*, Vol. III. p.125.
3. (i) *Deebacheh* : *Song of Lovers* Persian Text, p.7.
   (ii) Mulla 'Abdun-Nabi : *Maykhaneh* : p 29.
   and also :-
   (ii) Jami : *Nafahat-u'l-Uns* : p. 393.
   (iv) Mohd . Qasim : *Tarikh-i-Firishteh* : p. 405.
   (v) Mir Husayn Dost : *Tadhkirah-i-Husayni* : Fol. 170b.
   (vi) Jamali : *Siyar-u'l-'Arifin* : Fol. 14b.
   (vii) Ahmed 'Ali *Qasr-i-'Arifan* Fol. 125.
4. This verse is not included in the text of the *Maykhaneh*: p. 29.
5. مقامات Stages in mystic attainments.

   Steingass gives the meanings: "Sittings, places, stations; assemblies, conversations held at those assemblies; compositions recited on those occasions;——degrees;" p. 1289. Steingass, Persian English Dictionary.

The Qalandars recited this ode in their own tune and the Shaykh grew restive. As Jamali says,[60] when in all respectfulness the Qalandars made an approach to 'Iraqi, he entertained them in a befitting way.

We are told further that there was in the company of the Qalandars a boy who was matchless in beauty.[61] 'Iraqi's eyes fell upon the boy and 'like a bird, his heart was caught in the trap of love'. The fire of desire burnt the harvest of his reason. He took the garments off his body and the turban off his head and placing them before the Qalandars, began to recite these verses :—

چه خوش باشد که دلدارم تو باشی   ندیم و مونس و یارم تو باشی ،
زشادی درهمه عالم نگنجم ،   اگر یک لحظه غمخوارم تو باشی۔

"How fortunate would it be if you were to be my sweetheart companion, comforter and comrade.

Even the wide world may not be able to contain my pleasure, if for a while you were to be my sympathiser."

In the course of their few days' stay, 'Iraqi, out of love for the boy, entertained with sumptuous feasts, those 'clean-faced and shaven-headed' Qalandars, even at the cost of his studies.[61]

Their brief stay came to a close. Leaving 'Iraqi behind, they bade farewell to Hamadan and took their way to Isafahan. Their separation was unbearable for 'Iraqi. He grew restless and lost all interest in his studies. Casting his books aside, all alone he made after the party of

60. *Siyar-u'l-'Arifin* by Jamali: Fol. 14b.
61. *The Maykhaneh*, p. 30, and the *Deebacheh*, p. 7, give a flowery description of the boy's beauty in typical hyperbole. The words of the *Deebacheh* are as follows:—

درمیان قلندران پسری دید که در حسن بی نظیر بود و در دل عاشقان دلپذیر۔ جمالی که اگر نقاش چین طره پرچین او بدیدی متحیر گشتی ۔ باز دیگر شهباز نظر کرد و مرغ دلش در دام عشق افتاد و آتش هوا خرمن عقلش بسوخت۔

62. *The Maykhaneh* of Mulla Abdun-Nabi gives only the first verse at page 30 The full poem is given in the following :
    (i) *Kulliyat i 'Iraqi*: Ms. : Prof. Shairani Collection : Punjab University Lib. Lahore. Fol. 41b.
    (ii) *Ghazaliyyat i 'Iraqi*, Kapurthala State Library Ms. Mixed Contents No. 189 Fol. 158b.
    (iii) *Kulliyat i 'Iraqi*, Nawalkishore Press. (Cawnpore ed) page 164.
    (iv) *Kulliyat i 'Iraqi*, Lahore Ed. page 152.
    (v) *Diwan i 'Iraqi* : Ms. R. A. S. B., Calcutta, No. 522, Fol. 29a.
    (vi) *Kulliyat i 'Iraqi* : Ms. R.A.S.B., Calcutta, No. 523, Fol. 41a-41b.
63. As stated by Jamali in *Siyar-ul-'Arifin*, Fol. 14b.
64. As given in the *Deebacheh* : *Song of Lovers* : Persian Text, page 7 and the *Maykhaneh* of *Mulla* 'Abdun Nabi page 30
    The Siyar-ul-'Arifin by Jamali, Fol. 14b and the *Tadhkirah-i-Husayni* by Mir Husayn Dost give Khorasan in place of Isfahan.
    According to the *Lata'if-i-'Ashrafi* by Nizam Haji Gharib Yamani Fol. 592a/1118, the party of Qalandars left for Hindustan.

Qalandars.[1] He met them at a distance of about two miles. There he composed the ode beginning with the verse.[2]

پسراره قلندر بزن ار حریف مائی   که دراز و دور دیدم سر کوئی پارسائی *

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1. *The Deebacheh, Song of Lovers.* Persian Text, page 8, has the following words :
حال بر شیخ دگرگون گشت ـ کتابهارا دورانداخت واز تفسیر کبیر نسیان کثیر
حاصل شد ، نحورا محو کرد ، اشارات را فشارات خواند ، معالم التنزیل اسرار التاویل نمود ،
حاوی حل ساخت ، جامع الدقائق لامع الحقائق گشت ، روضته المنجمین نزهة العاشقین
بازداد ، زبان قال بلسان حال مبدل گشت ـ ذوفنون مجنون شد ـ حاصل الحال بعدالمقال
مجرد وار در عقب اصحاب روان شد ـ

2. A. (i) *Deebacheh, Song of Lovers* : Persian Text, p. 8.
(ii) Mulla 'Abdun-Nabi : *Maykhaneh* : page 30.
B. (iii) *Majalis u'l 'Ushshaq* by Sultan Husayn Mirza, at p. 120. gives the following verses in addition to the opening line :

بطواف کعبه رفتم بحرم رهم ندادند   که برون درچه کردی که درون خانه آئی

به قمارخانه رفتم همه پاکباز دیدم   چو بصومعه رسیدم همه یافتم دغائی †

در دیر می زدم من زدرون ندابر آمد   که درآ درآ عراق که تو خاص ازان مائی ‡

C. The full poem is given in the following:
(i) *Kulliyat i 'Iraqi,* Ms. Shairani Collection. Punjab University Library. Lahore : Fol. 66a. reads:

پسرا ره قلندر سزد ار بمن نمائی   که دراز و دور دیدم سر کوئی پارسائی

(ii) Kapurthala State Library, Ms. Mixed Contents, No. 189, Fol. 158b; reads the same as (i) except بما for بمن

(iii) *Diwan i 'Iraqi* Ms. No. 523 R.A.S.B. Calcutta Fol. 34 b.
(iv) *Kulliyat 'Iraqi,* Cawnpore : Nawalkishore Ed., p. 154.
(v) *Kulliyat i 'Iraqi*; Lahore Lithograph : p. 134 reads بشرا for پسرا

D. Maghribi alludes to this verse in his lines as follows, Bombay Edition : 1311 page 98.

مشنو حدیث آنکس که بعشوه گفت باتو   پسراره قلندر سزد ار بمن نمائی

پسرا اگر هوائی سر کوئی دوست داری   مگذار مغربی رامگزبن ازو جدائی

* A Variant reading is

صنماره قلندر سزدار به من نمائی   که دراز و دور دیدم ره و رسم پارسائی

In Diwan Nawal Kishore بشرارهٔ قلندر p. 155, I.C. See for further details Takdhib quarterly p. 50, 66, H. article Sh. Fakhruddin Iraqi. I.C.

† جو بصومعه رسیدم همه یافتم ربائی

And in Diwan p. 155, جوبصومعه گذشتم همه یافتم دغائی I.C.

‡ A Variant reading is

در دیر چون زدم شب ز درون ندا برآمد   که بیابیا عراق تو زخاصگان مائی

And in Diwan p. 155, I.C.

در دیر میزدم سر ز درون ندا برآمد   که بیابیا عراق تو زخاصگان مائی

"Go the way of Qalandars, O boy, if you are to be my companion for I have found the street-end of piety long and distant."

'Iraqi joined the party and the Qalandars,[1] seeing his restlessness, spoke to him with one voice, "You are, our Master, a great man, and we are Qalandars, with our eyebrows clean shaved. There is nothing to link us together. Friendship and intimacy can be possible only if you be one of us, put on our garments, have your beard and brows shaved and thereafter get admitted to our company".[2] The Shaykh had burnt his boats. With an impatient and eager mind he readily gave consent to their proposal. Consequently his beard and eyebrows were shaved and he put on the peculiar dress of the Qalandars. All the time his attachment was growing and the ties of love becoming stronger and stronger.[3]

The party kept on travelling and crossing the outskirts of Khurasan and other lands, they reached the suburbs of Multan.[4]

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1. (i) Jamali: *Siyar-'ul-'Arifin,* Ms. Fol. 14b.15a.
   (ii) Mir Husyan Dost: *Tadhkirah-i-Husayni*: Fol. 179b, says that 'Iraqi made after the party when they had covered a stage or two of their journey.'
   (iii) Mohd. Qasim Firishteh: *Tarikh-i-Firishteh p.* 405 says that he followed them after two days
   (iv) Jami: *Nafahat-'ul-Uns.* p. 393 says that 'Iraqi made after the Qalandars, after a few days of their departure.
   (v) Nizam Haji Gharib Yamani: *Lataif-i-Ashrafi,* Fol. 592a/1188 same as (iv).
2. As stated by Jamali in *Siyar-'ul-'Arifin.* Fol. 15a and:
   (ii) *Tadhkirah i-Husayni* by Mir Husayn Dost Fol. 180 a.
   (iii) *Tarikh-i-Firishteh* by Mohd. Qasim Firishteh: page 405 also gives the conversation in brief.
   (iv) *Deebacheh,* Persian Text: p. 8 and
   (v) *Maykhaneh* by Mulla 'Abdun Nabi p. 30 says that the Qalandars were over joyed to see him in there midst and they got his hair removed and made him one of themselves.
   (vi) *Latai'f i Ashrafi* by Nizam Haji Gharib Yamani, Fol. 592a/1188 says that he became one of them.
3. (i) Jamali: *Siyar-ul-'Arifin,* Fol. 15 a.
   (ii) Mir Husayn Dost: *Tadhkirah-i-Husayni,*: Fol. 180 a.
4. As given by
   (i) Jamali: *Siyar-'ul-'Arifin.* Fol. 15 a. and
   (ii) Mir Husayn Dost: *Tadhkirah-i-Hussayni*: Fol. 180 a.
   (iii) *Tarikh-i-Firishteh* by Mohd. Qasim Firishteh/says that the Qalandars had left for Khurasan.
   (iv) *Deebacheh :Song of Lovers*: Persian text, p. 8. gives 'Iraq-i-'Ajam for Khurasan
   (v) Mulla 'Abdun Nabi's *Maykhaneh,* p. 30 gives 'Iraq-i-'Arab and Iraq-i-'Ajam for Khurasan *Kharzinat-'ul-'Asfiya'* by Ghulam Sarwar p. 691 says that Iraqi was at first in 'Iraq where at Damascus he had built a Madrasah and in the company of Qalandars he came from Iraq to Hamadan, thence to Khurasan from where the party proceeded to Multan.

THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM IN MEDIEVAL INDIA

YUSUF HUSAIN KHAN*

BEFORE the advent of the Muslims in India, they had already developed a system of education suited to their genius. By the eleventh century A.D. the institutions of higher learning in the Muslim countries called Madrasahs had developed into centres of learning with a distinct religious bias. They were essentially schools of theology, with auxiliary linguistic studies. These Madrasahs were the strongholds of orthodoxy and were subsidised by the State. They aimed at stabilizing a body of beliefs and a discipline prescribed by these beliefs, around which the entire social structure revolved Incidentally, these Madrasahs supplied the State with suitable recruits for the posts of Qadis, Muftis and other administrators. Theology being the mode of thought of medieval times, politics, philosophy and education were brought under its control and adjusted to a technical theological terminology. Men thought theologically and expressed themselves theologically, but when we penetrate into this formal expression we find their aims and hopes to be at bottom not very different from our own.

Besides the Madrasahs, which were centres of higher learning in Islamic countries, there were the Maktabs to provide primary and lower secondary education. It seems that the Madrasahs were endowed by the State or by some munificent nobleman, while primary education, imparted in the Maktabs, was left entirely to private enterprise. Under the Abbasids, all the important cities in Persia and Central Asia vied with Baghdad in the magnificence of their educational institutions, established by royal personages or munificence of private individuals. Through these institutions the highest spirit of culture and investigation flourished. Sultan Mahmud founded and richly endowed a Madrasah at Ghazni which attracted students from all over Central Asia and Persia. He was

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a patron of learning and the arts. Al-Biruni, Firdausi and Daqiqi and many other thinkers and poets flourished at his court. The Library, attached to the Madrasah, was unique. It contained a vast collection of books on all branches of learning. The well-known philosopher, 'Unsuri, was the Principal of the Madrasah.

Mas'ud maintained the traditions of his father and liberally patronized the learned men. It was in his reign that Al-Biruni completed *'Al-Qanunu'l Mas'udi'* (Cannon Masudicus), the most valuable work on astronomy and geography written in the middle ages. The later descendants of the Ghaznavids transferred their capital from Ghazni to Lahore which became a centre of Muslim learning in the twelfth century. After the Ghorid conquest, the seat of political authority shifted from Lahore to Delhi. In this way, by the middle of the thirteenth century, the whole of the science and culture of the Islamic World was imported into India and Delhi became the greatest centre of Muslim learning in the East. The pattern of education which found its culmination in Ghazni was adopted in Delhi from where it spread all over the country. According to Hasan Nizami Nishapuri, the author of the *Taju'l Ma'athir*, Sultan Shihabuddin Muhammad Ghori established several Madrasahs at Ajmer which were the first of their kind in India.

Iltutmish, the real consolidator of the sultanate of Delhi, found time to encourage the learned and the holy. He is credited with having built the Qutb Minar, whose massive grandeur and beauty of design are unrivalled and which still stands as a memorial to his great and lofty purpose. He was the first to establish a Madrasah at Delhi, naming it "Madrasa-i-Mu'izzi", after the name of Shihabuddin Muhammad Ghori, whose real name was Mu'izuddin Muhammad Ghori. A Madrasah of the same name was founded at Badaun which had become another centre of Muslim culture in northern India.

Sultan Nasiruddin Mahmud (1246–1260 A.D.) was a pious man, preoccupied with the learned and the religious. His Chief Minister, Balban, founded a Madrasah and named it 'Nasiriya' after the name of his master. Minhajus Siraj, the celebrated author of the *'Tabaqat-i-Nasiri'*, was appointed its principal.

Balban, first as Chief Minister and then as ruler, extended his patronage to men of erudition. Although a stickler with regard to his dignity as a ruler, he had no hesitation in visiting men of letters and even took his meals in their company.[1] Amir Hasan and Amir Khusrau were the brightest stars of his court. Barani has given a long list of professors who taught in the various Madrasahs of Delhi and who were eminent for their erudition and scholarship. Besides the learned scholars there were the jurists, physicians, astronomers, mathematicians and theologians who received patronage from the Emperor

1. Barani, p. 46.

Balban. During the invasions of the Mongols, many men of letters, artists and craftsmen found refuge in Delhi and thus enriched the life of the capital. The famous teachers of this period were Shamsuddin Khwarzmi, Burhanuddin Bazzaj, Najmuddin Dimishqi and Kamaluddin Zahid. Even the great Sheikh S'adi was invited by Prince Muhammad Khan to visit India but the Sheikh excused himself on grounds of old age.

Sultan 'Alauddin Khilji, after his accession to the throne, founded a Madrasah attached to the "Hauz-i-Khas' which was later repaired by Firoz Shah Tughlaq. The inscription on the 'Alai Darwazah describes Sultan 'Alauddin Khilji as 'the upholder of the pulpits of learning and religion and the strengthener of the rules of colleges and places of worship'. His chief Minister Shamsul Mulk was a man of erudition and started his early life as a teacher. He had taught no less a person than Nizamuddin Aulia at Badaun. He continued to patronize men of erudition in his official capacity as well.

Muhammad Tughlaq established a Madrasah in Delhi in 1346 A.D. with a mosque attached to it. The famous poet Badr Chach composed a chronogram on this occasion, some verses of which are translated here:

"To see this cheerful and auspicious edifice, the sky, being the mirror-holder of the universe, has opened its thousand eyes. Its court-yard contains engravings that view with the picture—gallery (Nigarkhana) of paradise. Its air has the fragrance of the gentle breeze of spring. Its pillars are without equal and its quadrangle encircles the foundations of the nine skies. The upper portions of its four pillars are buttressed by Fortune and in their height they embrace the heaven itself. Outside, there is the noise of troops full of ardent zeal; inside one hears the echoes of recitations and prayers. The head of the Madrasah, in his erudition, may be likened to the teacher of the prophet Enoch, and the Imam of its mosque is sweet-spoken and eloquent. The chronogram of its foundation is contained in the Quranic verse "Wadkhulu Fiha" (And you enter it). And I tell you (openly) it comes to 747 Hijra (according to the system of Abjad).[1]

In the time of Firoz Tughlaq, great advance was made in higher education. He was a lover of learning and a patron of scholars and he built and endowed thirty Madrasahs in different parts of his kingdom. The most famous was the Madrasa-i-Firoz Shahi near Hauze-i-Khas, of which Barani has given a detailed description. It was situated within well-planned gardens and had suitable buildings for the residence of teachers and scholars. There was a mosque and a tomb attached to it. Foreign celebrities, when they happened to be in Delhi, never failed to visit it and admired its surroundings and its elegant construction. Maulana Jalaluddin Rumi was appointed as the principal of this

1. An arrangement of the letters of the Arabic alphabet, according to the numerical value of the letters from one to one thousand.

institution.[1]

Another Madrasah was established by Firoz Tughlaq at Siri which was housed in a superb building, situated in lovely surroundings (Barani, p. 665). Similar types of Madrasahs were established at Firozabad and other towns in the kingdom with large estates assigned to them to meet their expenses. According to Al-Qalqashandi, the author of *'Subhu'l A'sha fi Sina't il Insha'* an Arabic work written during the Tughlaq rule in India,[2] there were one thousand educational institutions, and seventy hospitals in Delhi alone. Out of these one thousand Madrasahs belonged to the Shafaites and the rest were for the Hanafites (Vol. v. p. 68–69).

Firoz Tughlaq made new grants of lands for the upkeep of educational institutions and renewed old endowments (*Futuhat-i-Firozshahi*). Special grants of lands were given to men of erudition and stipends were fixed for poor students so that they might pursue their studies without financial worries.[3]

A large number of Karkhanahs (workshops) were maintained by Sultan Muhammad Tughlaq to supply the royal household as well as the departments of the Government with provisions, stores and equipment. Firoz Tughlaq turned these Karkhanahs into institutions for vocational training. The captives of war, who were made slaves, were distributed among these Karkhanahs, where they were taught different arts and crafts so that they might start their own work as independent artisans and thus become useful and loyal citizens. At one time there were twelve thousand slaves, who were under training in these Karkhanahs.[4]

From the time of Iltutmish to the reign of Sikandar Lodhi the curriculum of the Madrasahs followed a set pattern. Greater emphasis was laid on theological education (*Manqul*). According to the testimony of Barani, a contemporary writer, the main subjects taught at the Madrasai Firoz Shahi at Delhi were *Tafsir* (exegesis), *Hadith* (traditions) and *Fiqh* (jurisprudence). In *ma'qulat,' Sharhe Shamsiah* and *Sharhe-Shafia* were included in the course of studies (Badauni). Besides these subjects, grammar, literature, logic, mysticim (*Tasawwuf*) and scholasticism (*kalam*) were also taught.[5]

When Sikandar Lodhi laid the foundation of the town of Agra in 1504 A.D. and made it his residence, so that he might exercise more

1. Barani, p. 564.
2. It is an encyclopaedia of all the branches of knowledge of his time. Al-Qalqashandi had never been to India; his description, well-informed and accurate is based on literary sources and on oral relations of travellers He has also utilized the information contained in the *Masalikul Absar* of Ibn Fazlullah al-'Umari (d. 1348). Al-Qalqashandi's work is, however, a valuable source of information for the cultural, administrative and geographical history of the Middle East and India. The author died in Cairo in 1418 A.D.).
3. Barani, p. 460.
4. 'Afif, p. 268-73.
5. *An Nadwah*, Feb. 1909.

effective control over the chiefs of the unruly neighbourhood, especially Koel, Etawah and Gwalior, the educational activity in the new city received a considerable fillip. Being a poet and a *litterateur* himself, Sikander Lodhi established Madrasahs in all parts of the kingdom and invited qualified teachers from distant places to take charge of the institutions established by him at Agra and other places. He insisted on the compulsory education of even his military officers. According to Sheikh Abdul Haq Muhaddith, Sikandar Lodhi invited learned men from Arabia, Persia and Central Asia to take charge of education and many men of letters came even uninvited and adopted India as their home.[1] Sikandar Lodhi founded Madrasahs at Muthra and Narwar which were open to all without any discrimination of caste or creed.

Among those 'Ulama whom Sikandar Lodhi had invited were two brothers from Multan, Sheikh 'Abdullah and Sheikh 'Azizullah, both being specialists in the rational sciences (*ma'qulat*). Sheikh 'Azizullah was put in charge of the Madrasah at Sambhal, while Sheikh 'Abdullah remained in the capital. Sikandar Lodhi was so enamoured of the Sheikh's method of teaching that, whenever he could find time from state business, he would attend his lectures. (Badauni, p. 324). The vast influence of Sheikh 'Abdullah in the intellectual circles of the capital went a long way in popularizing rational sciences (*ma'qulat*). He produced forty disciples who were all specialists in the *ma'qulat*. Among them the names of Mian Laddan, Jamal Khan Dehlavi, Mian Sheikh of Gwalior and Mian Sayyid Jalal of Badaun may be mentioned.

It is to be noted that it was during the reign of Sikandar Lodhi that the Hindus, especially the Kayasthas, took to the study of the Persian language and literature. After a few decades thev made themselves as proficient in this language as the Muslims had entered government service and even produced great writers and poets in later centuries.

After the invasion of Timur (1398 A.D.) many men of learning had migrated to the provincial capitals which had developed a cultural and intellectual life of their own and there flourished hundreds of Madrasahs. Jaunpur was a great educational centre where students were drawn from far and near. Under the benign rule of Sultan Ibrahim Shah it received the title of 'Shiraz-i-Hind' (Shiraz of India). During his reign the Court of Jaunpur far out shone that of Delhi and was the resort of the learned men of the East. The Madrasah of Bibi Raja Begum was the most famous institution of Jaunpur and produced some great savants. Sher Shah Suri prosecuted his studies at Jaunpur, where along with theological subjects he studied history and philosophy. Later, he founded a Madrasah at Narnaul which became a great seat of learning and in which the syllabus of Jaunpur Madrasahs was followed.

There was great cultural and educational activity in Bengal, Bihar,

1. *Akhbaru'l Akhyar.*

Gujarat, Malwa, Khandesh and the Deccan. Sultan Mahmud Shah Bahmani was a great patron of learning. Hosts of scholars resorted to his capital. He founded special schools for the education of orphans in Gulbarga, Bidar, Elichpur, Daulatabad, Debol and Junnar and provided for their maintenance.[1] Mahmud Gawan, the great Bahmani wazir, spent a large part of his personal wealth in building his famous Madrasah at Bidar, the remains of which are still extant. It is recorded by historians that Mahmud Gawan invited Maulana Abdur Rahman Jami, the celebrated poet and scholar of Persia, to accept the principalship of his college, but the latter declined owing to his advanced age. Then his choice fell on Sheikh Ibrahim Multani, a well-known savant and a man of saintly character under whose supervision the institution grew from strength to strength. The Madrasah of Mahmud Gavan is an imposing building of the Bahmani period which in its design is a unique monument of its kind in India. It has an open courtyard in the middle, with four sides in which the lecture-rooms, the prayer-hall, the library, the teachers' and students' rooms are built. It was beautifully decorated with encaustic tiles, the arrangement and colour-scheme of which would also have given feelings of depth and light and shade as the specimens still sticking to the walls show.[2]

The chronogram which gives the date of its foundation is as follows:—

In Madrasa-i-rafi' wa mahmud bina
Ta'mir shud ast qibla-i-ahle safa
Athare qubul bin ke tarikhash
Az ayate rabbena taqabbal minna"[3]

"This exalted Madrasah with a praiseworthy foundation, has been built as the place of adoration for the pure-minded. Look at the signs of its Divine acceptance that its chronogram is contained in the Qur'anic verse, [Our Lord] accept it from us."

The numerical value of the verse according to the system of *Abjad* gives the date 877 H. corresponding to 1472 A.D.

After the Mughal conquest of India all kinds of cultural activities, including education, received great encouragement. Both Babur and Humayun were men of refined taste, the latter being a great bibliophile and scholar. In the Madrasah, which he founded in Delhi, special provision was made for teaching mathematics, astronomy and geography, the subjects in which he was personally interested. One of the famous teachers of this Madrasah was Sheikh Husain.

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1. *Tarikhe Firishta*, p. 302 (Nivalkishore ed. Lucknow).
2. G. Yazdani, *Bidar, History and Monuments*.
3. این مدرسه رفیع و محمود بنا — تعمیر شده است قبله اهل صفا
آثار قبول بین که تاریخش — از آیت ربنا تقبل منا

It is true that the Mughals, like their predecessors, the Turco-Afghan rulers, had no separate department of education either in the Central or the Provincial government, but the Emperors and the nobility were invariably great patrons of learning. Akbar took keen interest in the education of the people and even attempted to introduce reforms in the curriculum of the primary schools then in vogue. At his suggestion certain important subjects such as logic, arithmetic, mensuration, geometry, astronomy, accountancy, public administration and agriculture were included in the course of studies. This scheme gave a secular bias to the entire educational system of the country.

Himself almost an illiterate, Akbar evinced great interest in the early education and training of children. In one of his sayings, he expressed the great love he bore to children : "Children are the tenderest bud of the Garden of Existence. By loving them we praise the Creator *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. III, Saying No. 75).

'*Ain* 25 of the '*Ain-i-Akbari* (Book Second) is devoted to the organization of elementary education for children and runs thus.

"In every country, but especially in Hindustan, boys are kept for years, where they learn the consonants and vowels. A great portion of the life of the students is wasted by making them read many books. His Majesty orders that every school boy should first learn to write the letters of the alphabet, and also learn to trace their several forms. He ought to learn the shape and name of each letter, which may be done in two days, then the boy should proceed to write the joined letters. They may be practised for a week, after which the boy should learn some prose and poetry by heart, and then commit to memory some verses in praise of God, or moral sentences, each written separately. Care should be taken that he learns to understand everything himself; but the teacher may assist him a little. He then ought, for some time, to be daily practised in writing a hemistich or a verse, and will soon acquire a current hand. The teacher ought especially to look after five things: knowledge of the letters; meanings of words; the hemistich: the verse; the former lesson. If this method of teaching be adopted, a boy will learn in a month, or even in a day, what it took others years to understand, so much that people will be quite astonished. Every boy ought to read books on morals, arithmetic, the notation peculiar to arithmetic, agriculture, mensuration, geometry, astronomy, physiognomy, household matters, the rules of government, medicine, logic the *tabiyi, riazi, ilahi* Sciences[1] and history; all of which may be gradually acquired.

In studying Sanskrit, students ought to learn the Bayakaran, Niyai, Bedanta, and Patanjal. No one should be allowed to neglect those things which the present time requires.

These regulations shed a new light on Maktabs, and cast a bright

1. *Tabiyi* science stands for natural science; *Riazi* is higher mathematics, *Ilahi* is metaphysics and theology.

lustre over Madrasas."[1]

the man who greatly influenced the educational policy of Akbar was Mir Fathullah Shirazi, one of the greatest intellectuals of the time. At the earnest solicitation of 'Ali 'Adil Shah of Bijapur, he left Shiraz for the Deccan. He was the disciple of Mir Ghiyathuddin Mansur of Shiraz, a great master of the rational sciences (*ma'qulat*) in Persia. After the death of 'Ali 'Adil Shah, he was invited by Akbar who appointed him as Sadr. He so excelled in all branches of natural sciences, especially mechanics and philosophy that Abul Fazl said of him, "If the books of antiquity should be lost, Mir Fathullah Shirazi will restore them."

He constructed a mill stone which was placed on a cart and turned itself and ground corn. He invented a looking-glass which, whether near or at a distance, showed all sorts of curious figures; also a wheel which cleaned at a time twelve barrels.

The matchlocks invented by Mir Fathullah Shirazi were so strong that they did not burst, though let off when filled to the top with gun-powder. Formerly they could not be filled to more than a quarter. The iron was flattened and twisted obliquely in the form of a roll, so that the folds became longer at every twist. Then the folds were joined so as to allow them to lie one over the other and were heated gradually in the fire. The matchlocks were made in such a manner that they could be fired off without a match by a slight movement of the cock.[2]

He also invented a gun which on marches could be taken to pieces, and then put together again when required. Another gun joined seventeen guns in such a manner as to be able to fire them simultaneously with one match.[3]

Mir Fathullah Shirazi, the Sadr and later the chief associate of Raja Todar Mal in the work of organization of the revenue system, could find time not only for his scientific and mechanical inventions, but also for teaching advanced students. His hobby was to give lessons to small boys of the age of seven or eight (Badauni). The son of Abul Fazl was also one of his pupils. Besides these activities, he found time to write explanatory notes on such standard books as *Sharhe Mulla Jalal* and also an exegesis of the holy Qur'an.

Mir Fathullah Shirazi supervised the work of translation of the astronomical tables of Ulugh Beg and also introduced the works of Allama Dawani, Sadr Shirazi and Mirza Jan in India, which were included in the curriculam of the Madrasahs as optional subjects. This gave a general bias towards *ma'qulat* to the entire scheme of higher studies in this country. Thus the tendency which started in the time of Sikandar Lodhi found its culmination in the reign of Akbar.

1. *Blochmann*, p. 288.
2. *Ain* 37.
3. *Ain* 36.

Mir Fathullah Shirazi carried on his experiments in mechanics in the Karkhanahs or workshops which formed a regular department under the Diwan-e-Buyutat and the Mir Saman in the time of Akbar. There were different departments in the Karkhanahs which specialized in a particular line. For instance one department specialized in brocade, while another specialized in the making of matchlocks and guns. Father Monserrate, the Jesuit missionary, who was at the court of Akbar in 1580–2 writes in his *Commentary*[1] about the Karkhanahs: "He (Akbar) has built a workshop near the palace, where also are studios and workshops for the finer and more reputable arts, such as painting, goldsmith's work, tapestry making, carpet and curtain making, and manufacture of arms. Hither he (Akbar) very frequently comes and relaxes his mind with watching at their work those who practise these arts. Akbar took personal interest in mechanical experiments. For instance he looked personally to the details of the process of barrel making and tested the barrels during the various stages of their construction. Even during his hunting tours he used to spend some time in hunting and some time in the blacksmith's shop in looking after gun-making.[2]

Akbar not only patronized inventors in his court, but also sent his envoys to foreign countries to bring the curiosities from them. Haji Habibullah was despatched to Goa and a number of craftsmen were sent along with him to acquire the arts of the Europeans.[3]

The Karkhanas were not only manufacturing agencies but also served as centres for technical and vocational training to young men by the system of apprenticeship. They were placed under a master-craftsman (ustad) to learn the trade and in course of time became experts themselves. The Karkhanahs trained and turned out numerous artisans and craftsmen in different branches, who later set up their own independent workshops.

Bernier, the French traveller, who visited India in the seventeenth century, saw these Karkhanahs at work. He observes: "Large halls are seen in many places, called Kar-Kanays (Karkhanahs) or workshops for the artisans. In one hall embroiderers are busily employed, superintended by a master. In another you see goldsmiths, in a third, painters, in a fourth varnishers in lacquer-work; in a fifth, joiners, turners, tailors, and shoemakers; in a sixth, manufacturers of silk, brocade, and those fine muslins, of which are made turbans, girdles with golden flowers, and drawers worn by females, so delicately fine as frequently to wear out in one night. .... The artisans repair every morning to their respective Kar-Kanays (workshops, where they remain employed the whole day; and in the evening return to their homes........ The embroiderer brings

1. The full title of his narrative is '*Mongolicae Legationis Commentarius*."
2. *Akbar Nama*, III, p. 744.
3. Badauni, II, p. 299.

up his son as an embroiderer, the son of a goldsmith becomes a goldsmith, and a physician of the city educates his son for a physician."[1]

Evidently, the bias of education in the time of Akbar was more secular than religious. Sheikh 'Abdul Haqq Muhaddith of Delhi, a contemporary of Akbar, has recorded an interesting conversation among students, which throws a revealing light on the psychological condition of young men in the time of Akbar. In his well-known work *'Akhbarul Akhyar'* he says, "Once the students were having a conversation among themselves and asking each other about the aim and object of their studies. Some of them pretended and insincerely asserted that they were pursuing their studies to get an insight into divine mysteries, while others were truthful and straightforward and said that the object of their pursuing knowledge was to have some worldly gain in the future. When they asked me about my opinion, I said that my purpose in pursuing knowledge was to acquaint myself with the views of men of erudition and wisdom of the past and to know their intuitive method of resolving intellectual difficulties and realizing the reality."

The result of the new educational policy of Akbar was that many Hindus took to the study of Persian. In the Madrasahs and the Maktabs there was no invidious discrimination between the Hindus and the Muslims.[2] Within a few decades of the new educational policy there flourished large numbers of Hindu poets, historians and even lexicographers, whose intellectual stature was in no way lower than that of their Muslim compeers. Some of the Hindu scholars excelled in rational sciences (*ma'qulat*) and were appointed as teachers in the Madrasahs. Abul Fadl has given a list of some Hindu scholars in the *'Ain-i-Akbari* who had made their mark in the *'ma'qulat'*. It includes the names of Narayan, Madho Bhat, Sri Bhat, Bishan Nath, Ram Kishan, Balbhadra Misr, Vasudeva Misr, Bhan Bhat, Vidya Nivas, Gauri Nath, Gopi Nath, Kishan Pandit, Bhattacharji. Bhagirath, Kashi Nath, Mahadeo, Bhim Nath and Narain Sivji. The last four were scholars of medicine as well as practising physicians attached to the court. Some of the Hindu physicians wrote books in Persian on the science of medicine. Akbar built a magnificent Madrasah near the royal residence on the hill in the palace-city of Fathpur Sikri, 'the like of which few travellers can name'.

Abul Fadl also founded a Madrasah at Fathpur Sikri which was known as "Madrasai Abul Fadl." It is extant even today. As Fathpur Sikri was out of the way for the scholars living at Agra, Akbar founded

1. *Travels in the Mughal Empire*, p. 259.
2. Della Valle, who visited India in the time of Jahangir, noticed that Hindus and Muslims "live all mixed together and peaceably, because the Grand Mughol, although he be a Mohomedan, makes no difference in his dominions between the one sort and the other, and both in his court and armies, and even amongst men of the highest degree, they are of equal account and consideration" (*Travels of pietro Della Valle*, ed. by Edward Grey).

a Madrasah at Agra and Chalpi Beg, a savant of Shiraz, was appointed as its principal.[1] In 1561, Akbar's foster-mother, Maham Angah, established a Madrasah at Delhi, with a mosque attached to it. It was called 'Khairu'l Manazil', a name determined from a chronogram.

During the reigns of Akbar's great successors, the progress of education in the kingdom was maintained. It was stipulated by Jahangir that if a noble died and his property reverted to the State, its proceeds should be utilized for the building and the upkeep of the Madrasahs.[2] He encouraged men of learning. The celebrated savant of his time, Sheikh 'Abdul Haqq Muhaddith was patronized by him. Jahangir has noted in the *Tuzuk* that the inhabitants of Agra exerted themselves greatly in the acquirement of craft and the search after learning. Professors of every religion and creed had taken up their abode in Agra, where students thronged from far and near.

During the reigns of Jahangir and Shahjahan, arts and crafts, throve as never before, which is testified by the testimony of Sir Thomas Roe and Bernier. The latter says about the workmanship displayed by the Indian craftsmen :—

"There are ingenious men in every part of Indies. Numerous are the instances of handsome pieces of workmanship made by persons destitute of tools, and who can scarcely be said to have received instruction from a master. Sometimes they imitate so perfectly articles of European manufacture that the difference between the original and copy can hardly be discerned. Among other things, the Indians make excellent muskets and fowling-pieces, and such beautiful gold ornaments that it may be doubted if the exquisite workmanship of those articles can be exceeded by any European goldsmith. I have often admired the beauty, softness, and delicacy of their paintings and miniatures and was particularly struck with the exploits of Ekbar, painted on a shield by a celebrated artist who is said to have been seven years in completing the picture."[3]

He mentions the craftsmanship of the Kashmiris in these glowing terms :

"The workmanship and beauty of their *palkeys*, bedsteads, trunks, inkstands, boxes, spoons, and various other things are quite remarkable, and articles of their manufacture are in use in every part of the Indies. They perfectly understand the art of varnishing, and are eminently skilful in closely imitating the beautiful veins of a certain wood, by inlaying with gold threads so delicately wrought that I never saw more elegant or perfect. But what may be considered peculiar to Kachemire, and the staple commodity, that which particularly promotes the trade of the country and fills it with wealth, is the prodigious quantity of shawls which

1. *Akbar Nama.*
2. Khafi Khan, *Muntakhabul Lubab.*
3. *Travels in the Moghul Empire* p. 254–55.

they manufacture, and which gives occupation even to the little children (p. 402-4)[1]

It is true that Shahjahan's hobby was architecture, but other cultural activities were not neglected by him. He founded a Madrasah near the Jami' Masjid of Delhi and endowed it with sufficient estates for its maintenance. It was also during his reign that Mulla Farid, a great mathematician of the time, prepared a new astronomical table which rectified the astronomical table of Ulugh Beg and was named 'Ziche Shahjahani' (*'Amal-i-Salih*). Shahjahan patronized men of learning and poets. One of his beneficiaries was Chander Bhan Brahman, a writer of distinction. His *'Munsha'at-e-Brahman'* was a text-book in schools for a very long time. Other learned men of his time to whom he extended his patronage were Abdul Hakim Sialkoti, Mulla Muhammad Fadil and Qadi Muhammad Aslam. They were eminent in one or other branch of knowledge. Jahanara Begum, one of Shahjahan's daughters, founded a Madrasah at Agra, attached to the Jami 'Masjid, which acquired great renown and continued to function and prosper even in later times.

Aurangzeb founded numberless Madrasahs all over the country and fixed stipends for teachers and students. A considerable amount of money used to be spent annually on these subsidies. The result of this policy was that the number of students in the Madrasahs increased to an unprecedented degree and poor and deserving students could pursue their studies without financial worries (*'Alamgir Nama.*) The assistance given to students was in proportion to their proficiency. The students who studied *Mizan* received one anna daily, and those who studied *Munsh'ab* two annas, and upto *Sharhe Waqayah*, eight annas daily. (*Tarikhi Farah Baksh* of Muhammad Fiyaz, quoted by Law).

Aurangzeb had issued orders to all the Provincial Diwans in his dominions that all students from the lowest to the highest form, those who studied the *Mizan* and those who studied *Kashshaf*, be given financial help from the provincial treasury with the sanction of the provincial Sadr. This was communicated to Makramat Khan, who was the Diwan of Gujarat, and was preserved and reproduced in the *'Mir'at-i-Ahmadi'* of 'Ali Muhammad Khan, which is a mine of information about the Moghul system of administration. According to this authority, Aurangzeb sanctioned a sum of money for the repair of the Madrasahs in Gujarat. It is also mentioned in the same work that Akramuddin Khan, Sadr of Gujarat, built a Madrasah at Ahmadabad at an expense of one lakh and twenty four thousand rupees and requested pecuniary help from the Emperor to meet its running expenses, the Emperor, thereupon, was pleased to grant as Jagir the village of Sondrah (in Pargana Sanoli)

1. In the *Ain-i-Akbari* Abul Fadl says, "His Majesty encourages in every possible way, the manufacture of shawls in Kashmir. In Lahore also there are more than a thousand workshops." In this *Ain*, Abul Fadl has enumerated the varieties of shawls which were manufactured in Kashmir and elsewhere. *Blochmann* p. 97-102.

and the village of Sabilah (in Pargana Kari) and sanctioned the stipend of two rupees daily to be distributed to poor and deserving students.

Aurangzeb's approach, even in the intellectual and cultural sphere, was orthodox. He could not tolerate any book to be included in the curriculum of the Madrasahs which in any way violated the orthodox point of view. In those days the works of Sheikh Muhibullah Allahabadi were very much in vogue. Aurangzeb took exception to some statements of the Sheikh in his book '*Taswia*'. As the Sheikh had died, he called upon his chief disciple Sheikh Muhammadi to give a satisfactory explanation of the objectionable statements or to renounce the discipleship of the Sheikh and to have the copies of the book burnt. Sheikh Muhammadi who was a man of sturdy independence and had a saintly character, replied that he was not prepared to renounce his discipleship in any case. As for offering an explanation, he said that he could not comply with the Imperial order as he had not yet reached that spiritual stage from which the Sheikh had made those utterances, and that when he would get to that spiritual stage, he would send the Emperor a commentary on those statements. He added that if the Emperor had decided to have the copies of the said treatise burnt, there was enough fire in the royal kitchen for this purpose. The Emperor kept quiet after receiving this outspoken letter.[1]

In this connection it may be noted that Sheikh Muhibullah Allahabadi was an advanced mystic and a bold and original thinker, who believed in the doctrine of the 'unity of being'. As a teacher also he had many disciples who were spread all over the country. In the treatise in question he argued that the Gabriel of the Prophet Muhammad was within Muhammad himself. Similarly, every Prophet had his Gabriel within his own self. Dara Shikoh was a great devotee of the Sheikh and used to have correspondence with him on mystical problems. This also accounts for the antipathy of Aurangzeb towards Sheikh Muhibullah Allahabadi.

A great achievement of Aurangzeb's time was the compilation of the '*Fatawai 'Alamgiri*', the most comprehensive digest of Muslim jurisprudence ever compiled. For this work he engaged the services of the most famous '*ulema* of his time, under the supervision of Sheikh Nizam of Burhanpur.

Aurangzeb's excessive orthodoxy caused him to discourage the fine arts. Thus the profession of musicians attached to the royal court was almost finished. It is said that about a hundred of these took out twenty biers with loud cries and lamentations, in order to excite the pity of the Emperor on their condition, while he was on his way to the mosque. On Aurangzeb's inquiry, he was told that the musicians were going to bury 'Music'. The Emperor calmly remarked that they should pray

1. *Ma'athirul Umara*, III, p. 606.

for her soul and see that she was well buried.[1]

During the later Mughal period, most of the new Madrasahs owed their existence to private effort and munificence. The Madrasah of Ghaziuddin Khan in Delhi, the Madrasahs of Sharfud Daulah and Raushanud Daulah at Delhi, the Madrasahs of Hasan Rida Khan at Farrukhabad and similar Madrasahs at Allahabad, Ahmadabad, Surat, 'Azimabad, Murshadabad, Aurangabad, Hyderabad and Karnul were founded by the nobles, who were of a pious bent of mind and were interested in the advancement of learning.

During the later Mughal period the courses of study with the bias towards ma'qulat, continued to be the order of the day, with slight modifications from time to time. In Delhi and the Punjab the subjects bearing on "m'aqulat" were optional, while in the eastern districts of Oudh and Bihar they were compulsory for all students.

In the middle of the eighteenth century, Mulla Nizamuddin, who was a contemporary of Shah Waliullah, drew up a syllabus, known as "Dars-i-Nizami" which was in keeping with the previous syllabuses in vogue. It was adopted all over the country and consisted of the following eleven subjects with books prescribed for each.[2]

(1) Sarf; (declension and conjugation) *Mizan, Munsha'b, Sarfe Mir, Panjganj, Zubda, Fusule Akbari, Shafi'a.*
(2) Nahv: (grammar and Syntax) *Nahv Mir, Sharhi Ma'ta 'Amil, Hidayatun Nahv, Kafia, Sharh Jami.*
(3) Mantiq (logic): *Sughra, Kubra, Isaghoji, Tahdhib, Sharhe Tahdhib, Qutbi Mir, Sullamul'ulum.*
(4) Hikmat (philosophy): *Maibadhi, Sadra, Shamse Bazigha.*
(5) Riadi (mathematics): *Khulasatul Hisab, Tahrife Uqledas Maqalai ula, Tashrihul Aflak, Risalai Qaushajia, Sharh Chaghmani* babi Awwal.
(6) Balaghat (rhetoric): *Mukhtasar Ma'ani, Mutawwal* upto ma'ana qultu.
(7) Fiqh (Jurisprudence): *Sharh Waqaya Awwalin, Hidaya Akherin.*
(8) Usule Fiqh: (principles of jurisprudence): *Nuru'l Anwar, Taudih Talvih, Musallimath thubut* (mabadi Kalama).
(9) Kalam (dialectics): *Sharh 'Aqa'ide Nasafi, Sharh 'Aqa'ide Jalali Mir Zahid, Sharhe Mawaqif.*
(10) Tafsir (exegesis of the Qur'an): *Jalalain, Baidawi.*
(11) Hadith (traditions): *Mishkat almasabih.*

A few decades later the following four subjects were added to the above syllabus.

(1) Adab (*literature*): *Nafhatul Yaman, Sab'a Mu'allaqa, Diwani Muntanabbi, Maqamate Hariri and Hamasa.*

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1 Manucci, *Storia do Mogor*, Vol. II, p. 8.
2. Abul Hasanat Nadir, *Hindustan ki Qadim Islami Darsgahen*, p. 97.

(2) Faraid (obligations): *Sharifia.*
(3) Munazara: (disputation)
(4) Usul-i-Hadith: (principles of Hadith)

The chief merit of the Darse Nizami is that it did not so much lay emphasis on the prescribed books as on mastering the subject under study. In this system the teacher had to supply all the relevant information available regarding a particular topic which happened to be the subject of study. In spite of its emphasis on logical studies, it was certainly a more flexible and useful system than the previous ones.

For the primary and secondary stages of education, great emphasis was laid on the Persian language and sometimes it was made the medium of instruction. Being the official language of the country even the non-Muslims eagerly acquired it. It was as a result of the cultivation and dissemination of this language that India could very well be proud of having produced great masters of poetry and prose in Persian, like Amir Khusrau, Mir Hasan, Faidi, Abul Fadl and Mirza Ghalib, who obtained the tribute of recognition from Persians themselves. The syllabus prescribed for primary and secondary schools in the eighteenth century was as follows :—

Prose: *Nuskhai T'alimia, T'alim-i-'Azizi, Dasturus Sibyan, Insha-i-Madho Ram, Insha-i-Fa'iq, Insha-i-Khalifa, Ruqq'at-i-'Alamgiri, Gulistan, Maktubati Abul Fadl, Bahare Danish, Anwari Suhaili, Sih Nathri Zuhuri, Waqa'-i-Ni'amat Khan-i-'Ali.*

Poetry: *Karima, Ma Muqima, Khaliq Bari, Bustan, Yusuf Zulaikha, Qasa'ide 'Urfi, Qasa'idi Badr Chach, Diwan-i-Ghani, Sikandernama* etc.

Broadly speaking, it may be said that each seat of higher learning specialized in one particular branch. For instance, the Delhi school of Shah Waliullah specialized in the Traditions (*Hadith*) and the Exegesis (*Tafsir*); the Farangimahli school of Lucknow specialized in jurisprudence (*Fiqh*), and the Sialkot school specialized in Grammar. This accounts for the fact that the scholars constantly migrated from one place to another in search of a suitable teacher. There was constant and intimate touch between the teacher and the taught which should be considered the chief feature of the educational system of those times. The pupil imbibed the methods of the teacher for widening his knowledge. The same principle applied to vocational education, perhaps even more so. The apprentice constantly lived with the master-craftsman to learn and assimilate the secrets of his efficiency which were revealed in an informal, casual manner.

Students were promoted from a lower to a higher class according to the opinion of the teachers concerned who took into account the total academic career of the students, whom they knew very intimately. There was no regular system of annual examinations. Academic distinctions were awarded in accordance with the aptitude of the candidate in a particular branch of knowledge. For instance one who had excelled in

logic and philosophy was awarded the degree of Fadil, one who specialized in theology was awarded the degree of 'Alim, and the expert in literature was entitled to the degree of Qabil. A regular ceremony was held when these degrees were awarded to eligible students.

We may here offer a few passing remarks about the education of women in medieval India. During the Turco-Afghan rule the women belonging to royalty were given private tuition. The daughter of Iltutmish Radiya Sultana, who succeeded him on the throne, had received a sound education and was taught even riding and the arts of war. She was a patron of the learned.[1]

Ghiathuddin Khilji son of Mahmud Khilji of Malwa, had founded a Madrasah at Sarangpur in which special arrangements were made for teaching arts and crafts to women. According to Firishta women were taught dancing, music, sewing, weaving, velvet making, carpenter's craft, goldsmith's craft, ironsmith's craft, quiver making, shoemaking, wrestling and the military art.[2] On the basis of this evidence, we can safely assert that girls of high and middle class families had sufficient opportunities for acquiring proficiency in general learning and crafts.

In Mughal times, royalty and the aristocracy did not neglect the education of their womenfolk. Gulbadan Begum, Humayun's sister, wrote *Humayun Nama*, which is of great historical value. She has recounted the story of Humayun's marriage with Hamida Banu Begum, daughter of a nobleman, who was an educated woman of strong character. She says that when Humayun offered to marry her, she refused to consider his proposal, as he had much too elevated a status for her. "I would rather marry a man", she said, 'whose collar I can hold than one whose skirt I cannot reach" (*Humayun Nama*). Salima Sultana, Maham Angah, Nur Jahan, Chand Sultana and Mumtaz Mahal were all educated women. Jahanara Begum, daughter of Shah Jahan, had a genius for poetry. She wrote her own epitaph which is still to be found on her grave in Delhi and which reads :—

> 'Let not anyone scatter over my tomb
> anything other than grass, for it is
> enough for the grave of the poor'.

Zebun Nisa, daughter of Aurangzeb, was a highly intellectual person who was interested in the advancement of knowledge. She established a literary academy and a library for the use of scholars. It was at her instance that Mullah Safiuddin translated Imam Razi's '*Tafsir-i-Kabir*' into Persian and named it '*Zebut Tafasir*', after the name of his patron. A contemporary historian has recorded that Zebun Nisa was a sedulous collector of books and had a large library. (*Ma'athir-i-'Alamgiri*). She also wrote poetry of a high order.

1. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri.*
2. *Tarikh-i-Firishta*, p. 255 (Nivalkishore ed. Lucknow).

Besides royalty and the nobility, even among the middle classes the education of girls was quite common. There were Maktabs for imparting religious education to girls in private houses, where elderly ladies taught the *Qur'an, Gulistan, Bustan* and books on morals. It was customary that when a girl started a new book, her parents entertained the teacher and offered her presents. Even the widows of middle-class families conducted private schools in their houses for the benefit of the daughters of poor people who lived in their quarter. This was considered to be an act of piety.

In almost all the cities and towns of medieval India there were Madrasahs attached to mosques and mausoleums. Everywhere there were Maktabs in which reading, writing and arithmetic were taught to the children of all classes without any distinction of caste or creed.

Ibn Fadlullah, author of the '*Masaliku'l Absar*' and Al-Qalqashandi, author of the '*Subhu'l A'sha* say that there were one thousand schools (Madrasahs and Maktabs) in Delhi in the time of Muhammad Tughlaq. Such schools, according to Della Valle, existed in every town and village in the time of Jahangir. In a later period, according to Hamilton, who visited North-Western India in the last decade of the seventeenth century four hundred schools (Maktabs and Madrasahs) existed in the city of Thatta alone.

In these schools the children were made to write the alphabet and figures on smooth wooden boards called *takhtis*. It seems that particular attention was paid to elementary arithmetic and there was a system in vogue to commit to memory the multiples of numbers called *paharas*, which was generally practised in a collective manner by the whole class. Good handwriting was also valued and calligraphy was practised and encouraged. The Maktabs functioned in the morning and in the afternoon, with an interval for the midday meal. The students were not charged any fees. The teacher was supported by the rich of the locality and was respected by all. Such sports as *kabaddi* were common all over the country.

The friendly relations subsisting between Hindu and Muslim intellectuals in medieval history had a direct bearing on the educational development of those times. Alberuni, philosopher, mathematician and geographer, who had travelled extensively in India and studied the language, the sciences and the philosophy of the Hindus, embodied his observations in a book which is remarkable for its sympathetic insight. He introduced the Hindu civilization and culture to the Muslims in its true perspective. The work of translation of the Sanskrit classics into Persian was undertaken during the reigns of Firoz Tughlaq, Sikandar Lodhi and Akbar, and lastly by Prince Dara Shikoh. Apart from religious books like the *Upanishads*, the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana*, books of a technical nature were also translated for the benefit of the advanced students of the subject. Among the treatises which were translated from Sanskrit

into Persian, the following may be mentioned: Bhaskaracharya's *Siddhanta Siromani*, consisting of four parts, *Lilavati*, *Bijaganita*, *Grahaganita* and *Goladhyaya*. *Lilavati* was translated by Faidi and *Bijaganita* (Algebra) by 'Ataullah Rashidi.

Dastural-'Amal by an unknown writer and *Zubdatul Qawanin* by Harsukh Rai Sahgal contain an account of Hindu astronomy. *Badai'ul Funun*, a treatise on arithmetic based on *Lilavati*, was translated from Sanskrit into Persian by Medini Mal. *Anwar ul Nujum* was a treatise on Hindu astronomy by Qabul Muhammad Ansari; *Khulasatul Hisab* by Bahauddin 'Amili, was a very popular text-book and was based on a Sanskrit treatise.[1]

There are some treatises in Sanskrit written during the medieval period which show an unmistakable influence of Islamic thought. Dutt and Singh in the *History of Hindu Mathematics*, refer to the Gelosia method (*kapat sandhi*) which appears in Ganesha's '*Ganita Manjari*', a commentary on *Lilavati*, written in the 16th century. The method appears first in the writings of Abu Zakariya Hassar (12th Century). We have also an astrological work for calculating auspicious days (*muhartas*) bearing the title *Jyotirvidhabharana* (16th Century) as ascribed to one Kalidasa, which shows a distinct Arab influence. Similarly Kamalakara's *Siddhanta Tattava Viveka* shows a knowledge of Muslim astronomy. Mathuranath Sukla wrote the *Jyotish Siddhantasara* by the order of Raja Dalachandra of Banaras, drawing his materials chiefly from Arabic sources.[2]

In the time of Muhammad Shah, Mirza Raja Jai Singh of Ambar established a number of observatories in Jaipur, Ujjain, Mathura, Banaras and Delhi. Under his patronage, Arabic astronomical works were translated into Sanskrit. He was himself an excellent mathematician and astronomer and it was at his suggestion that Pandit Jagannath translated from the Arabic Ptolemy's *Almagest* called *Siddhantasara Kaustubha*. Nasiruddin Tusi's work on the use of circular instruments was rendered from Arabic into Sanskrit under the title of *Katara*. Jai Singh's chief aim, however, was to correct the calculations of the astronomical tables then in existence and for this purpose he erected five observatories in different parts of the country and compiled the *Zich-e-Muhammed Shahi*.

In the field of medicine, translations of Sanskrit books were rendered into Persian. In the time of Sikandar Lodhi '*Ma'dinush Shifa i-Sikandari*' was compiled by *Bhuvah* bin Khawas Khan from Sanskrit *Sources* and divided into three parts: (1) Sutrasthana, (2) Saririkasthana, and (3) Nidana Chikitsa. Other medical compilations based on Sanskrit are:- *Dasturul Atibba* by Muhammad Qasim Hindu Shah Firishta which is a compendium based on Sanskrit sources; *Talife Sharif* by Hakim

1. Tara Chand, Presidential address, Mughal History section, Indian History Congress, 1939.
2. Ibid.

Muhammad Sharif Khan and *Tuhfatu'l Momin* of Muhammad Mominu'l Husaini.

Similarly, in the Sanskrit treatises on medicine, written in the 16th and subsequent centuries, clear traces of the influence of Arab medicine and allied sciences are found. *Rasapradipa, Rasa Kaumidi, Bhavaprakasha, Dhatukriya*, and *Arkaprakasha* are cases in point. According to P.C. Ray, 'the regular application of the mineral acid to technical operations dates from the time of the Emperor Akbar or perhaps a little earlier' (*History of Hindu Chemistry*, p. 187).

The first book in Persian on Indian Music is *Lahjate Sikandar Shahi* which was compiled by Hammad in the time of Sikandar Lodhi. It deals with all the aspects of Indian music. The author has adopted the method of questions and answers, and the important points have been adequately elucidated with the help of diagrams and sketches.[1]

There were seats of learning at many places where special provision was made for the study of Hindu religion. In the North, Banaras, Nadia, Mithila, Tirhut, Mathura, Prayag (Allahabad), Hardwar, Ujjain and Ayodhya were well known as great centres of Hindu learning, where students gathered from all parts of the country. In the South, Madura and Tanjore had high reputation for erudition of their Acharyas. Bernier writes about Banaras which he visited in the seventeenth century: "Banaras is a kind of university, but it has no college or regular classes as in our universities, but resembles rather the schools of the ancients, the masters being spread over different parts of the town in private houses".[2] In almost all these seats of learning were taught Sanskrit grammar, literature, and six systems of Hindu philosophy (*darsanas*) and Hindu religious scriptures.

Critically speaking, the system of education in vogue in medieval India lacked resilience and had become much too rigid and non-creative. The modifications made in it from time to time did not go far enough to meet the challenge of the times it was called upon to face. After all one of the main functions of knowledge is to cultivate the faculty to apprehend relations found in social and natural phenomena, so that one may be able to orient oneself in time and place which is a sign of intellectual development. Without this faculty no group can survive. The chief failing of the medieval system of education was that it was not found adequate to enable its adherents to form habits of accurate observation and practical judgment It was much too rigid, sterile and bookish. The chief factor in assessing all educational activity should be whether it calls forth the best of the potentialities for moral and spiritual growth. It would be historically true to assert that the medieval system of education, especially in the later Mughal period, failed to

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1. *Islamic culture*, July, 1954.
2. *Travels in the Mughal Empire*, p. 341.

impart the qualities of leadership and thus ensure the supply of outstanding personalities in the different walks of life.

We know that Aurangzeb's first tutor was Sa'dullah Khan, the most erudite scholar of his time, who later became the chief minister of Shahjahan. His other teachers were Mir Muhmmad Hashim and Mulla Salih. When the latter went to congratulate Aurangzeb on his accession to the throne, the Emperor administered to his teacher that celebrated rebuke recorded by Bernier. It embodies Aurangzeb's views on the system of education then in vogue.

"Was it not incumbent upon my preceptor", he said, "to make me acquainted with the distinguishing features of every nation of the earth; its resources and strength, its modes of warfare, its manners, religion, forms of government, and wherein its interests principally consist; and, by a regular course of historical reading, to render me familiar with the origin of States, their progress and decline; the events, the accidents, or errors, owing to which such great changes and mighty revolutions have been effected?......... If you had taught me that philosophy which adapts the mind to reason, and will not suffer it to rest satisfied with anything short of the most solid arguments; if you had inculcated lessons which elevate the soul and fortify it against the assaults of fortune, tending to produce that enviable equanimity which is neither insolently elated by prosperity nor basely depressed by adversity; if you had made me acquainted with the nature of man, accustomed me always to refer to first principles, and given me a sublime and adequate conception of the universe, and of the order and regular motion of its parts;—if such, I say, had been the nature of the philosophy imbibed under your tuition, I should be more indebted to you than Alexander to Aristotle".[1]

Even if the long discourse of Aurangzeb, quoted by Bernier, be not wholly authentic, the points raised in it are relevant, and the views expressed about the inadequacy of the educational system of those times are far from being incorrect. There is no doubt about the fact that it failed to produce the right type of leadership which the later Mughals needed so badly.

1. *Travels in the Mughal Empire*, p. 156.

AKBAR AND THE DECCAN

D. R. SETH. *

INTRODUCTION

FEW scholars who have written about the reign of Akbar, have devoted much attention to his ambitions and policies as regards the Deccan.[1] The result is that our knowledge of this facet of his marvellous career is very scanty.

Ten years ago a paper by Dr. Yusuf Husain Khan was published in *Islamic Culture* (July 1944) on "The Deccan Policy and Campaigns of the Mughals." It was a pioneer effort but the writer did not pursue the subject further and left it at the initiatory stage.

This paper is an attempt to fill up the lacuna. It traces the origin of Akbar's Deccan policy, his early diplomatic offensive to gain recognition as a suzerain, and on its failure the military measures adopted by him. In the end an attempt is made to estimate whether Akbar's policy was a failure or a success.

THE ORIGIN OF AKBAR'S DECCAN POLICY

Historians have laboured hard to trace the origin of this policy, but nearly all have failed to reach the core or the mainspring of that policy. V. A. Smith has tried to show that Akbar's main motive for undertaking the conquest of the Deccan was to gain a foothold for an assault on the European coastal settlements.[2] This is not true. The Deccan Kingdoms were a prize glittering enough in themselves to invite attack. Others hold that Akbar was actuated by religious motives, he being a Sunni and the Deccan rulers Shi'a. Abul Fadl says that Akbar was moved by the single purpose of restoring law and order in those states and peace and

1. V. A. Smith, *Akbar the Great Mogul;* Von Noer, *Akbar.*
2. *Akbar the Great Mogul;* pp. 246-256.

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prosperity to their people.[1] All these theories, when weighed in an impartial balance, are found wanting. Drunk with the pride of power, Akbar might have looked upon himself as a "Chakarvartin," a redeemer of the peoples from the bondage of war and oppression. But this was merely a cloak for aggression. He was simply behaving like the big pike in a pond that preys upon its weaker neighbours.

As with all the early emperors of India, political ambition was the mainspring which launched Akbar on the road to conquest in the Deccan. Political ambition is insatiable and feeds on conquest. Like the mighty Juggernan it crushes everyone that comes in its way. So Akbar having established himself securely north of the Narbada, turned his eyes south for fresh fields of conquest.

Another reason lay in the nature of the state Akbar had created. Its military character made it necessary for it to expand or lose its dynamism. Military states that lose their dynamism soon sicken and die. Expansionist tactics are thus forced upon them. As Dr. Jadunath Sarkar says, "The Mughal State was not able to stand a time of peace. Repose was fatal not only to its growth but to its very life.[2] "

THE DIPLOMATIC OFFENSIVE

When Gujarat became a Mughal province, the southern frontier of the empire marched with the northern boundary of the kingdom of Ahmadnagar. An era of a neighbourly exchange of diplomatic missions and the sending and receiving of gifts and presents was inaugurated. Thus we find that in 1572 Mir Mohsin Ridavi was sent on a mission to the rulers of the Deccan.[3] In 1575 Hakim 'Ain-ul-Mulk Shirazi was sent on an embassy with the Vakils of the King of Bijapur and returned and presented elephants and other gifts from 'Ali 'Adil Shah. In 1579 a third embassy was sent under Hakim 'Ali.[4]

These were merely preliminary feelers. The second phase was started in 1580, when a punitive expedition under Shihab-ud-Din Ahmad Khan was sent against Raja 'Ali Khan of Khandesh who was coerced into submission.[5] Things began to move faster after this.

KHAN-I-'AZAM'S INVASION

In 1584 an event occurred which showed to Akbar the sad state of the internal situation in the Kingdom of Ahmadnagar.

Murtada Nizam Shah had, by this time, completely retired into his palace of Hasht Bihisht and no longer took any interest in the affairs of

1. *Akbarnama*, III. p. 701.
2. *Aurangzeb*, III. p. 257.
3. *Badayuni*, II. p. 147.
4. *Akbarnama*, III. 296, 388; *Badayuni*, II, 257, 276.
5. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, II. p. 503.

state. The Minister Salabat Khan became all-powerful. His dictatorial airs created many enemies and led to civil war. The rebels, however, were defeated in a battle near the pass of Jeur and fled to the court of Akbar, where they were well received and granted suitable mansabs.[1] About the same time Akbar received another fugitive in the person of Burhan, the younger brother of Murtada Nizam Shah.[2] The presence of these fugitives reminded Akbar that there were troubled waters for him to fish in the Deccan.

In August, 1585, the emperor appointed his fosterbrother, the Khan-i-Azam (Mirza 'Aziz koka), Governor of Malwa with instructions to invade Berar and then march on to Ahmadnagar.

With the Khan-i-Azam's arrival in Malwa began the first attempt to conquer the Deccan. But it proved a dismal failure. There were several reasons for this failure. In the first place Raja 'Ali of Khandesh, on whose help the Mughals counted, refused to co-operate. Moreover there were dissensions and mutual bickerings among the Mughal captains. In spite of such handicaps the Khan-i-'Azam marched into Berar.[3] An attack was made on Kherla which proved a failure. After suffering many hardships the army reached Elichpur on March 20, 1586 and sacked the city. Here the Mughal commander heard that the army of Berar under the command of Mir Taqi had advanced on Handia and not finding the Mughals there, had burnt the place and were pursuing them. The Khan i-'Azam lost his nerve, hurriedly evacuated Berar and fled to Nandurbar in Gujarat.

Thus the first Mughal attempt to conquer the Deccan ended in ignominious failure, and as a result the Deccan enjoyed a brief respite from Mughal aggression.

BURHAN INVADES AHMADNAGAR

The progress of events in Ahmadnagar soon favoured Akbar's designs and gave him another opportunity to take part in matters there.

On June 14, 1588 Murtada Nizam Shah was murdered by his own son Miran Husain. The parricide was himself murdered a few months later, when Isma'il son of Burhan was raised to the throne.[4] Burhan, Murtada's brother who had fled to Akbar some years earlier and had been employed by him, was now the rightful heir to the Nizam Shahi throne. So Akbar recalled him to court and advised him to try to regain his heritage. He offered to give him help in men, guns and ammunitions of war.[5] Burhan at first declined this, but meeting ill

1. *Burhan-i-Ma'athir*, p. 548.
2. *Firishta* II, p. 223.
3. *Burhan-i-Ma'athir*, p. 550; *Akbarnama* III, p. 740.
4. *Burhan-i-Ma'athir*, p. 567-574; Firishta II, p. 215-217.
5. *Akbarnama*, III, p. 821; Firishta II, p. 220.

success in his first attempt to invade Berar, pocketed his pride and took all the help he could from the Mughals as well as Raja 'Ali Khan of Khandesh. He was victorious in the battle of Fardapur over Jemal Khan, who had assumed regency for his son Isma'il. This was on April 5, 1591. Soon after Burhan reached Ahmadnagar where he was crowned king.[1]

AKBAR DECIDES UPON AGGRESSIVE MEASURES

It was as Akbar's protege that Burhan had succeeded in lifting himself to the Nizam Shahi throne. The emperor's motives in supporting Burhan were many and varied. In the first place he had thought that Burhan would play the part of a subservient vassal and thus he would have a controlling hand in the affairs of the Nizam Shahi Kingdom, which might at a later stage lead to actual annexation. In the second place, Ahmadnagar might provide a *point d'appui* for the conquest of the rest of the Deccan.

But Burhan sorely disappointed the emperor and opposed all his political plans and ambitions. Although he proved himself a weak, worthless and licentious king, he was adamant in one respect. He would not be subservient to the emperor and he would brook no interference. The emperor felt foiled. His feelings are well described by Abul Fadl. "When Burhan prevailed over Ahmadnagar, he should have increased his devotion and gratitude, and been an example of obedience to the other rulers of the Deccan. The wine of success robbed him of his senses and he forgot the varied favours he had received from the emperor. He set himself to oppress the weak and considered that his profit consisted in injury to others."[2] It is clear that the misconduct against which Abul Fadl complains was Burhan's refusal to acknowledge the suzerainty of the emperor.

Perhaps there was another reason for Akbar's disappointment. Akbar had set a price on his help when Burhan left Agra to fight for the throne and Burhan had promised at that time that he would cede the province of Berar in case of success.[3] This he now refused to do.

It thus became clear to Akbar that aggressive measures were the only way if Mughal influence was to be created in Ahmadnagar and from there permeate to the other Deccan states. But he was not yet ready for war as he still had his hands full with the Uzbeg menace. Being the fine diplomat that he was, he felt that if the ripe apple fell into his hands for the asking, then why have recourse to arms? He was sure that if a little pressure was put upon Burhan, he would prove more

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1. *Burhan-i-Ma'athir*, p. 592; Firishta II, 222.
2. *Akbarnama* III, p. 909.
3. *Ma'athir-Rahimi* II, p. 423.

amenable. "He always began by giving advice." Thus a diplomatic offensive was decided upon, as a feeler to see if Burhan and the other rulers of the Deccan would be prepared to recognise his suzerainty without giving him the trouble of fighting and defeating them.

On August 24, 1591 the missions left Agra. Faidi was first to see Raja 'Ali Khan and from there go on to Ahmadnagar. Mir Muhammad Ridvi went to Bijapur and Mir Munir to Golconda. At about the same time Prince Murad was appointed Governor of Malwa with instructions to mobilise his forces to be used in case the missions failed.

Faidi reached Burhanpur and had talks with Raja 'Ali Khan[1] who showed a submissive attitude, but could not hold out any prospects of success as regards Burhan against whom he himself had many causes of displeasure. From Burhanpur Faidi went on to Ahmadnagar. Burhan received him cordially but he would not commit himself. Faidi's mission failed entirely. The other envoys met with no better success.

In May, 1593, after an absence of one year and eight months the envoys returned to court, but with empty hands. Instead of recognising Akbar's overlordship, the rulers of the Deccan had asserted their independence by ignoring his envoys and putting them off with pretty phrases and paltry presents. Akbar could not but regard this conduct a personal affront to be avenged with the sword.

PRINCE MURAD'S INVASION OF AHMADNAGAR

Akbar was at that time in Lahore. He held a council of war in which it was decided to send a strong army under Prince Daniyal to chastise Burhan. The Khan-i-Khanan,[2] Raja Rai Singh and many other distinguished officers were appointed to accompany the Prince.

An army of about 30,000 horse was collected and provided with a strong force of artillery and many war-elephants. At the same time orders were sent to Mirza Shah Rukh, Shahbaz Khan and other fief-holders of Malwa to equip their troops and accompany the Prince. Prince Murad was also directed to prepare his forces to accompany the expedition for the conquest of the Deccan.[3]

Shortly after Daniyal and the Khan-i-Khanan had left Lahore (November 1593), the emperor himself followed them to Sultanpur.[4] Here he heard that Daniyal was still at Sirhind and that the army was making very slow progress. He recalled the Khan-i-Khanan and another council of war was held. It was decided to change the command as it was felt that Prince Murad might feel humiliated when asked to serve

1. Faidi's letter to Akbar describing his interview with 'Ali. *Ma'athir-ul-Umara* I, 117-128; *Darbar-i-Akbari*, 397-418.
2. *Ma'athir-ul-Umara* I, p. 50-64; *Darbar-i-Akbari*, p. 567-639.
3. *Akbarnama* II, p. 995.
4. On the river Beas, 25 *kos* from Lahore, it was an important ferry in those days.

under a younger brother. At that time a protest actually arrived from Murad. So Qulij Khan was sent off to turn back Daniyal, and Murad was appointed Commander-in-chief instead. Akbar had at last showed the mailed fist.

As soon as Murad received the imperial *firman* he set about getting ready. The Khan-i-Khanan went to Malwa where Mirza Shah Rukh and Shahbaz Khan joined him with their contingents. After some delays, the combined forces of Malwa and Gujarat were set in motion and the environs of Ahmadnagar were reached in the third week of December, 1595.

AHMADNAGAR (APRIL-DECEMBER, 1595)

Much water had flowed down the Narbada since the appointment of Prince Murad and his arrival before Ahmadnagar.

Burhan had died on April 18, 1595,[1] after an inglorious reign of a little more than four years. He was succeeded by his eldest son Ibrahim. Mian Manju retained the control of state affairs as Peshwa or prime minister. It was not a bed of roses to which Ibrahim had been called. The state was rent by internal strife between the Deccanis and the "Foreigners." This had all along been a curse of the Deccan Kingdoms. A weak government is meat for lawlessness. The weaker the control the more lawlessness spreads. Such strife had taken a most acute form in Ahmadnagar. It had led to a general massacre of the "foreigners" when Jemal Khan came to power, and of the Deccanis when Burhan II had become Nizam Shah. Towards the end of Burhan's reign, the Deccani party[2] had risen against him and a civil war had resulted which ended after a great deal of bloodshed.

The new king Ibrahim pardoned Ikhlas Khan, the leader of the Deccani party, who came and tendered allegiance. But no sooner had he arrived at Ahmadnagar than the internecine contentions began again. Faction fights broke out. The army divided itself into two camps, some sided with Manju, while most of the Deccanis and Habshis supported Ikhlas Khan.[3] Peace and order disappeared and nobody was mindful of the doom that was hanging over their heads. Unity, the most urgent need of the hour was conspicuous by its absence. Nor did the Ahmadnagar leaders care to win the support and co-operation of the other Deccan Kingdoms to fight the common enemy. Far from it. Relations with Bijapur were allowed to deteriorate and ended in war.

Ibrahim 'Adil shah had sent Mir Safi as his envoy to Ahmadnagar to offer felicitations on the accession of Ibrahim. Contrary to diplomatic usage the envoy was insulted and he requested his master to recall him.

1. *Firishta* II, p. 229.
2. Their leader was Ikhlas Khan Habshi.
3. *Firishta* II, p. 229; Khafi Khan III, p. 244.

Ibrahim 'Adil Shah could not tolerate this and he decided to punish the Ahmadnagar nobles. He marched with his army to Shahdurg.[1]

When the news of this move reached Ahmadnagar there were divided counsels. Ikhlas Khan's party was for an immediate declaration of war, while Manju advised a more peaceful course. He was over-ruled and the young king guided by Ikhlas Khan decided on war. A sharp and severe battle was fought on July 29, 1595. The Ahmadnagar army was defeated and Ibrahim slain.[2]

With the remnants of the broken forces Mian Manju retreated to Ahmadnagar and busied himself in restoring order. His first care was to fill the throne. Of the Nizam Shahi dynasty only Bahadur, the baby son of Ibrahim, was left and of him, too, there was little hope of survival as he was a very sickly child. So Manju placed Ahmad, a boy of twelve, a putative great-grandson of Burhan I, on the throne and himself became Regent. Bahadur was sent as a prisoner to the fort of Jond.[3] Ikhlas Khan refused to recognise Ahmad and was supported by Chand Bibi, who was the champion of the lawful heir, the infant Bahadur. This resulted in a bloody struggle between him and Manju. It was at this time that Manju appealed for help to Prince Murad.

Shortly afterwards news arrived that Prince Murad was marching on Ahmadnagar. Manju, whose position had improved, now felt sorry for what he had done. But he had shot his bolt. He now thought it best to withdraw. So after well-provisioning the fort and otherwise strengthening its defences and leaving Chand Bibi as Regent, Manju with Ahmad retired to Ausa to summon help from Ibrahim 'Adil Shah of Bijapur and Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah of Golconda.[4] "It was," says Faidi Sirhindi, "the settled rule of the three states to unite against a foreign enemy whatever quarrels there might be amongst themselves."

Chand Bibi, who then assumed the sole charge for the defence of Ahmadnagar, was not in favour of the pretender Ahmad. She sent for Bahadur from Jond, but his jailer still refusing to release him, she had Bahadur proclaimed king "in absentia." She then issued a stirring call to arms to all those who still held sacred the independence of their country. Many leading nobles such as Shamsher Khan, Muhammad Khan and others nobly responded and gathered round her. Thus fortified and strengthened Chand Bibi stood ready to fight the despoilers of her country.

THE FIRST SIEGE OF AHMADNAGAR (DECEMBER 1595–MARCH 1596)

The Mughals now appeared upon the scene. Murad reached

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1. *Firishta* II, p. 229.
2. *Firishta* II, p. 231, Khafi Khan III, p. 246.
3. *Burhan-i-Ma'athir*, p. 594.
4. *Firishta* II, p. 233; *Burhan-i-Ma'athir*, p. 598; This authority makes Manju retire to Bir.

Ahmadnagar on December 13, 1595 and encamped at the Hasht Bihisht Garden. The siege opened.

Chand Bibi, like a true leader of men, not only interested herself in the defence of the fort but also tried to bring about a reconcilation among the various conflicting elements in the state, so that the work of national defence may profit and thus be better and more determined. She sent reliable messengers to Ikhlas Khan at Daulatabad and to Abhang Khan to come to her help and fight for the motherland.

Abhang Khan was the first to respond. He cut his way through the Mughal Camp, and succeeded, after a severe fight in which the fort guns also took a hand, in throwing himself into the fort.

The Deccani spirit was up. They had for the time being forgotten all their differences and worked to fight for their country. Soon news arrived that Ikhlas Khan at the head of 10,000 horse was advancing from Daulatabad. The Khan-i-Khanan sent a detachment under Daulat Khan Lodhi,[1] against him. In a severely contested battle Ikhlas Khan was defeated and fled.

In the meanwhile, the siege dragged on. An artillery duel between the two sides was without any gains. The walls of the fort were impregnable to artillery as it existed then. The siege operations also failed to make any headway due to fruitless discussions and diversity of opinion among the Mughals. The besiegers far from cutting off all the supplies of the garrison were blockaded in turn. The Deccanis cut off all their supplies by closing the roads. A great scarcity of food and fodder arose in the Mughal camp in consequence. To add to these difficulties Prince Murad himself failed lamentably to come up to the occasion.

The siege went on its weary way.

Meanwhile the 'Adil Shah had made up his mind to come to the help of Ahmadnagar. He despatched Suhel Khan, his best general, with 25,000 horse to Shahdurg, where he was joined by Manju and Ikhlas Khan. Soon after Mehdi Quli Khan came over with 6,000 horse from Golconda.[2]

When Prince Murad heard of the assemblage of this force he was much perturbed. He feared that if the Deccanis came up before the fort fell he would be caught between two fires. So he summoned a council of war at which it was decided to mine the walls. Even this plan failed as Chand Bibi being forewarned had taken measures to counter-mine. The result was only a small breach in the walls not good enough for a general assault. Further efforts proved equally unsuccessful and the Mughal army was reduced to great straits.

1. Both Firishta II, p. 234 and *Burhan-i Ma'athir*, p. 612 say that Daulat Khan was sent but Abul Fadl in *Akbarnama* II, p. 1047 says that Sher Khwaja was the general sent.
2. *Burhan-i-Ma'athir*, p. 614, gives 10,000 cavalry and 20,000 foot, evidently exaggerated. *Firishta* has 6,000 cavalry.

Murad's pride was humbled and he saw clearly that his expedition had failed to gain its objective. So in order to make the best of a bad job he opened negotiations with Chand Bibi through Mir Murtada, an old Nizam Shahi officer.[1] The heroic Queen welcomed the proposal. She sent out Afdal Khan to conduct negotiations for peace. After a great deal of haggling the treaty was signed on March 16, 1596. Its main terms were :—(1) The province of Berar was to be ceded to the Mughals; (2) Bahadur was to be recognised as Nizam Shah and to hold the rest of the country as a vassal of the emperor.[2]

The treaty of peace being signed, Murad raised the siege and marched towards Berar. Akbar's second attempt to conquer Ahmadnagar had failed like the first.

PRINCE MURAD IN BERAR

Murad took possession of Berar in the middle of April, 1596 and established cantonments near Balapur calling the new settlement Shahpur. He then busied himself with the administration of the new territory. Mir Murtada, who had formerly been for a long time the governor of Berar, was appointed to Elichpur. Sadiq Mohammad Khan was made the warden of the frontiers with Mirza 'Ali and other commanders to help him. The general administration of the province was placed in the hands of the Khan-i-Khanan and Mirza Shah Rukh.[3]

But Berar did not settle down easily. The Deccanis rose up, here, there and everywhere, against the new regime. But armed intervention from outside was put down successfully. Local success, however, could not counterbalance the injury suffered by the imperial cause from internal disensions and disputes between Murad and the Khan-i-Khanan, and Sadiq Muhammad Khan and Shahbaz Khan. Thus the Mughal home front was thoroughly cracked. The Prince[4] was led and guided in everything by his evil genius, Sadiq Mohammad Khan, who always represented to him that his late failure was solely due to the Khan-i-Khanan who did not wish that he should gain the honour and glory of being the conqueror of Ahmadnagar.[5]

Soon the Mughals were faced with a tremendous crisis which silenced for the time being the war of words.

1. *The Akbarnama* III, p. 1048 says that the initiative in this matter was taken by Chand Bibi. But Firishta and *Burhan-i-Ma'athir* give the credit to Murad.
2. During negotiations for peace Afdal Khan made the biting taunt, "I had heard that the emperor Akbar laid claims to Godhead. I now find that his nobles claim to be prophets." *Burhan-i-Ma'athir*, p. 629.
3. *Akbarnama* III, p 1059.
4. Badayuni has well summed up Murad's character, "He considered himself a ripe grape when he was not even an unripe one." *Badayuni* II, p. 391.
5. The Khan-i-Khanan was suspected of being a partisan of Salim.

THE BATTLE OF ASHTI — FEBRUARY, 1597.

The peace concluded between Murad and Chand Bibi was not kept for long. Each side accused the other of bad faith. The Deccanis accused the Mughals of breaking the peace by occupying Pathri and other places beyond the limits of Berar and attacked some Mughal outposts which were well within that province. The Mughals claimed that Pathri belonged to Berar of old.[1] Thus there seems to be little doubt that the responsibility for the renewal of hostilities lay with the rulers of Ahmadnagar who having obtained help from Bijapur and Golconda, decided to make an attempt to expel the Mughals from Berar. Suhel Khan on his way back from Ahmadnagar, which he had reached shortly after Murad had left it, was appealed to by the Ahmadnagar authorities to help them against the Mughals. Suhel Khan asked for and obtained the permission of his master, Ibrahim 'Adil Shah, and the allied army marched towards Sonpet on the river Godavari, about fifteen miles from the town of Pathri.

When the news of the advance of the Deccani host reached the Khan-i-Khanan who had his headquarters at Jalna, he at once assembled his forces and himself went to Shahpur to inform Murad of the impending danger. The prince being reluctant, he himself assumed command of the army. The imperial army which mustered no more than 20,000 horse according to Firishta, and 15,000 horse according to Abul Fadl, marched to Ashti on the north bank of the Godavari and there entrenched itself, waiting for fifteen days before attacking the enemy. All this time skirmishes took place between the opposing forces and then one day the final clash came. It was February 8, 1597.[2]

The battle of Ashti was a long and bloody contest. It began at about nine in the morning and raged throughout the day. By the evening the Deccanis had broken the Mughal right and left wings, but their own centre was broken. The opposing commanders spent the night in each other's camp. The battle was joined again the next morning. It proved to be a short affair, the Deccanis soon broke and fled from the field of battle. Suhel Khan who had been wounded escaped with difficulty. The contingents of Ahmadnagar and Golconda which had been routed on the previous day continued their flight.[3]

It was a great victory and did much to restore the prestige of Mughal arms which had been somewhat tarnished by the failure before Ahmadnagar.

1. This question has been well discussed by Haig in the *Indian Antiquary* 1918.
2. Of the battle that followes *Firshta* and *Ma'athr-i-Rahimi* give the best accounts; *Akbarnama* is sketchy. See also *Indian Antiquary* 1918.
3. The shortness of the battle on the second day was due to many causes, the loss of the Deccani artillery on the previous day and Suhel Shan being seriously wounded early in the battle.

ABUL FADL APPOINTED COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF IN THE DECCAN

After the victory the Khan-i-Khanan returned to Murad's presence in Shahpur. Here he stayed for some time but finding that there was no love lost between him and the prince, he prayed to the emperor to recall him. But before receiving any reply he left Shahpur for his jagir. The emperor tried to patch up the strained relations between them but since both were adamant, he decided to change the command in the Deccan, Prince Daniyal being appointed in place of Murad and Abul Fadl replacing the Khan-i-Khanan. But before they could start their work Murad died on May 12, 1599 on his way to Ahmadnagar.

Abul Fadl reached Murad's camp on the day he died and found the camp in utmost confusion. After making arrangements of the prince's funeral rites, Abul Fadl took counsel with the commanders as to the next step to be taken. They all suggested that they should return to Shahpur. Abul Fadl, however, wanted to continue the march on Ahmadnagar, but he received a message from Prince Daniyal asking him to stop, as the prince desired to take the fort himself.

THE SECOND SIEGE OF AHMADNAGAR (APRIL-AUGUST 1600)

The history of Ahmadnagar during the period between the two sieges was a chequered one, a sad tale of intrigues and dissensions in the face of the enemy, when doom constantly hung over their heads.

After Murad had marched away from before Ahmadnagar in March, 1596, the circumstance, which had cemented the conflicting elements in the body politic of the Ahmadnagar state, had ceased to exist and quarrels broke out afresh. At first the competitors were Mian Manju and Abhang Khan, then Abhang Khan and Muhammad Khan, after which Abhang Khan, victorious over his other rivals, contested for supremacy with Chand Bibi.[1] In short, the fruit was ripe for the plucking.

Prince Daniyal appeared before the walls of Ahmadnagar in the third week of April, 1600. Some days were spent in reconnoitering and on April 24 the entrenchments were marked out and the siege began. All the efforts of the beleaguered to push back the investing force proved unsuccessful. The Mughals this time, free from all dissensions and other weakening influences, with a singleness of purpose, exerted their utmost to win. The defenders fought back gallantly, inspired once again by their heroic Queen. But their condition worsened every day and no outside help was in sight.

At this time, with the enemy at their door, a tragedy took place within the fort walls. Queen Chand, despairing of putting up as success-

1. *Tuhfat-ul-Muluk*, p. 232, 233, 235; *Basatin-us-Salatin*, 237-239, 242.

ful a resistance as before, summoned Chita Khan, a eunuch,[1] for advice. Chita Khan recommended that they should continue the fight. But the Queen was opposed to it and advised that they should evacuate the fort and retire to Juner. The treacherous Habshi ran out shouting that the Queen was in league with the Mughals. Soon a mob collected, rushed into the private apartments of the palace and fell upon that noble lady when she was engaged in her devotions.[2] Thus died the last hope of Ahmadnagar's independence.

The rebels continued to defend the fort but not for long. The Mughals succeeded in laying a mine under the Laila Burj. It was then sprung and thirty yards of the wall and much of the tower were blown up. Through this gap the attackers rushed in, overpowered the garrison of 1,500 whom they slew to a man. The young Bahadur was captured and sent a prisoner to Gwalior. Immense quantities of jewels and jewelled articles and a fine library fell into the hands of the victors. The Kingdom of Ahmadnagar was annexed to the Empire. It was August 19, 1600 and the siege had lasted for four months and four days.[3]

MUGHAL OPERATIONS (1600–1605)

Before the Mughals could enjoy their victory and call the newly won kingdom their own they had to fight against two men who had been thrown up as the new champions of Ahmadnagar, Raju and Malik 'Ambar, who had divided the Nizam Shahi dominions between themselves.

Shortly after August 1600, Raju took possession of Nasik and created disturbances all round. Efforts to put him down were unsuccessful as, whenever hard pressed, he would withdraw to the hills round Daulatabad. Expeditions sent against Nasik met with no better fate. In short, Raju proved himself to be a hard nut to crack. He would not allow himself to be beaten in the open field, and when pursued he proved so elusive that he could not be caught. The Mughals were thus forced to come to an understanding with him, on the basis that he should let the country be cultivated, the revenue to be shared equally by him and the Mughals.[4]

In the end Raju was put down not by the Mughals but by 'Ambar.

All this time 'Ambar had not been idle. He had been steadily gaining ground in Telingana inflicting many defeats on the generals sent

1. This man is variously named by our authorities. *Firishta* II, p. 242 has Chita Khan; *Akbarnama* III, p. 1158 Jita Khan; *Briggs III*, p. 311 Hamid Khan. See Blochmen *Ain* I, 336 note.
2. Deccan histories give a different story. They say that Chand Bibi committed suicide by throwing herself into a well full of acid to escape dishonour at the hands of the Mughals after the fort fell.
3. *Akbarnama* III, p. 1158.
4. *Futuhat-i-'Adil Shahi*, p. 269 a.

against him. In order to bring the rebel to book, Abul Fadl was sent and he deputed his son 'Abdur Rahman on his behalf. 'Abdur Rahman defeated 'Ambar and forced him to sue for peace. But as soon as 'Abdur Rahman withdrew, 'Ambar once again raised his head and with a large force of Habshis and Deccanis fell upon the Mughal outposts and drove them out. Soon after he was once again beaten in the battle of Nander. This defeat had a sobering effect on 'Ambar and he again sued for peace. For the next few years 'Ambar devoted all his energies to his fight with Raju, the Mughals adopting attitude of benevolent neutrality.

A RETROSPECT

In the foregoing pages we have traced the origin of Akbar's Deccan policy and the military operations he had to undertake to enforce that policy.

At the time of his death Akbar had very little to show for twenty years of effort and ten years of war. The Mughal Deccan consisted of Khandesh, Berar and a few districts round Ahmadnagar. Nearly half of the old Kingdom of Ahmadnagar was in the hands of the Deccanis. Bijapur and Golconda still stood proud and apart and never showed the slightest inclination to bow down their heads in submission. On the basis of this we cannot say that Akbar's aim had succeeded. It was a failure which was partially hidden by a gorgeous facade.

"THE CONCEPTION OF WORSHIP (Ibadat) IN ISLAM"

MIR VALIUDDIN*

O Thou—The object of my hearts' craving!
The force that moveth the madness of my brains!
Wherever I glance in this wide world,
Thee alone do I find each to-day and each tomorrow![1]

ABU SA'ID

The first law governing the lives of human beings as well as animals is the acquisition of benefit and the avoidance of pain. Preservation of self and reproduction of species are indispensable for both, so that man may seek things that help him in preserving and maintaining his life, and he may steer clear of things that would annihilate him or would impose restrictions on his life energy. The fundamental distribution of things is based solely on this. Things are either beneficial or harmful, useful or deleterious, good or bad, when an organism is affected by them, sensations of pleasure, love, adoration and obedience are experienced; or feelings of grief, hatred and worry are excited. Out of these if one is usually delectable and gratifying the other is naturally odious and detestable; man strives to acquire one and avoid the other. The whole structure of human life consists of emotions—excited by those things, emotions —which overpower him and overthrow him; he can neither get rid of them nor free himself from their clutches until the prescribed course of his life comes to an end and he departs from this world saying :

1. اے در دل من اصل تمنا همه تو   وے درسر من مایهٔ سودا همه تو
هرچند به روزگار در می نگرم   امروز همه توئی وفردا همه تو

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I found the garden of this world just a cage,
The birds therein only wavering desires,
From the morn to the eve of existence,
It all seemed to me but a fleeting moment![1]

During his short stay in this world man keenly observes the metamorphosis of things. An eternal change is going on in the universe, nothing is permanent, nothing stands. One moment it is, another moment it is not. The caravan of existence never seems to be at rest, the glory of existence seems to be revivified every moment. Divine fury is annihilating everything every minute and Divine mercy is restoring life every second! As Jami has put it beautifully:[2]

"Being that disdains to be the same every second instant,
Assumes fresh splendour every fresh instant.
Look! "Every moment it puts on fresh glory"
If thou needest proof from the Book of God!"

When a person gifted with a keenly observant mind comes to know of the cause of this change and mutation, transitoriness and changeableness of things, the relation of dependence, which he had established with them owing to his need, want and penury, is abruptly severed; the penury of all the creatures is suddenly revealed to him and he now starts in quest of the Supreme Being Who is exempt from chance and decay, Who is Self-Existent and Self-Conceived, Who is a Necessary Being, an *'ens perfectissimum'*, Who possesses all the perfect attributes, has supreme powers, is the Master, Lord and Creator of the whole universe!

Now the gist of religion or faith amounts to this only that the relation of Dependence and Debasement[3] (which in religious terminology is spoken of as the worship[4] of one God and seeking His help[5] in all life's affairs), should not be established with finite beings and for fulfilment of one's desires, or in want and need assistance should not be sought from finite creatures; on the other hand, God Almighty alone should form the object of worship and the source of assistance. The same idea is conveyed by the sacred article of faith "There is none worthy of worship except God and Muhammad is his Prophet,"[6] who is sent to deliver this message to the whole world.

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1. من باغ جهان را قفسے دیدم وبس — مرغنس زهواوهو سے دیدم وبس
از صبح و جود تاسبان گاه عدم — حون جشم کشودم نفسے دیدم وبس

2. هستی که عیان نیست دوآن درنمانے — درشان دگر جلوه کند هرآنے
این نکته بجو زکل یوم هو فی شان، — گربایدت از کلام حق برهانے

3. ذل و افتقار 4. عبادت 5. استعانت 6. لااله الاالله محمد رسول الله

Want and penury are inherent in man's nature and to remove these he makes use of every beneficial or harmful object as his instrument, it matters little to him whether this object is one of the many elemental forces of nature or belongs to the mineral or vegetable or the animal kingdoms. To fulfil his needs he takes help even from the superhuman and supernatural and for help or assistance humiliates himself before them all. Owing to his ignorance and indiscretion he considers these to be "independently" beneficial and harmful and this alone forces him to bow his head in submission even to a creature that is far inferior to him.

To remove this deception of senses and delusion of intellect, the Prophet Muhammad of Arabia delivered this message of Islam to the world that a human being, by virtue of the fact that he is the sublimest of all the creatures and the *chef-d'oeuvre* of nature, should not humble himself by bowing before a Creature lower than and inferior to himself. He should bow his head in submission before the all-benevolent, all-knowing, all-seeing and all-powerful Being alone whose mighty hands hold the reins of the whole universe—who possesses all the sublimest attributes and is exempt from all blemishes and defects. This Being only is our real Helper, He alone is worthy of our worship, to Him only should we appeal for guidance, aid and assistance; He alone is our Creator, our Master, our God, our Sovereign Ruler. We are His creatures, mamelukes, slaves and subjects. Him alone we worship and to Him alone we supplicate for the fulfilment of our needs and desires. He alone is opulent and we all are paupers who beg for His help, being His almsmen we are wealthier than all the plutocrats of the whole universe!

This message is nothing but gospel truth, it is absolutely in conformity with our self-respect. It is a correct exposition of the correlation between God and His created beings. The man who admits it is really a man in the true sense of the word. The object of the hopes and desires of this fearless and intrepid crusader is the only one God who is the master and sovereign of the whole universe. Now every action and movement of the crusader in his life becomes subservient to the commandments of this sovereign ruler and when in obedience to His orders he sacrifices one life, he is bestowed a thousand lives in return. His weakness is replaced by strength, dishonour by honour, and indigence by riches. He does not fear any power on the face of the earth. The commandment in the verse of the Qur'an[1] "If you are a true Muslim, fear Me only but do not fear them"[2] makes him fearless of all the world, neither has he any hopes of gain from anyone else. The verse[3] "Does not God suffice for His creatures"[4] makes him unmindful of the whole universe. As soon as the ties of hope and despair are severed from finite beings, he acquires inner contentment and is reconciled with his Creator.

1. فلاتخافوهم وخافونى ان كنتم مومنين
2. S. III, 174.
3. الس الله بكاف عبده
4. S. XXXIX, 35.

Having pleased God he does not care for any being except God; now he is rich in every way. Is there anything greater than God which he might aspire to acquire? Most certainly not, he is now in possession of everything worth possessing. To that effect it has been said :[1]

"You should not despair over matters that pass you by, nor exult over favours bestowed upon you."[2]

The man spoken of above only is the person to whom the words :[3]

"You alone are exalted, God is with you" have been addressed.

Just see what a change the meaning of the term "Ilah" (One worthy of worship) has wrought within him, Before understanding the term he used to shrink and quake with fear like a humble and mean beast on confronting anybody, would take everybody for a harmful and beneficial creature, would bow his head in submission to him, would seek aid and assistance from him, passed the days of his life in their 'worship' only and got worried and perplexed ![4] Not only was he himself frail and weak but the object he sought was also frail and weak.[5]

Now after gaining insight into the teachings of the Prophet and adopting its principles he takes the sword of "La ilaha" in his hand and steps forward. In the words of the Qur'an he asks his ignorant comrades.[6]

"Is it someone other than God that ye order me to worship, O, ye ignorant ones."[7]

He is no more a slave and worshipper of a being other than God. For the first time in his life he experiences independence. The heavy load of fear is lifted from his breast. He bows low before his Creator and finds Him benevolent. The glad tidings conveyed in[8] "He is full of mercy to the believers"[9] completely solace and comfort him. He now feels convinced that after his faith in God Almighty, He would behave benevolently towards him. The fact that God besides being full of mercy is a wise and sovereign ruler, further fortifies his mind. He knows that God is the real 'doer' and finds every act of God full of the highest wisdom. In obedience to God's commandments he entrusts every affair of his to Him.[10] "Take Him for thy disposer of affairs"[11] is the command of God. So after saying [12] "Enough is God as a disposer of affairs" he calmly and freely busies himself in his work. What a difference between

1. لکیلاتاسواعلی مافاتکم ولاتفرحوابما اتاکم
2. S. LVII, 23.
3. انتم الاعلون واللہ معکم
4. S. III, 138.
5. ضعف الطالب والمطلوب
6. S. XXI, 72.
7. افغیراللہ تامرونی اعبدایہا الجاہلون
8. S. XXXIX, 64.
9. کان بالمومنین رحیما
10. S. XXXIII, 42.
11. فاتخذہ وکیلا
12. کفی باللہ وکیلا

this person and the one who believed that a being other than God has the power of conferring honour and dishonour! It is certainly true.[1]

"The blind and the seeing are not alike, nor are the depths of Darkness and Light, nor are the (chilly) shade and the (genial) heat of the sun; nor are alike those that are living and those that are dead."[2]

The substance of religion is that God alone is worthy of worship and He alone is the one whose assistance should be sought and its gist is preservation of the *Tawhid*. Now some details of this substance are mentioned below :

"*'Ibadat*" (worship) : Is a term for extreme 'servility or devotion' which is expressed before our real Creator, the notable methods of which are : prayers, fasting, alms-giving and the pilgrimage to Mecca.

Salat (prayers) : Just think over all the movements performed in Muslim prayers and the meaning of worship expressing your humility will dawn clearly on you. The devotee is thinking of saying his prayers; he is advancing towards the prayer-mat : on his lips are the words[3] "I am stepping towards my Creator : he will guide me."[4] In his mind there is no idea of any being other than God. He considers everybody save God the Almighty beneath his notice. With this idea he gives utterance[6] to the words "God is great"[5] and when in the presence of God he says:

"For me, I have set my face firmly and truly towards Him who created the heavens and the earth and never shall I give partners to God."[7] His whole attention is turned towards God. Now he is devout and sincere in his mind. He is saying his prayers for God alone; saying them with the object that his faith might rise to the highest standard of perfection and not plod on as a routine matter. He is offering his prayers under the strong guidance of God. In 'Thana'[8] he is expressing the omnipotence and greatness of God Almighty and is admitting His unity by the words[9] "There is no one worthy of worship except Thee" ! Now with his hands folded, eyes bent downwards, he is standing in His presence—the very picture of humility and modesty ! With his lips he is repeating[10] "Praise be to God"[11] and in his heart he believes there is no other being in the universe save God who merits our praise and that He alone possesses all virtues and beauties. When he says[12] "The Cherisher

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1. وما دستوى الاعمى والبصير ولا الظلمات والنور ولا الظل ولا الحرور وما يستوى الاحياء ولا الاموات

2. S. XXXV 19–22 3. انى ذاهب الى ربى سيهدين

4. S. XXXVIII, 98. 5. الله اكبر

6. انى وجهت وجهى للذى فطر السموات والارض حنيفا وما انا من المشركين

7. S. VI–79. 8. The opening prayer recited in 'Salat'.

9. لااله غيرك 10. الحمدلله رب العالمين 11. S. I, 1 12. رب العالمين

and Sustainer of the worlds"[1] he is aware that the appellation[2] "There is no Cherisher and Sustainer save thee" could only be applied to Him. The whole universe is His. While saying[3] "Most Gracious, most Merciful"[4] he feels optimistic, inspired with the feeling of God's mercy and grace. He realises that God is gracious to every creature of the universe but mercy is a special characteristic reserved for the true believer :[5] "He is full of mercy to the believers."[6] When he gives utterance to the words[7] "Ruler of the day of judgement",[8] he experiences the feelings of anguish ! Doomsday is a stern reality; it is a day about which God Almighty has said[9] "It will be the Day when no soul shall have power to do aught for another."[10] In this state of hope and fear he says,[11] "Thee do we worship",[12] we express our humility before Thee,[13] "And Thine aid we seek"[14] ignoring every being save Thee we turn to Thee wholeheartedly ! Why should we address others for aid or assistance when we have been told, and after experimenting have verified, that nobody save Thee has power and strength ? Others can neither harm us nor benefit us." After this laudation and admission of humility and bondage he implores and prays to God Almighty[15] "Show us the straight way"[16] "the way of those on whom Thou hast bestowed Thy Grace, nor of those whose portion is wrath, nor of those who stray,"[17] so that he might steer clear of temptations, come in closer contact with Him, and feel able to follow the footsteps of true believers, namely those of prophets and saints who alone deserve reward. He does not desire to follow those who were doomed to perdition and who, after turning to other than God for assistance and succour, resigned themselves to eternal loss !

Together with this laudation and prayer he recites some more verses from the Qur'an with a view to growing conversant with God's commandments, and impressing them on his mind by repetition. Suddenly he bows in God's presence to express his deep reverence. In this manner he further expresses his servility, in the same state his lips give utterance to his Lord's eulogy and praise, and in his heart he has a vivid feeling of his own humility, meekness and helplessness. When he lifts up his head, God Almighty speaks through him "God listens to the praise offered to him.[18] The head that bows before the Creator cannot bow

1. S. I, 1. 2. لارب سواه 3. الرحمن الرحم
4. S. I, 2. 5. كان بالمومنين رحما 6. S. XXXIII, 42.
7. مالك دوم الدس 8. S. I, 3. 9. يوم لاتملك نفس لنفس نشاً
10. S. LXXXII, 19. 11. اياك نعبد 12. S. I, 4.
13. اياك نستعين 14. S. I, 4. 15. اهدنا الصراط المستقم
16. S. I, 5. 17. صراط الذين انعمت عليهم غيرالمغضوب عليهم ولاالضالين
18. سمع الله لمن حمده S. I, 6.

before his creatures—this head is the most exalted of all, is pre-eminent and a priceless jewel. In fact, Almighty God polishes the person with His divine effulgence and makes him an invaluable jewel who approaches him. In gratitude for this boon the person eulogizes Him and falls down, as it were, at His feet, catches hold of them and in this way expresses his humblest servility, his lips continue to give expression to his Lord's majesty, sublimity and grandeur. By such demonstration he experiences the greatest bliss. As the Prophet said : "The greatest bliss of my life is latent in prayers."[1] He is experiencing this bliss by observing his beloved Lord; this is the highest consummation of his desires—the ultimate goal which he devoutly wished for.

Infinite goodness alone is not a necessary attribute of the Creator. He should also be omnipotent, having complete power over all. By dint of infinite power and incessant might, He preserves us, fulfils our needs and desires. After putting our faith in Him, we become fully convinced that He would assist us and grant us victory. Being at a loss to explain the problem of evil, the Pragmatists denied the omnipotence of God but how could that God be considered a real Creator who is not omnipotent at the same time? How can He help us Who Himself cannot overcome evil? How can He be our Lord and grant us victory? It would be out of place here to discuss the problem of evil, but we admit that our Creator is omnipotent and possesses absolute powers. We consider Him to be the real source of all actions and deeds. He alone is the source of power and might, consequently we seek assistance from Him and are confident of His being[2] "The Best to protect and the Best to help."[3] As the Qur'an ordains :[4] "And hold fast to God! He is your Protector, the Best to protect and the Best to help."[5]

When He alone possesses power (as the Qur'an says :[6] "There is no power but with God"[7]) then He is also the fountain-head of all motion : "There is no power and no motion but with God."[8] This is a truth applicable to God Almighty alone, a truth denied totally to His creatures. As soon as one grasps this truth, the veil of ignorance is lifted and one understands what the words "Not a particle of dust even moves without the command of the Almighty"[9] mean. He no longer asks assistance of a being other than God and cries out, "I bow (my will) to the Lord and Cherisher of the Universe."[10]

1. جعلت قرة عينى فى الصلواة
2. نعم المولى و نعم النصير
3. S. VIII, 39.
4. واعتصموا بالله هو مولكم نعم المولى ونعم النصير
5. S. XXII, 78.
6. لاقوة الابالله
7. S. XVIII, 38.
8. لاحول ولاقوه الابالله
9. لاتتحرك ذرة الاباذن الله *Hadith*
10. اسلمت لرب العالمين S. II-120.

As regards the methods of seeking assistance from the Creator, the Prophet has advised a number of them, out of which a few are given below:

Du'a (prayer): Pray to Almighty God for the fulfilment of your needs and desires, it is one of God's commandments and Almighty God promises Himself:[1] "Ask Me and it shall be granted unto ye." There is not an iota of stinginess in Him, and nobody should despair and feel despondent after asking for what he desires. To comfort us God says, "Never give up hope of God's soothing mercy."[2] He is All-wise too, every act of His is replete with benevolence, He knows more than we what is good for us. If any of our prayers does not find favour with Him, it is due to the fact that rejecting it is good for us. In view of the above it has been said it is a test for a man to take rejection as a great boon. Some poet has translated this idea in the following lines:

> "If disappointment for me is what pleaseth Thee,
> Then believe me, I shall no more wish for any successs."[3]

Hadrat 'Umar (May God be pleased with him) used to say, "I do not care for the state in which I shall wake up in the morning! Let it be pleasant, or unpleasant for I do not know which state would be better for myself." God Almighty Himself here instructs us and explains to us a very delicate point:

"But it is possible that ye dislike a thing which is good for you and that ye love a thing which is bad for you. But God knoweth and ye know not."[4]

After grasping the meaning of this point a sage has said, 'Let all that happen which He desires should happen, let that not happen which we wish should happen.' Shibli defines a sage thus: "A sage is he who considers the rejection of his request to be more than a boon." From this point begins the stage of 'resignation' which is the highest rank that a seeker may attain. Madame Guyon has thus expressed the idea very beautifully:

> Be not angry, I resign,
> Henceforth, all my will to Thine!
> I consent that thou depart,
> Though thine absence breaks my heart!
> Go, then, and for ever too,
> All is right that thou wilt do!

1. ادعونی اسجب لکم 2. لاتائسوامن روح الله S. XII-87.

3. اگر مرادنوائے دوست نامرادی ماست مراد حوسں دگربارمی نحواهم خواسب

4. عسیان تکرهواشئاً وهوخیرلکم وعسی ان تحبواشئاً وهوشرلکم والله یعلم وانتم لاتعلمون S. II-216

However, if God Almighty does not grant the prayer of any true believer of His, He safeguards his heart, turns his mind away from the object he sought, keeps him away from indulging in grumbling, murmuring and whining, gets him to the stage of resignation and he on his part saying "For each period is a decree established"[1] reconciles himself to God. Another form of granting his prayers is that the person does not gain the object he sought but God Almighty does not really reject his prayer, He averts some calamity which was about to happen, though the person concerned is unaware of this substitution. There is yet one last alternative, namely if the person is not favoured with the object he prayed for in this world, it is stored for him in the next :

"On the Day of judgment man will see those good deeds written in his record which he will not be able to understand. He will be told that these are a sort of compensation for the object he prayed for in the world but was not destined to acquire it there."[2] (Hadith).

Anyway the promise of God that a prayer is accepted is a true one but this promise is absolute, it is not conditional or binding in the sense that it would be fulfilled at the same time and unconditionally as desired by the person. If you grasp this point, you will come to know why the Prophet of Islam taught us to pray thus :

"sufficient art Thou unto me O My Lord, as You please, in whatever way You please and whenever You please and from where you please !"[3]

Tawwakul (Trust) : Another way of seeking assistance is to entrust all our affairs to the care of God Almighty. If we are convinced—not merely aware—that is, have a firm conviction, or to put it in modern psychological phraseology, if this thing is deeply impressed on our subconscious mind that the real agent or doer is God Almighty and that He Himself is the source of power and might and that He is merciful and benevolent to us when we believe in Him, then we shall be glad to entrust all our affairs to Him. After doing this all our cares and worries leave us, our hearts overflow with happiness and contentment and we ecstatically repeat these lines :

"My concerns have I all left to the
care of my Beloved !
The consequence—life or death—I
shall welcome with equal zeal"[4]

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1. لكل اجل كتاب S. XIII-38.

2. ان العبد يرى فى صحائفه يوم القيامة حسنات لايعرفها فيقال انها بدل سوالك فى الدنيا لم تقدر قضاء ها فيها (الحديث)

3. اللهم اكفنى كل مهم من حيث شئت و كيف شئت وانى شئت ومن اين شئت

4. وكلت الى المحبوب امرى كله فان شاء احيانى وان شاء اتلفا

Trust in God is another word for becoming free from one's might and power, it is "holding fast to God."[1] Dhul-Nun of Egypt has defined trust thus:

"Trust is giving up of one's own devices and expedients, it is a stepping out of the sphere of one's own might and power." Sari-b. Mughallis Saqati too agrees with him. The source of these definitions is the tradition of the Prophet Muhammad : "There is no power and no motion but with God"[2] and the saying of Lord God "There is no power but with God."[3] Trust is a mental process, that is, a person should be fully convinced in his heart that neither he nor anything else has either efficacy, power or motion; God Almighty alone has gifted him and everything else with attributes, power and motion. He should say to himself, as He is my Creator so also is He the originator of my acts, He is creating my acts just in accordance with my essential nature. My essential nature is uncreated and unchangeable, being an 'Idea' in the mind of God ! As God is uncreated, His knowledge or ideas are also uncreated. But the originator of my acts is God Almighty, consequently I have been given powers to exercise and use means, material as well as mental. I am employing these under His orders. I am aware that if I desire to have an offspring I cannot give up coition; to satisfy my hunger it is imperative to take a mouthful, masticate it well and push it down into the gullet."

Trust here is not another term for deadlock and relinquishment of work, it is a term for knowledge and mental state, it describes a mental condition. It is a term for the firm belief that God Almighty Himself has bestowed power, motion and action on human beings. These powers have come into play since it was His will and pleasure that they should do so; if He so wills, the morsel of food cannot find its way into the mouth, the hand may be palsied and the food itself mav be wrested from the hand. Our eyes are directed towards His action, thev are fixed on His grace and mercy, we do not think of our manual strength nor of our achievement. Our hands are engaged in work and our minds turned towards our Friend. "Trust is not the relinquishment of causes. It is an overlooking of the causes."

Having understood the rudiments, think a little over the question of 'Sustenance!' God Almighty has taken the responsibility of providing sustenance to every creature. Says the Qur'an "There is no moving creature on earth but its sustenance depends on God."[4] Not only has He accepted the responsibility but also has promised and has further cited an example :

"And in heaven is your Sustenance as (also) that which you are

1. اعتصام بالله

2. لاحول ولاقوه الابالله

3. لاقوة الابالله S. XVII, 39.

4. مامن دابة الاعلى الله رزقها S. XI, 6.

promised. Then, by the Lord of heaven and earth this is the very truth as much as the fact that ye can speak intelligently to each other."[1]

God Almighty provides even for those who ignore Him and indulge in sins and those who are immersed head over ears in vices and gross offences; how then can they be deprived of their sustenance who obey his commandments? Generally he who plants a tree waters it; He alone succours the creatures who is their Creator. It is enough for the creatures that their Creator meets all their needs. He himself is the inventor and succours us perpetually as well; He caused creation and the responsibility of feeding us lies on Him. An illustration of the above fact one finds in one's own person. When a person invites somebody to dinner at his house, he makes arrangements to feed him sumptuously; when God Almighty has by His will created us, He has consequently accepted the responsibility of feeding us; from His sumptuous table only we get our share of provisions. He is our Lord, our Master, we are His servants. As it is imperative for a slave to serve his master faithfully, so also it is now incumbent on the master to be benignant to his slave. If we become His devotees, if we do not worship anyone else save Him, and if we do not request anyone else for the fulfilment of our desires and needs, is it possible that He will not acquit Himself of His responsibility? He is conveying to us these glad tidings in the following verse in the Qur'an :

"And those who fear God, He (even) prepares a way out, and He provides for him from (sources) he never could imagine. And if anyone puts his trust in God, sufficient is (God) for him."[2]

The promise of God regarding sustenance is certain, we have only to discharge our debt of obedience and prayers to Him. If we do so it is impossible that he should invite us to His house and deny us His favours, grant us existence and leave us helpless, bring us into being and deprive us of His mercy, demand His due (worship) from us and not favour us with our due. He is supremely benevolent, nobody will be a loser if he deals with Him and serves Him faithfully. "Is there anyone who asked a favour of Thee and Thou turned down his request or wanted to make peace with Thee and Thou turned him out, came rushing towards Thee and Thou asked him to get out?" (Shaykh Jili). A lover has expressed the same idea in these words:—'You think that you cannot subsist without food but food cannot be had without you.' Rumi has admonished us thus:

1. وفى السماء رزقكم وما توعدون فورب السماء و الارض انه لحق مثل ما انكم تنطقون

S. LI, 22-23.

2. ومن يتق الله يجعل له مخرجا ويرزقه من حيث لا يحتسب ومن يتوكل على الله فهو حسبه

"Why hanker after the means of sustenance?
Be patient, it will by itself come to thee one day!"[1]

Rumi again expresses the idea thus:

"Live in trust, do not stir your limbs,
Thy sustenance careth for thee more
than what thou careth for it."[2]

In any case, according to the teachings of our Prophet, we should endeavour to earn our livelihood. But we must remember that our quest is not a constant or definite cause for securing our means of subsistence. Shah 'Abdul Haq of Delhi, commentator of traditions and *Futuh-al-Ghaib* has briefly explained this point thus: "True, you get a thing only if you strive for it, but you don't get it by striving alone."[3] The same idea is conveyed by the following lines of a poet:

"No one achieves the object of his desire
by simply striving for it,
But whoever achieves his object does so
by striving."[4]

The meaning of these lines is that we should not consider that striving is the definite cause of achieving our desire, as the result is dependent on God's grace and mercy. Anyway we should certainly strive, it is one of the Almighty's ways that He helps those who help themselves.

Sabr (Patience): A third method of seeking assistance from God is to bear calamities patiently. The world is a place where sorrows and troubles abound, it is a prison, the warehouse of Beelzebub where nothing save evil and wickedness are found. As the poet says:

Fie upon this world and its days!
It is created to breed sorrow!
Its sorrows never abate for a moment,
For the king as well for the man in
the street![5]

1. بدنبال روزی چه باید دوید   تو بنشین که روزی خود آید پدید
2. هین توکل کن ملرزان پا و دست   رزق تو بر تو ز تو عاشق‌ترست
3. بعد از طلب می یابی اما نه بطلب می یابی
4. بجستجوی نیابد کسی مراد دلی   کسی مراد بیابد که جستجو دارد
5. اف للدنیا ولایامها   فانها للحزن مخلوقه
همومها لاتنقضی ساعة   عن ملک فیها اوالسوقه

"Man is born unto trouble as the sparks fly upward," says the Bible. A pauper and a king, a wealthy person or a beggar, all of them are beset with sorrows and pain and are victims of calamities. Says God Almighty, "We have created man into toil and struggle."[1] As God tests our powers of endurance, puts us in troubles, tickles us to laughter,[2] makes us wail, destroys us and resuscitates us,[3] and enriches us and gives us satisfaction,[4] so he shows us, too, the way of warding off disasters. The remedy is patience.[5] How wisely He advises us:

"Oh ye who believe! Persevere in patience and constancy; vie in such perseverance; strengthen each other; and fear God that ye may prosper."[6]

If in obedience to the Almighty God's commandments, we cultivate the habit of patience, we shall be able to bear our troubles easily. If man will try to get rid of grief and misery by removing their cause, hoping thereby to live a life of ease, he will be disillusioned and sorely disappointed. Maulana Rum, has beautifully expressed this idea thus:

> "If you dart out anywhere in search of rest,
> Even from there trouble will befall you!
> No place of refuge but it has its snares and beasts of prey,
> True rest you find in the Bosom of God alone![7]

If one is a true devotee of the Almighty and considers Him to be the Creator of all events, then certainly a calamity could be borne patiently and easily. This example will clearly illustrate the idea: Suppose you are in a dark room, something hits you and you smart under the pain; you do not know who dealt that blow to you. When you send for a lamp and in its light see that he is your 'Shaykh', your father or some relation or beloved person from whom you never expected any injury, then the knowledge of this fact will undoubtedly console and comfort you, since in this painful state, too, you will observe the loving-kindness of the person who dealt that blow! Similarly in the line "But for thy Lord's (cause) be patient and constant."[8] God Almighty is advising His seeker to bear calmly and patiently whatever comes in his way.

If you are firmly convinced that God Almighty is benevolent and all-merciful and are sure that He is ever kind and gracious to you, then you will take every pain and distress inflicted on you for a latent blessing. You should grasp this point well by means of illustrations. A loving father applies leeches to one of the limbs of his son's body but he does

1. لقد خلقنا الانسان فی کبد 2. انه هو اضحک وابکی
3. انه هوامات واحیا 4. انه هواغنی واقنی 5. صبر
6. یاایها الذین امنوا اصبروا وصابروا ورابطوا واتقوا الله لعلکم تفلحون S. III. 200.
7. گر گریزی با امید راحتی هم از آنجا پیشت آید آفتی
هیچ کنجی بی دد وبی دام نیست جز بخلوت گاه حق آرام نیست
8. ولربک فاصبر S. LXXIV-7.

not intend to inflict pain on him, he is letting out the impure blood from his system which is acting as a toxin. A mother cannot bear to see her little son untidy. She rubs his body and gives him a wash with soap and warm water. The child cries and howls, feels pain, but the mother does not intend to give him pain. Your well-meaning physician prescribes a medicine for you, and you dislike it but if he were to give you a medicine of your own liking you would never recover from your illness. If you are not given a thing on which you dote and you are fully aware that it is not being given to you out of consideration for your own supreme good, you will say that the act of not giving it to you is itself a great boon. Shaykh Abul Hasan Shadhli has aptly remarked, "Know well, if God Almighty does not bestow anything on you, you should consider that this act of His is a great gift. But it is the truthful person only who takes the denial of a gift that way." The same secret has been hinted at in the verse: It may be that ye dislike a thing, and God brings about through it a great deal of good."[1] That is the reason why the Prophet of Islam offered thanks on the infliction of disasters as he offered them on the bestowal of boons.[2]

We should have implicit faith and the greatest devotion. Whenever a true believer is confronted with some distress, he feels an aura of the presence of the Almighty in which he finds such pleasure that he bears the severity of the agony easily and he often does not even feel the pain, due to the predominating influence of His presence. If you are unable to grasp the meaning of the above lines, consider the case of the lovely ladies who taunted Zulaikha. Being enamoured of Joseph's bewitching beauty, they incised the fingers of their hand with knives and did not feel what pain meant! "When they saw him they did extol him and cut their hands."[3] This is also illustrated by the following insight of the Gnostics:

"By proximity to a beloved being the perception of pain vanishes into thin air."

After attaining perfection in faith and devotion, you will perceive such secrets of mercy and blessing in sickness, distress and starvation that you will exclaim that the Prophet of Islam spoke the truth when he said, "Paradise is enveloped in all those things which the mind dislikes and hell is surrounded by carnal desires and sensuality."[4] "Self" is overpowered by calamities and distress, it becomes petty and sordid, turns towards God Almighty, establishes a contact with Him and severs its relations with all the others and is dead for the world. There is nothing

1. عسى ان تكرهوا شيئا ويجعل الله فيه خيرا كثيرا
2. الحمد لله على ما ساء وسر
3. فلما رأينه أكبرنه وقطعن أيديهن
4. حفت الجنه بالمكاره وحفت النار بالشهوات

more effective for character-forming than grief; all the blemishes of the mind are cured by grief, the heart is purified and the soul is polished. If you succeed in treating your cardiac diseases by means of grief and distress and attained to the state of patience or perseverance, grief has aided you in achieving the greatest victory and such a grief is better than a thousand joys—the joys on account of which you were a slave to sensuality and licentiousness, were enveloped in darkness and were far from light. You had no contact with the Almighty, the Evil one was your compeer, he had complete hold over you and you merited these words:

"If anyone withdraws himself from the rememberance of (God) Most Gracious, we appoint for him an evil one, to be an intimate companion to him."[1]

After acquiring knowledge of this philosophy of pain, Hadrat 'Umar had declared "I found superlative luxury in patience." When Hadrat Abu Bakr Siddiq fell ill, people inquired after his health and asked whether they might send for a physician. He replied that the physician had examined him; they asked him what the physician had said; he answered that the physician had told him that "He did what he pleased."[2] Ma'ruf Karkhi would often say "that person is not a faithful slave who does not enjoy the lash of his master, his claims of being honest are false!" In the pockets of some of the Gnostics these words were found written; "Now await in patience the command of thy Lord: for verily thou art in our eyes."[3] Whenever they were distressed they would glance at this writing and merely considering that God Almighty was aware of their affliction and was witnessing it, would frolic and dance for joy! In view of the above, a few holy men of past ages consoled themselves when in trouble by repeating the above verse! It would be especially comforting for a believer to remember what the Prophet had said in this connection:

"When God loves a person, He involves him in tribulation; if he bears it with patience, He makes him His elected one and if he reconciles himself to Him, He exalts Him to the highest rank."[4]

Now think over a general psychological law. Man can bear somewhat easily with ordeals and tribulations when he hopes that he would be granted some good compensation for them. For instance, I am pleased in a far off country, away from my native land, cut off from my wife and family, of course it is very tragic for me. But I do not consider it tragic, for at the end of a month I get the remuneration for my services

1. من يعش عن ذ كرالرحمن نقيض له شيطانا فهوقرين S. 43, 35.
2. انى فعال لماارىد
3. واصبرلحكم ربك فانك باعيننا S. 52, 48.
4. اذا احب الله عبدا ابتلاه، فان صبراجتباه وان رضى اصطفاه

in the form of salary. This remuneration makes me forget my worries, acts as a salve for my wounds. Keeping this principle in view, think over the promises and glad tidings which are announced in the Qur'an to the person who is struggling with tribulation patiently. It seems that all the good attributes of this world and the other are comprised in patience.

According to the research of Imam Ahmad, patience has been referred to in the Qur'an in 90 places! We shall here mention a few glad tidings which occur in the Qur'an in favour of a patient person. If he keeps them in view and ponders over them with full confidence and conviction, he would exclaim loudly, "An affliction inflicted by a friend is a gift and it is a sin to wail after receiving it."

Patience endears us to God Almighty :

"God loves those who are firm and steadfast."[1] Those who cultivate the habit of patience are dear to God and when one is beloved of God nothing should make him grieve and nothing should daunt him. Again! "God is with those who patiently persevere"[2] and these words are not a mere consolation. How can man suffer indignity when God is by his side? He cannot come to any harm. When the Lord is on his side enemies are powerless. Patience alone makes one the leader and he is entrusted with the duty of guiding people. "And we appointed from among them Leaders, giving guidance under our command, so long as they persevered with patience."[3] The patience of a patient person serves as a weapon of defence against the wiles and cunning of his foes.

"But if you are constant and do right, not the least harm will their cunning do to you."[4] It is certain he will overcome them ultimately. "So persevere patiently, for the end is for those who are righteous."[5] He is sure to achieve his end. The promise made by the Lord to the Israelites namely, the promise that he would rid them of their foes and bestow on them kingdom and power, was fulfilled on account of their patience alone. The patient have been promised unlimited compensation for their patience. Those who patiently persevere will truly receive a reward without measure."[6] Sulayman bin Qasim has remarked that the

1. والله يحب الصابرين X. III, 146.
2. ان الله مع الصابرين S. II, 153.
3. وجعلنا منهم ائمة يهدون بامرنا لما صبروا وكانوا بآياتنا يوقنون S. XXXII, 24.
4. وان تصبروا وتتقوا لا يضركم كيدهم شيئا S. III, 120.
5. فاصبر ان العاقبة للمتقين S. XI, 49.
6. انما يوفى الصابرون اجرهم بغير حساب S. XXXIX, 10.

requital for every act of ours is known to us, but the reward for patience being unlimited is unknown and beyond our ken. For the patient persons God Almighty has summed up all His praise, guidance and blessings together; and all these have been heaped upon them only and on nobody else.

"Give glad tidings to those who patiently persevere, who say when afflicted with calamity: "To God we belong, and to Him shall we return"—they are those on whom (descend) blessings from God, and Mercy, and they are the ones that receive guidance."[1]

If ephemeral and temporary pain is borne patiently—and such pain is not intolerable, for intolerable pain is never inflicted on anybody—just think how one is being recompensed for it! What things are being promised him? and who is it who is promising? Through whose lips assurance is being given? If your heart is enlightened with the effulgence of faith, if it is not encased in a cover and not overturned, if it possesses the sense of perception and intuits these facts, is it not true that pain is a priceless boon for it? Will it not enjoy it? Will it not crave for it and will it not in wild ecstasy give expression to the following lines:

> The poison that He gives me is nothing but sweet
> This arrow of His is not vouchsafed to all and sundry!
> My bosom Friend never does me a bad turn,
> The bitter he meets out is sweet enough for me.[2]

Now pay heed to the sense of the following tradition:

"Just as an affectionate father takes care of his child, so also God Almighty takes care of his creatures through tribulation.[3] The same were the perceptions of the apostles of the Prophet of Islam and by dint of them they sacrificed every worldly possession for the sake of God.

Etiquette demands that while practising patience, there should be no murmurs and grumbling. We should not complain to anybody else save God Almighty of our distress. As Jacob said, "I only complain of my distraction and anguish to God."[4]

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1. وبشر الصابرين الذين اذا اصابتهم مصبة قالوا انالله وانااليه راجعون
اولئك عليهم صلوة من ربهم ورحمة واولئك هم المهتدون S. II, 155-156.

2. زهرغم دوست جز شكر نيست — اين تير نصيب هرجگر نيست
بدكے دهد آن حبيب جانى — شيرين بود آنچه تلخ دانى

3. يتعاهد الله عبده بالبلاء كمايتعاهدالوالد الشفيق ولده

4. انما اشكو بثى و حزنى الى الله

Better if my malady is hidden from the ken of my boastful physicians,
Who knows but that the right remedy may come from the Domain Unseen [1]

Just think over the matter, what does complaining to creatures imply? Only this much that we are complaining of our distress to non-merciful and non-benevolent beings! Such persons will never experience the sweetness of obedience to God in their hearts and soul. The essence of patience lies in concealing tribulations. The treasure-trove of goodness can be obtained by concealing the sufferings, the person who revealed them had no patience. But if in pain and agony a cry escapes from the lips, it would not be contradictory to patience, provided a complaint is not implied by it and merely relaxation of anguish is aimed at, as by moaning the attention is diverted from pain and some amelioration is felt. Consequently there is a commandment about the other type of wail which tells us that it does not conflict with patience and according to the tradition of Imam Ahmad the first type of wail is definitely against patience.

To be persevering and patient while confronted with a disaster means that one should meekly abide by the Divine decree even though one might be naturally feeling pain and grief. One must needs suffer pain, for it is but human to do so. The perfect man, Muhammad, the Prophet of Islam, on the demise of Ibrahim said, 'O, Ibrahim, thy departure from this world has made us sad'. Anyway the pain should not be a mental one, that is such a sad incident should not be considered inopportune and one should reconcile oneself to it. One should repeat the words:

"What the King doeth is sweet and pleasant." [2]

and mentally he should say:

'The ruler of the Universe knows the art of running the Universe'[3]

Now under the commandment, making use of necessary causes is not only valid but imperative and human nature is such that man does not rest until he finds out a solution to his difficulties. If in the use of causes one overlooks them and pays attention to their very source, the causes become more effective. If this method of treatment is applied and all its ingredients are mastered and kept in view, one gradually attains resignation, which is the greatest bliss and a paradise on earth as it were.

Shukr *(Praise)*: The fourth method of seeking assistance is by means of offering thanks to God Almighty for the blessings He has conferred on us.

In his life man comes across joy as well as sorrow, suffers pain and

1. دردم نہان بہ زطبیبان مدعی باشد کہ از خزانہ غیبم دوا کنند

2. ع ہرچہ آن خسرو کند شیرین بود

3. ع جہان دار داند جہان داشتن

enjoys ease, and there is darkness as well as sunshine for him. Due to their dullness of vision the pessimists laid down that the very source of the world is evil and eventually became the votaries of the 'Pandiabolism' theory. By their own experience they said they found this world the worst of all, they could not find here anything real save grief and sorrow. On the contrary the optimists termed this world as the best possible world. According to them grief and sorrow are created merely for the sake of variety, by contrariety they heighten to a great degree the sense of pleasure; they are not real but only hypothetical. But speaking truly, sorrow as well as joy are real in this world. To consider either of them as an illusion is to deceive one's own self. Every person is daily verifying the truth of this statement by experimenting himself; he finds neither a blessing nor a calamity permanent. He is passing through every phase of blessing, he can deny neither the feeling of joy nor the perception of sorrow. The presence of joy and sorrow amounts to feeling them, and here only the remark of Berkeley that *esse ist percipi* seems to be correct. In fact the 'names' of God Almighty are majestic (Jalali) as well as beautiful (Jamali) and all these are perpetually at work. Not even for a moment are they inactive and inert. Good and evil, joy and sorrow, blessing and tribulation are all real and are the outcome of the bright effulgence of these 'names'.

It is inherent in man's nature that he desires to get rid of distress and longs for more blessings. The wise teachings of the Prophet Muhammad have chalked out mental planes for both. Patience at the infliction of calamities and offering of thanks when favoured with blessings create a tremendous revolution in the human heart. On the one hand, they rid him of wailing, breast-beating, despair and pessimism, and on the other free him from pride, arrogance, conceit and self-importance. Getting rid of these natal and injurious impulses, he becomes the repertory of courage, power, and action, and the conquest of the universe becomes easy for him. His vital energies are not wasted. They are directed towards the right object and, concentrated on one point, produce marvellous effects. While suffering hardships, care should be taken to this extent only that the will does not weaken and one does not get discouraged totally. One should encounter distress heroically. This quality could be achieved by patience and while one is endowed with blessings, it is likely that he may become oblivious of God Almighty, who is the origin and source of all bounties and benevolence and thus he may be estranged from this source and enveloped in darkness. This danger is averted by offering thanks, as thankfulness consists in attributing a blessing to God. It should not be ascribed to one's own self or to His creatures because God Almighty Himself is empowered to bestow weal or inflict woe, He alone can make or mar one's fortune. Though outwardly it appears that His creatures are bestowing boons on others, yet an observant mind is well aware that they are merely tools and instruments. The distributor, bestower and doer is God Almighty Himself.

When keeping this fact in view, man offers his thanks to God, He favours him with more blessings, it is a definite promise of Him which admits of no exceptions at all. Says God Almighty, "If ye are grateful, I will add more (favours) unto you."[1] The granting of our prayers, bestowal of means of livelihood and affluence, and pardon for our sins depend entirely on His will and pleasure; but the meed which one gets for offering thanks, in the form of extra favours is not contingent but absolutely certain. In view of this the Prophet Muhammad has remarked: "Whoever is blessed with God's favours should offer his sincerest thanks to Him."[2]

The Prophet of Islam the most fluent speaker of Arabia and Mesopotamia, has expressed this stupendous truth (on which depends the duration of favours) in another psychological way:

"Blesssing is, as it were a wild beast, keep it under control by binding it with chains of thanksgiving."[3]

It is a universal and necessary law of psychology that when a person is favoured with a blessing he feels overjoyed but in course of time as he becomes more and more familiar with it, it loses its value and worth after a time. It now lacks novelty; he does not feel any difference in his life by its presence and in spite of living a luxurious life he feels bored. But if it is lost or wrested from him he would then appreciate it. 'The value of a blessing is realised after it is lost' expresses this truth aptly. Besides, losing the sense of appreciation of a favour is synonymous with losing the favour or boon itself. If a boon does not afford me pleasure and I feel mortified instead, then this boon is not a blessing but a curse. After understanding these truths, we come to know how far thanksgiving is instrumental in adding to the divine favours. A blessing would last if it is appreciated. Lack of sense of appreciation would mean lack of the blessing itself. Consequently the sense of appreciation of a favour should be kept alive and this object could be achieved by offering thanks. Hasan of Basra used to speak of thanksgiving as 'Gainer'[4] and 'Preserver'[5] because it safeguards the present blessings and secures unknown ones. By thanksgiving a blessing is safeguarded against harm and loss and as the sense of perception is developed in the feeling of blessings a man begins to observe those little favours which hitherto had been hidden from his view. Therefore we can say that the offering of thanks definitely adds to the blessings. 'The thankful person deserves extra favours' is a psychological truth. That is the reason why the Prophet whenever he experienced a joy would bow humbly before God to express his thanks. How strange is the nature of man. He quickly forgets the favours received from the Almighty and ever moans and

1. لئن شكرتم لأزيدنكم S. XIV, 7. 2. من نزلت اليه نعمة فليشكرها

3. النعمة وحشية فقيدوها بالشكر 4. جالب 5. حافظ

complains of adversities. An Arab poet has aptly commented on the above thus :

> O, You, insensitive to the values of life !
> Surely your insensitiveness will recoil on you.
> How long and how far,
> Will you continue to complain only of mishaps and
> remain forgetful of blessings received ?[1]

Let us repeat those blessings showered on us which we do not see. Consider the 'blessing of gain'[2] and then the 'blessing of safety'.[3] Both of them are innumerable; while taking the blessing of gain into account a man should survey his own height and stature, should think over his health and physique and think of those delicacies which he enjoys while eating and drinking and while gratifying his sensuous desires. Later, in connection with the 'blessing of safety', he should see that he is not a cripple, he is safe from a thousand and one diseases and is secure against the wiles of his foes and adversaries. A true believer can think of a blesssing from yet another view-point; he is endowed with the "blessing of success"[4] and the blessing of chastity."[5] "The blessing of success" means that he is gifted with faith, sincerity and perseverance; by the "blessing of chastity" is implied that he is safeguarded against unbelief false worship, hypocrisy, apostasy, innovation and wickedness. If he were to enumerate the details of all these blessings, bestow a little thought on his own talents and capabilities and see whether he justly merited them he would involuntarily exclaim :

> Without thee, o Beloved, I cannot rest,
> Thy goodness towards one I cannot reckon.[6]
> Though every hair of my body becomes a tongue,[7]
> A thousandth part of the thanks due to thee I cannot tell.[8]

How true are the words "But if ye count the favour of God, never will ye be able to number them."[9] Now how can man thank God for the myriads of His favours. Consequently it has been said, by offering thanks one realises how humble and weak one is. With the offering of one thanksgiving another thanksgiving becomes imperative. It is God

1. یاایها الظالم فی فعله والظلم مردودعلی من ظلم
الی متی و حتی متی تشکوا المصیبات وتنسی النعم

2. نعمت نفع 3. نعمت دفع 4. نعمت توفیق 5. نعمت عصمت

6. بے لطف تومن قرار نتوانم کرد احسان تومن شمار نتوانم کرد

7. گربرتن من زبان شود هرموئی یک شکر توازهزار نتوانم کرد

8. Translated by R. A. Nickolson in *Studies in Mysticism*, P. 51.

9. ان تعدوانعمة الله لاتحصوها S. XIV, 33.

Almighty Himself who motivates us to offer him our gratitude and hence this motivation itself is a great boon for which we are bound to thank Him; then again gratitude for this gratitude is called for and so on *ad infinitum*! Therefore, the observation of the favours received from the Almighty is itself gratitude, admitting his favours too is itself gratitude, the prayer, after acquiring them, to abide by his decisions is itself gratitude and eulogizing God when favoured by Him is itself gratitude!

The other methods of seeking assistance from God Almighty are briefly as follows:

Repentance: Whenever we commit sins we should sincerely turn to God in repentance. He assists us by granting us pardon "He pardons him who turns to him with a penitent heart."[1] What a comforting and affectionate message it is! Says God Almighty: "But, without doubt, I am (also) He that forgives again and again those who repent, believe and do right, who, in fine, are ready to receive true guidance."[2] Repentance and penitence purify the heart of wickedness and ultimately the penitent person becomes the beloved of God Almighty. "For God loves those who turn to Him constantly."[3]

We have discussed above in detail that power and authority are primarily the attributes of God Almighty only. "There is no power but with God."[4]

The relation of our hope and fear is established with God Almighty alone and as soon as it is firmly established, He makes us oblivious of all His creatures. In consequence of this we are freed from the grip of that murderous emotion which deprives the lives of those who seek help from others beside God, of peace and contentment for ever. This emotion is that of fear which keeps on biting, pulling about and destroying their peace of mind. It is because of this they behold a net in every nook and a ferocious animal in every corner!

Dhikr (Remembrance): If we seek help from God Almighty in the matter of remembering us and desire that He should be pleased with us, we should 'remember' Him and abide by every command and decision of His. "Then do ye remember Me, I will remember you."[5]

Rida (Resignation): When once we are resigned to Him, He is pleased with us. "God (is) well pleased with them, and they with God."[6] As a poet says:

1. فانه كان للاوابين غفورا S. XVII, 24.
2. انى لغفار لمن تاب وآمن وعمل صالحاً ثم اهتدى S. XX, 82.
3. ان الله يحب التوابين S. II, 222. 4. لاقوة الا بالله S. XVIII, 39.
5. فاذكرونى اذكركم S. II, 152. 6. رضى الله عنهم ورضوا عنه

They who seek zealously the pleasure of God,
Most meekly tread the path of His Will,
They all do what God commands them to do,
And God does what they pray Him to do![1]

The gist of all that we have written above is that faith or religion consists of two parts, worshipping God alone and asking for His aid only. (*'Ibadat and Iste'anat*). "There is none worthy of worship except God and Muhammad is His Prophet."[2] If we admit the truth of the above words not only with our lips but also our hearts, the presence of any other deity save the one Almighty God vanishes into thin air. How sublime must be the heart which is freed from the conception of any other being than God and in which the divinity of God Almighty has taken root! God Almighty alone is the object of his worship, desires and aspirations; He is his sole Master and Helper. His heart is illumined with the glory of the unity of God; it is enlightened with faith and is full of piety. Such a person is beloved of God Almighty who is his supporter, his trustee, his master, his preserver and his guide.

In this connection we should remember a few definitions. As we have already seen *Tawhid* (unity of God) consists in considering God alone as worthy of worship and God alone to be the one whose help can be sought, as Lord and Helper, and in sincerely believing Him to be so. If we admit and confess it, *Shirk*, '(joining others in worship with God,)' makes its exit out of our hearts and *Tawhid* takes its place. By testifying to the prophethood of the holy being (Muhammad) who gave us this message and by believing him as the true Prophet of Islam, *Kufr* or infidelity leaves the heart and in its place faith[3] reigns supreme. Two things are comprised in faith as well as in '*Tawhid*.' Faith includes the testimony of the prophethood of Muhammad and the conviction that God alone is worthy of worship and God alone is the one whose assistance should be sought.

Nifaq (Hypocrisy): is mere verbal assent of the creed and the denial at heart. *Bid'at* (an innovation),[4] too, is a curse, it is equivalent to introducing a new idea in religion and to justify it as a principle of religion. To hold an un-Islamic code as valid and just in Islam is a perjury to God Almighty and to some extent a claim to prophethood. An innovator rarely repents and since he believes that 'innovation' is praiseworthy, why should he then be repentant? In view of the above Muhammad, the Prophet, has remarked: "Every innovation is misguidance"[5] and misguidance leads to perdition.

1. آنانکه رضای حق بجان می جویند — درراه رضای اوبسرمی پویند
هریک همه آن کند که حق فرماید — حق نیزهمان کند که ایشان گویند

2. لاالہ‌الاالله محمدرسول‌الله 3. ایمان 4. بدعت

5. كل بدعة ضلالة

Before embracing Islam it is imperative to repent of Unbelief[1] and request for the Almighty's pardon; then one should bear testimony in his heart to the fact that God alone is worthy of worship and that Muhammad is his Prophet. After that one should verbally admit the same fact. By doing that, the conception of a being other than God, deeply rooted in the mind, will be annihilated and the divinity of the Almighty God will take its place. Now one would steer clear of hypocrisy apostasy, innovation and wickedness and persevere in living a pious life. This is 'religion' or 'obedience' about which Maulana Rum has aptly remarked :

> Shouldst thou love liberty and care to develop a loving heart,
> Bind thyself to Him in devotion now and for ever.
> Life is meant for devotion alone,
> Life without devotion is a matter of shame!
> Save humility, devotion and restless yearning,
> Nothing is of value in the sight of God.
> He who lives in love,
> To him all save devotion is infidelity.
> Devotion to be fruitful must rest on the inward urge,
> The seed to grow into a plant needs a kernel within![2]

Says God Almighty :

"O, Prophet, say thou : "This is my way : I do invite unto God on evidence clear as the seeing with one's eyes I and whoever follows me. Glory to God! and never will I join gods with God"[3]

1. کفر

2. گرنو خواهی حری و دل زندگی بندگی کن بندگی کن بندگی
زندگی مقصود بهر بندگی است زندگی بی بندگی شرمندگی است
جز خضوع و بندگی واضطرار اندرین حضرت ندارد اعتبار
هرکه اندر عشق یابد زندگی کفر باشد پیش او جزبندگی
ذوق باید تادهد طاعات بر مغزباید تادهد دانه شجر

3. S. XII-108. قل هذه سبیلی ادعوالی الله علی بصیرة اناومن اتبعنی وسبحان الله وماانامن المشرکین

MILITARY LITERATURE OF THE ARABS

ABDUR RAHMAN ZAKY*

WHEN the first flow of Arab conquest had passed by, and the Muslims had settled down in their new homes, they did not disdain to learn a lesson from the nations they had defeated. Accordingly, the Byzantine army served as a model for the forces of the Caliphs. "They have copied the Romans," says Leo, in most of their military practices, both in arms and strategy."[1]

By the tenth century the Muslims had an art of war of their own. Their expert writers and translators began to contribute invaluable treatises on war, of which, however, very few have survived. Some of these were the translations of books written in Latin, Persian, Greek or Sanskrit.

Ibn al Nadim, the Muslim bibliographist, who compiled *Al-Fihrist* in the second half of the tenth century mentions in the chapter on works on military art a work entitled : "The Art of War and the Methods of Conquering fortresses and towns, to prepare ambushes, to place guards, to push spies, to send detachments, and to place garrisons," based on a treatise written in the third century for Ardeshir, the son of Babek.[2] Ibn al Nadim mentions also the following books :

(1) *A book of Stratagems* by Harthama al-Sha'rani, written on the demand of Caliph al-Mamun. The work consisted of three parts.[3]

1. Oman, C : *A History of the Art of War*. London, 1898.

2. كتاب آداب الحروب وفتح الحصون والمدائن وتربيص الكمين وتوجيه الجواسيس والطلائع والسرايا ووضع المسالح - عمل لارد شير بن بابک وترجم الى العربية

3. كتاب الحيل للهرثمي الشعراني ألفه للمأمون في الحروب

‡ كتاب القول التام في فضل الرمي بالسهام للسخاوي المصري رقم ٦٥ ٤ ويقع في ١٢٣ لوحة صغيرة مكتوب بخط نسخ جميل وبه أحاديث و حكم من فضائل الرمي بالسهام والفروسة والشجاعة في الحروب وفي نهايته أنه كتب سنة ٨٣٥ ه .

انظر " مواقف حاسمة لعبدالله عنان ص ٨٤٥ "

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(2) *A book on the Laws of War and the Composition of Camps* written by Abdul Jabbar Ibn 'Adi for Caliph al-Mansur.[1]

(3) *Chivalry* by al-Ashmaiti.[2]

(4) The author mentions also a treatise on the ancient military preparations of Persia entitled "Military Art and Regulations of cavalry and the means with which kings of Persia defended the four boundaries of their empire.[3]

Two other items in the Fihrist are

(5) A book of Archery by Behram Gur.

(6) A book of striking with the Soljan[4] by the Persian Ibn al-Nadi

He also mentions a book on the use of fire, the Naphte and its use in war[5] as well as another treatise which dealt with the battering-ram, the balista, traps and other tricks of war.[6]

Books dealing with the military art increased constantly, the more the Arabs fought against the Byzantines or others, the more they increased their military knowledge and tried to keep it uptodate. More and more the art became developed, and new treatises became more needed. Unfortunately, most of these treatises bear no date or even the author's name. The acts included were repetitions of the systems mentioned by Aristotle and used by Alexander the Great. These treatises are full of technical terms some of which were not originally Arabic and for that reason were not explained in the early dictionaries.

Some of these treatises are illustrated with figures; in such cases, they helped in understanding the contents.

At the Oriental Library of Leiden, two copies of a work with no title and no author's name exist (No. 92 and 499). No. 499 is preceded by the following sentence.

"Treatises of war tricks, conquest of towns, guarding of defiles, according to the rules established by Alexander, the son of Philip."[7]

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1. كتاب آداب الحروب وصورة العسكر   2. كتاب الفروسية للاسميطي

3. كتاب تعبئة الحروب وآداب الاساورة وكيف كانت ملوك الفرس تولى الاربعة الثغور من الشرق والغرب والجنوب والشمال

See *The Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadim. pp. 436-437. Cairo. See also: *Manuscripts arabes de la Bibliotheque Nationale*, Paris. t. II. fol. 172 Vo).

4. كتاب الضرب بالصوالجة للفرس

5. كتاب العلم بالنار والنفط والزراقات فى الحروب

6. كتاب الدبابات والمنجنيقات والحيل والمكايد رآه ابن النديم بخط ابن خفيف

7. Reinaud, M.: De l'art militaire chez les Arabes au moyen-age. *Journal Asiatique*, September 1848.

كتاب الحيل والحروب وفتح المدائن وحفظ الدروب من حكم الاسكندر ذى القرنين من فيلبس اليونانى

On the back of the first page of No. 92, are the following words :

"Treatise on tricks and war, weapons, the siege of fortresses, methods of using the sword, shooting with arrows and the manufacture of "Barud" (gunpowder).

The last words make one think that saltpetre has its place in the treatise : but nothing is mentioned about it. It is supposed that this title had been added later by somebody.

When Monsieur Reinaud, the French orientalist, studied that manuscript about a century ago, he came to the conclusion that it may have been written in the early years of the XIIIth century, at a time when saltpetre was not used by the Muslims as a war weapon. One also reads at the end of the treatise the following words :[2]

"The original work was achieved at the beginning of Rajab, year 622 H." (July 1225).

The National Library in Paris possesses similar treatises, but of later dates. These belong to a time when saltpetre was used. One of the treatises is entitled :

"*Treatise of the military art and the instruments of war.*"[3]

It is illustrated with figures in colour. At the beginning of the treatise, it is mentioned that the work was written by Hassan surnamed Najm-Uddin Al-Rammah, according to his father's directions, also of other illustrious masters of the art. The author bears the nickname of Al-Ahdab (the hunchback). He was a Muslim writer on military subjects, flourished probably in Syria, and died in 1294/95. He wrote two treatises on horsemanship and the art of war. One of these is a great work on chivalry, of which two manuscripts have come down to us.[4]

In the foreword, are the following words : [5]

"This book contains all that benefits the masters, heroes and men who fight, regarding military operations, the various methods of handling the spear and the bow, of mixing of materials, construction of

1. كتاب الحيل والحروب وآلات السلاح وحصار القلاع وصفة الضرب بالسيف
والرمى بالنشاب وعمل البارود

2. "وكان الفراغ من أصل الكتاب بتاريخ مستهل رجب من سنة ٦٢٢ (يوليو ١٢٢٥)

3. كتاب الفروسية والمناصب الحربية لنجم الدين حسن الرماح وتشتمل على الدروس
التى تلقاها عن ابيه واساتذته (Vide De Slane, p. 509.)

4. Another manuscript exists in the British Museum.
نهاية السؤل والامنية فى نعليم اعمال الفروسية

5. " فيه كل مايحتاج اليه الاستاذين (؟) والفرسان والابطال والزراقين من أشغال
الحرب ومعرفة الرماح والدبابيس والنشاب المختلف والمناجيق والحراقات وغمر ذلك
وقتال البحر واشياء غريبة نفع الله بها المسلمين

war-machines, etc.,also on the ways of fighting on sea, and other items no less curious." "Let God do that all this be to the victory of Islam."

At the National Library of Paris, there is a manuscript[1] similar to the above entitled : "*Treatise on Furusiyah for Al-Jihad* in the cause of God."

The manuscript bears the name of Hassan Al-Rammah. Another work includes two military treatises (No. 1128 B.N.). One has the title: Collection meant for persons who are interested in several subjects of the military art, and who engage themselves in handling the lance, as well as, in its manoeuvres."[2] It appears that the author was a professional soldier. He says that contrary to his colleagues who wish to monopolise the technique of war and surround their practices with mystery, he did not hesitate to reveal all its secrets.

The second copy of the same manuscript does not bear any particular title. Nothing also exists to indicate the date or the author's name. Nevertheless, it seems to have been written after 1300 A.D. It includes the methods of fighting on horseback, as these were followed by Gazan, most probably the Mongol Khan of Persia, who died in 1304.

The work numbered 991 of the catalogue of Arabic manuscripts (Supplement) is a collection of papers relating to the military art. A large part of the work deals with extracts from Hassan's book; but in folio 15, there is a treatise whose author is Muhammad, son of Lajin Al-Husamy, named Al-Tarabolusi al-Rammah. He is probably the same author mentioned in one of the previous treatises. The title of the treatise is :[3]

"*What is intended to follow is the theory and practice in military exercises.*"

In addition to these treatises, there are a few pages in manuscript left of a military treatise in the National Library (Paris). Its title is: *The Holy Jihad and Chivalry*,[4] written by Abu 'Abdullah Moh. Ibn Ya'qub Ibn Akhi Khuzam, in the year 1063 H. (1653)

1. مخطوط الفروسية برسم الجهاد فى سبيل الله رقم ٢٨٢٩ فى المكتبة الاهلية فى باريز (De Slane, pp. 509-510.)

2. كتاب المخزون لارباب الفنون فى الفروسية ولعب الرمح وبنودها رقم ١١٢٨ فى المكتبه الاهلية فى باريز (De Slane, pp. 509-510.)

3. غايه المقصود فى العلم والعمل بالبنود تاليف محمدبن لاجين الحسامى الطرابلسى الرماح رقم ٢٧ , ٢٨ فى المكتبة الاهليه فى باريز وللمؤلف رسالة تحفة المجاهدين فى العمل بالميادين مخطوط أكسفورد

De Slane : Manuscripts arabes de la Bibliotheque nationale. Tome II, p. 509 No. 2827.

4. الجهاد المقدس والفروسية وامراض الخيل . . . . الخ لابن عبدالله محمد بن يعقوب بن اخى خزام . تاريخها ١٠٦٣ ه (١٦٥٣)

In addition to these, Reinaud mentions that there was an Arabic treatise at Moscow, which is entitled : "*Collections of various subjects on arts.*"[1] From a note written at the end of the manuscript, one can attribute it to the end of the XVth century. In the frontispiece is given the name of the Mameluke, Amir "Jerbash." The manuscript is elaborately written, and is decorated with coloured illustrations.

* * *

In the Oriental Library of the British Museum, there are also various Arabic manuscripts on the military art.[2] I shall deal here with some of the important ones.

1. *A treatise on Archery by al-Tabari.* It has neither title nor preface. The first part deals with archery (generally) and with verses from the Qur'an. Among the contents of the treatise are :

The first bowman among the Arabs, the masters of Archery, the view of Ibn Hashim on archery, etc. to "bab" No. 16. The four final chapters are not numbered.

The great masters of the art, whose teachings are expounded and discussed are Taher al Balkhi, Abu Hashim al-Mawardi (?) and Ishaq al Raffa' of Khawarism. The treatise contains three coloured illustrations.

2. *A short treatise on archery* by Yusuf Ibn Muhammad al-Goukhi al-Mousaly, one of the masters of archery. The treatise deals with the principles of archery. Thirty-one problems of archery are explained. These were originally dealt with by 'Abdullah Ibn Sulaiman al-Yamani.[3]

3. *A treatise on archery* by Abu Bakr Ibn Yusuf Ibn Ishaq al-Shafa'i.[4]

4. A treatise on the military art, dealing especially with the handling of weapons, cavalry practice, military tactics, and the rules of war.[5] (Without the author's name). *Nihayat al-Su'l wal-Umniya fi Ta'lim al-Jurusiya.*

1. *Reinaud:* Ibid. كتاب المخزون جامع الفنون

2. Supplement to the Catalogue of Arabic manuscripts in the British Museum, No 817. pp. 554. Or. 3134. Foll. 33;8 inches by 5 3/4, 15 lines, 3 5/8 inches long, written in fair vocalized Naskh. (apparently in the 16th century.) Hajj Khalifa mentions the treatise in part 4, page 415, with the title:
الواضح فى الرمى والنشاب للطبرى

3. Ibid. No. 818.

4. Ibid., No. 819 المنيد فى علم الرمى لابى بكربن يوسف بن اسحق الشافعى

5. Ibid., No. 820, pp. 555-67 نهاية السؤل والامنية فى تعليم اعمال الفروسية
ويوجد هذاالمحظوط فى دارالكتب المصرية تحت رقم ٦ ٢ فنون حربية
B. Museum., Or. 3631

The copy contains 17 rude coloured drawings representing horsemen in various fighting attitudes. On the first page of the volume there is a misleading title, ascribing the treatise to Baktut, as follows:

هدا كتاب نهاية السؤل والامنية فى نعليم اعمال الفروسية تصنيف (بدرالدين)
بكتوت الرماح خازندار الملك الظاهر ،، (١١ ه / ١٢١١)

5. *A treatise on Archery* by TaiBugha al-Ashrafi al-Baklamishi Al-Yunani, who lived in the latter half of the 8th century of the Hijra.

The copyist's name is Muhammad al-Amlity al-Azhari.[1]

6. *A treatise on the military art and the management of weapons.*[2] by Muhammad Ibn Menikly al-Qizz. The author appears to have been a Mameluke in the service of one of the Sultans of Egypt, and to have lived in the latter half of the 8th century (H.). He mentions incidentally three works previously written by him on cognate subjects.[3] The author deals chiefly with the preparation and proper handling of weapons.[4]

7. *A work on the chase:* written by the same author, (773 A.H.) is mentioned in the Paris Catalogue of the National Library No. 2832).

There are at the British Museum other smaller treatises of less importance.

At the Bodleian Library, Oxford there also exist other treatises among which are:

1. *Al-Furusiyah wa Al-Jihad.*[5] Besides there is a manuscript entitled:

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1. Ibid., No. 821, pp. 66 F. غنية الطلاب فى معرفة الرمى بالنشاب

التدبيرات السلطانيه فى سياسة الصناعة الحربية لمحمد بن منكلى المصرى القز

2. B. Museum, Or. 37-34 (Rieu, No. 822, pp. 557-8).

3. اسماء هذه الرسائل هى

اقصى الامد فى الرد على منكر سرالعدو

العقد المسلوك فيما يلزم جلبس الملوك

المنهل العذب لورود اهل الحرب

وقد ذكر الرسائل الثلاثة حاج خليفة ج ١ ص ٩٤٣ وفى ج ٣ ص ٢٢٣ وج ٦ ص

٢٢٥ وهويسمى المؤلف محمدبن منكلى المصرى

وللمؤلف ايضا رسالة أنس الملا بوحش الفلا فى دار الكتب الاهلية بباريز رقم

(De Slane, p. 773). ٢٨٣٢

4. This manuscript belonged (1070 A H.) to the Zaidi Imam, Amir al-Momenin al-Mutawakkil 'Ala Allah Isma'il.

5. Oxford Ms., Hunt. 76 (Vide Uri. 1, 101). الفروسية والجهاد

2. *Tuhfat al-Mujahidin fi al-Amal bi-Almiadin*[1] written by Muhammad ibn Lajin al-Husamy al-Trabolusi about 780 A.H. (1379).

At Cambridge, there are a few treatises, the most important of which are:

1. *A treatise on archery* by Taghbugha al-Ashrafi al-Baklamishi al-Yunani written about 770 A.H. (1368 A.D.).[2]

Another work dealing with Islamic arms and equipment of war was written by Murdi Ibn ʿAli al-Tarsusi during the reign of al Sultan Salah al-Din al-Ayyubi in Egypt (1138-1193). When writing the treatise, he was assisted by a noted arms-smith Abu al-Hasan Ibn al-Abraki from Alexandria and a contemporary of the Fatimides and the Ayyubides. Murdi includes various war instruments; he also mentions nine different processes of sword-steel manufacture. The title of the treatise is:

Enlightenment to the masters of wisdom on the methods of avoiding destruction in combat, and getting informed about supporting instruments and weapons, when dealing with the enemy.[3]

Among the important contents of the treatise are:

1. General introduction, qualities of Salah al-Din to whom the work is dedicated.
2. The plan of the work: the first part consecrated to arms, the second to tactics.
3. The sabre, its excellence: traditions, literary citations, its various names in Arabic literature.
4. Sources and centres of the ore, various methods of tempering the steel used in the fabrication of swords.
5. The bow, literary quotations, its various names in early Arabic literature.
6. Methods of operating the bow among different people.
7. Various kinds of bows and arbalets.
8. On arrows; the different kinds and their various uses.
9. The lance.
10. The shield; its various Arabic names and its various kinds.
11. Coat of mail and armour.

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1. Oxford Ms., Hunt 76/11 تحفة المجاهدين فى العمل بالميادين مخطوطة أكسفورد هنتر ١١/٦٨

2. Cambridge Mss., Qq. 176 and Q. 240 (Rieu, No. 821; Browne, 127–8; BYAL, II, 135–6). غنية الطلاب فى معرفة الرمى (والنشاب)

3. " تبصرة الالباب فى كيفية النجاة من الحروب ومن الاسواء ونشراعلام الاعلام فى العدد والا لات المعينة على لقاء الاعداء "

Cambridge Bodleian Library, Oxford, Hunt 264.
See also: CAHEN, Claude: Bulletin d'Etudes Orientales, tome XII. Annees 1947–1948. p. 103–163.

12. Maces and their description.
13. The Mongonel.
14. Manoeuvres and a description of their various kinds.
15. The battering ram and moving towers.
16. The Muthallatha.
17. The naphtae.

At the India Office Library, London, there is a Persian manuscript: "*Adab-al-Muluk wa Kifayat al-Mamluk.*"[1] The work is chiefly on the art of war, with a number of introductory chapters on the proper characteristics of a king and his duty to select fit officers of state. It was composed by Muhammad Ibn Mansur ibn S'aid ibn Abu al Faraj Quraishi, with the epithet, Fakhr Mudabbir who traced his pedigree back to Abu-Bakr, and dedicated by him to Abu Shams al Dunya wa-al Din Abu al-Muzaffar Al Tamish who reigned in Delhi from A.H. 607 to 633 (1210-1236 A.D.). This invaluable work contains forty chapters.

The Princeton University Library possesses the best collection of Islamic Mss. in the United States. Among the military treatises the following may by mentioned:

1) *The advantages of Archery*[2] written by Moh. Ibn 'Abdul-Rahman al-Shafa'i, who completed it in 875 H. (1373 A.D.)

2) *On Archery*: the bow and the arrow, written by Al-Amir Taibugha al-Ashrafi al-Baklamishi al-Yunani who lived in the early 14th century. The manuscript is dated 1027 H. 1618 A.D.[3]

There is in the Garett collection of Arab Mss. in the Princeton University Library an Arabic Manuscript of about 1500. This is entitled "*The sufficiency of the discerning student*: on shooting with the Arab bow with the long arrow and the short". Unfortunately the identity of the author remains unknown, although we know from references in the body of the manuscript that he was a North African from Morocco.[4]

1. Catalogue of Persian and Arabic Manuscripts. India Office Library p. 1493
مخطوط أدب الملوك وكفايه المملوك لفخرالمدبر رقم ٢٧٦٢ - كتالوج
المخطوطات الفارسية والعربية - مكتبة الهند فى لندن - ص ١٣٩٣ ومابعدها
2. القول التام فى فضل الرمى بالسهام لمحمدبن عبدالرحمن الشافعى بخطه و
قدفرغ من تاليفه فى آخريوم من رمضان سنة ٨٧٥ ﻫ
3. كتاب الرمى بالقوس والنشاب للامير المجاهد طيبغا الاشرفى البقلمشى اليونانى
من امراء القرن الثامن للهجرة
انظر كوركيس عواد : المخطوطات العربية فى دور الكتب الامريكية - بغداد
١٩٥١ ص ١٣ و ١٦
4. *Arab Archery*, a book on the excellence of the bow and arrow and the description thereof. Translated and edited by Nabih A. Fares and R. P. Elmer, Princeton University Press, 1945.

At the National Library (Cairo), there are invaluable manuscripts, among the most important are :

1.—*A treatise on the art of war,* written by 'Imad al Din Musa Ibn Moh. Al Yusufy (Al-Misri) one of the halaqu leaders in the time of Sultan Jakmaq about 759 H. (1358 A.D.) The treatise includes ten "babs."[1]

2.—*A treatise on Jihad,* chivalry and the military art, written by Taibugha al-Ashrafi al-Baklamishi-al-Rumi, about 770 H. (1368 A.D.). The most important chapters deal with riding, and the weapons of the trooper.[2]

3.—*A treatise on archery*[3] — the author is unknown—probably written about 800 H. (1397 A.D.)

4.—*A treatise on catapults,* written by Ibn Arinbugha al-Zardakash about 867 H. (1463). The author describes the various types of this war machine, and includes many technical terms—also includes many figures and illustrations.[4] The work was mainly written for Shams al-'Ula Manikly bogha al-Shamsi.

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1. كشف الكروب فى معرفة الحروب ألفه عمادالدين موسى بن محمداليوسفى المصرى احد مقدمى الحلقة بناء على أوامر السلطان جقمق فى عام (٧٥٩ هـ / ١٣٠٨) ورتبه المؤلف على عشرة أبواب ـ دار الكتب المصرية رقم ٢١٠ فنون حربية

2. كتاب الجهاد والفروسية وفنون الاداب الحربية لطيبوغا الاشرفى البقلميشى الرومى (اليونانى) عام (٧٧٠ هـ / ١٣٦٨) وهو مطول فى علم ركوب الخيل وفيه فوائد جزيلة للفارس وقد افردفصلا خاصالكل جزء من اجزاء السرج ـ دار الكتب المصريه رقم ٣ فنون حربيه

انظر جورجى زيدان : تاريخ آداب اللغة العربية ج ٣ ص ٢٥٣

وللمؤلف رسائل اخرى ذكرناها فضلاعن قصيدة فى رمى السهام بعنوان بغية المرام وغاية الغرام قدمها للسلطان الملك الاشرف فى مكتبة لبدن

وله غنية الطلاب فى معرفة الرمح والنشاب فى مكتبة جوتا و دار الكتب فى باريز و دار الكتب المصرية

3. كتاب رمى القوس وهو مجهوله المؤلف يحتمل آنه كتب فى عام ٨٠٠ هـ / ١٣٩٧ دار الكتب المصريه

4. الاينق فى المجانيق لابن أزبنغا الزردكش ألفه عام (٨٦٧هـ - ١٤٦٣) وصفه به أنواع المجانيق وسائل استخدامها موضحا الكلام عنها بالرسوم والتصاوير ووصف فى الكتاب بعض أنواع السيوف الاسلامية وقدألف الكتاب بناء على اوامر شمس العلا منكلى بغاالشمسى ـ دارلكتب المصرية ٥٧ فنون حربية

5.—Another treatise, attributed to Moh. Ibn Menikly, was written according to the wish of Sultan Al-Ashraf Sha'aban who ruled Egypt (1362–1376). The work contains 122 "babs" dealing mainly with naval warfare. The same author, who was once the commander-in-chief of the army, wrote another treatise on the policy of military industries. The Taimuriyah Library (Cairo) possesses a copy, but it is not complete.[1]

6.—Harawite Memorandum is another treatise on military tricks, written by Al-Harawi.[2]

7.—At the same Library, there is a treatise on shooting with Al-Bunduq, written by Abu-al 'Abbas Ahmad Ibn Herz Allah.[3]

8.—The same library possesses a manuscript on "*Glory and privileges of those who fight with guns.*" The author is Ibrahim Ibn Ahmad Ghanem al-Andalusi.[4]

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In Gotha's Library there are a few military treatises; one of these was published a long time ago by Wuestenfeld, the German Orientalist.[5]

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1. الاحكام الملوكية والضوابط الناموسية للقـز محمدبن منكلى نقيب الجيش يبحث
فى فن القتال و مقسم الى ١٢٢ بابا وقد تناول الحديث عن السفن البحرية و حركاتها
والرمى بالقنابل ـ دار الكتب المصرية رقم ٥٠٤ فنون حـربية
ولـه كتاب آخـراسمه التدبيرات السلطانيـة فى سياسـة الصنائع الحـربـة ألفـه
للسلطان شعبان ـ المكتبة التمورية رقم ٢٣ وهى نسخة ناقصة

2. التذكرة الهروية فى الحيل الحربية لعلى بن ابى بكرالهروى
عبارة عن ٨٢ ورقة كاملة ـ دار الكتب المصرية
وفى معهد المخطوطات العربية صوره من المخطوط

3. هديـة الـرامى الى طريق المرامى فى علم الـرمى بالبندق لابى العباس احمدبن
اسحق وابن حرزالله ـ دار الكتب المصرية ٦٤ فنون جميلة

4. العـز والمنافع فى المجاهـدين بالمدافع لابراهم بن احمد غانم الاندلسى ـ دار
الكتب المصرية رقم ٩٤ فروسية وقد نشرالمخطوط فى لبدن عام ١٩٠٣ وقد تكلم على
هذا المخطوط المرحوم احمدزكى باشا فى مؤتمر علماء اللغات الشرقية المعقود فى هامبورج
فى سبتمبر عام ١٩٠٢

5. Wuestenfeld, F. Das Heerwesen der Muhammedaner und die Arabische Uebersetzung der Taktik des Aelianus, Goettingen, 1880. مخطوط رقم ٢٥٨ فى مكتبة جوتا

NEW BOOKS IN REVIEW

MARXISM OR ISLAM by Mazharuddin Siddiqi, second edition (1954) published by Orientalia Publishers and Booksellers, Lahore, (pp. XVIII — 168) Price Rs. 7/8.

MARXISM OR ISLAM emerges through a second and revised edition. It is a product of the times. The rise of forces such as Marxism, is a feature that has been witnessed ever since man's mind began thinking. Evolution is not possible without a struggle and systems such as Feudalism, Fascism, and Marxism are but landmarks in the progress of man.

Economic theories have been built up even in the past. Some have survived and others have been discarded. Marxism is only one such theory, but it is a little sharper in its external features and more emphatic in its assertions. It has been set up as a politico-economic system and a universal creed, but its history until now already points to what its future will be. It is a far cry from the doctrines of Marx and Engels to the practical shape given to them by Lenin and their distortion in the hands of his successors.

The test of a faith lies in the width and extent of its acceptance. Its innate quality should be such as neither to need a coercive push nor a State sanction. More lasting would be the appeal from within.

Mr. Mazharuddin Siddiqi has examined Marxism from various angles. He has looked at it from the point of view of history and of Political Science, from the direction of Philosophy and through the action of the laws of nature. He has at sufficient length, tested it as an instrument of service to mankind, from the material as well as from the moral plane. He has found its utility in the former case doubtful and in the latter case definitely harmful.

What the world needs today is integration brought about by the conscious and voluntary wish of the people. The result will then be a constructive and a beneficial unit. To make force the instrument of attaining any objective, political or economic even though it be good, has to be denounced as a dangerous device. For power, once obtained, is hard to relinquish and force once used, is apt to be repeated.

Mr. Siddiqi in his last chapters has risen to heights that make the book of great value. He has done well to point out that "the moral effects of human actions ultimately prevail against their physical and material strength," that unlike Marxism, Islam "does not make use of external authority to enforce its doctrines," and that the greatest check that is imposed on the believers is the ever-present ideal of one God and the reality of the life hereafter. He has quoted frequently from the Holy Qur'an to show how it denounces "the hoarding and accumulation of wealth and withholding its use for social and religious purposes." His last appeal is that Muslim states and societies should endeavour to restore in all its pristine purity the "original equalitarian and Socialistic basis" of Islam.

The book in small scope presents a vivid exposition of the general principles of Islam as contrasted with the imaginary allurements of Marxism. It offers good and profitable reading to the youth of today.

M. Rahimuddin

DARA SHIKUH : LIFE AND WORKS, by Dr. Bikramajit Hasrat M. A. Ph. D. Published by Visvabharati publishers, Calcutta (pp. XVIII—304) Price Rs 12/-

DARA SHUKUH'S life and work make fascinating reading. His significance lies not so much in political history or even in the realm of mystic thought but in the ideals which moved him and the tragic end that they met. It is to the credit of the Muslim mind that it was not unaware of the treasures of the ancient wisdom of India. The classical work of al-Beruni shows that the scientifically dispassionate study of an alien culture is not peculiar to modern times. Dara Shukuh's interests were of course not so sympathetic and detached as al-Beruni's, nor was his interest in the Hindu thought a political pretension merely. Unlike Akbar's Dara's mind really burned with religious fervour and he had genuine sympathy with the Hindu way of thought.

Dr. Bikramajit Hasrat has written a really painstaking study of the life and works of this remarkable man. In his long and instructive introduction he gives us all that we know of his life and trials to correct the distorted versions of Western chroniclers. The author makes it clear that Dara remained a Muslim and died a Muslim and that he was a Qadiri in his Sufi affiliations. He observes, "Like many sufis of Islam, he too differed from the orthodox in the interpretation of the true spirit of Islam and lost his head. "How he lost his balance is clear from the way he tried to identify the Qur'anic reference to the Book kept hidden which none but the purified shall touch" with the Upanishads. But strangely enough, in spite of his tendency to wayward interpretation of the Qur'an, he retained all his life a sincere attachment for the Qadiri order. It is really surprising to note that Dr. Bikramajit Hasrat regards this system of devotional mysticism as formulated by Shaykh Abdul Qadir and practised by the Qadirites as inconsistent with Islamic orthodoxy." That the practice of the Qadirites may have led to undesirable developments is easily intelligible. But the founder of the order himself leaves no doubt as to his intentions and in his truly edifying sermons and addresses Al-jilani keeps very close to the spirit of the orthodox traditions and the Qur'an.

Taken as a whole, the work of Dr. Hasrat is an unusually careful and dipassionate study of a very remarkable phenomenon. Dara was a political failure and a personal tragedy. But none can doubt the sincerity of his purpose and his contributions towards the understanding of Hindu thought should not be allowed to go unappreciated.

What we deplore is the fact that man has not generally the courage to recognise differences as real and vital and still retain sympathy and understanding for them. Tolerance will be a sham if it cannot subsist without explaining away all differences as 'verbal' and of no account. We have, therefore, pleasure in noting that Dr. Hasrat has been able to see the life and works of Dara in their true historical perspective.

M. VAHIDUDDIN.

AL-ZUBAIR (urdu Zubairia series) by Maulvi Husain Ahmad Sahib Zubairi, Maktabai Ibrahimia, Hyderabad-Deccan, pp. 318, Price Rs. 6/-

IT is a welcome sign that full-dress biographies of the great personalities of Islam are being compiled by the scholars of our time. Islamic history is full of eminent personalities whose lives and achievements are the pride of not only Islamic Countries but the whole civilized world. The early disciples of the prophet were the architects of Islamic society and culture. The *Tabaqat Kabir* by Ibn S'ad and the *Wafayat-ul-Aa'yan* by Ibn-i-Khallikhan compiled in the 3rd and 7th centuries A. H. respectively, are the earliest compendiums which contain the biographies of the distinguished personalities who have illuminated the social and political firmament of the civilized world. The former, which starts with the life of the Prophet gives the life sketches of almost all the distinguished "Refugees" and "Helpers" who flourished in the 1st century A. H. The latter covers still larger ground and embodies the lives of the many great men of Islam who lived in the later centuries. As far as India is concerned, Allama Shibli was the first to introduce to the Urdu speaking world the lives of great men. His was an elaborate scheme intended to cover many illustrious lives. He had selected for his study and

compilation as many as ten personalities representing various generations and dynasties. Although the Allama failed to fulfil his cherished design and could not complete more than three biographies, namely those of the Prophet, the 2nd Caliph and Mamun 'Abbasi, yet his pioneering work never ceased to inspire the later generations. His scheme was taken up by his learned pupils, Maulana Sulaiman and others who perpetuated the tradition and enriched urdu with their prolific compilations.

The life of Hadrat Zubair is the most eventful part of Islamic history. Hadrat Zubair occupies a prominent place in the galaxy of the early disciples of the Prophet in respect of his close relation and devotion to the Prophet and his dedication to the cause of Islam. He served the Islamic society and state in various capacities as a warrior, peacemaker and legislator. As a soldier he took a prominent part in almost all the battles fought in the lifetime of the Prophet. He not only stands out as a prominent member of the big ten عشرہ مبشرہ, but he was also a member of the *Shura* (Assembly) and the electoral synod, constituted after the death of the 2nd Caliph. He was also closely associated with the course of events which took place during the rule of Hadrat 'Uthman and after his murder. The biography is not merely the life of a person and his family, but it is a portion of the history of Islam itself. It covers nearly fifty years of the early formative period of Islamic history beginning with the pre-Islamic age and down to the battle of "Camel" and as such it deserves wider study and research. We should be thankful to Mr. Husain Ahmad Zubairi who has undertaken the task and compiled the biography.

The author who has several books to his credit, is widely read in Islamic history. He has made a special study and research of the life of Hadrat Zubair, and the biography under review is his latest work. This contribution brings to light the life of a great personality whose role in the construction of the early Islamic State and society is second to none and the biography covers the whole span of the formative period of Islam.

The work is fairly exhaustive. It embodies almost all the aspects of Hadrat Zubair's life from his birth to his death with some emphasis on the phases relating to the politics and society of the time. It gives a good picture of the life of the age and brings home to the reader how Zubair lived and the services he rendered to the Islamic religion and society. It fills a big vacuum in the history of Islam. But at the same time it must be pointed out that the book is not free from imperfections. Apart from the poor paper and printing which mar the beauty of the work, it lacks scientific analysis and methodical treatment. The subject matter which is so laboriously collected by the author is not scientifically handled. In the first place the narration of facts is extended to an unnecessary length and made verbose. The points which the author wishes to explain in his verbose style could have been couched in more elegant and concise language. Verbosity detracts much from the beauty of the book. Some parts of the narrative are irrelevant. They overlap and transcend the normal limits. Much stress is laid on the lives and work of the Caliphs with the result that in some places the biography seems to be more of the Caliphs than of Hadrat Zubair himself.

What worries a reader in the study of the book is the vertical treatment of the subject. The narration is strictly in chronological order. The author relates the story of Hadrat Zubair's life from his birth to his death and not in cultural divisions. The entire subject matter could best have been classified under cultural headings, such as war, peace and social and political activities. What a reader desires to see is a clear picture of Zubair and his achievements as a disciple, a warrior, and a peace maker. The main and sub-headings under which the story is narrated seem to be too antiquated to evoke the interest of the reader. The sources from which the material is gathered are not the original Arabic texts but their Urdu translations which cannot be relied upon for an authentic production. Urdu renderings cannot be as faithful as we should expect. It may lapse into errors and it is risky to raise an edifice on these second hand authorities. But inspite of all these imperfections, the work is a good contribution to Islamic history and deserves wide circulation.

ABDUL MAJID SIDDIQI

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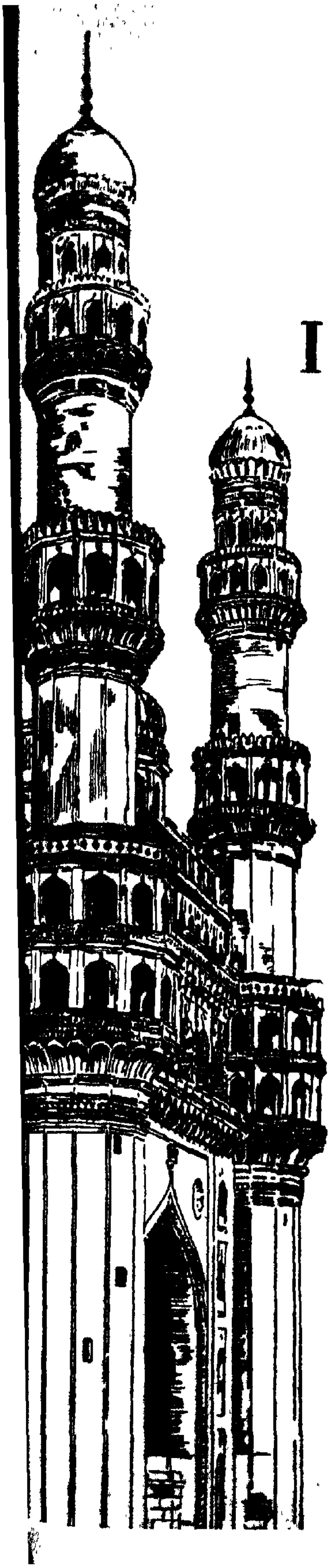
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[*And say : My Lord ! Increase me in Knowledge.—Qur'an*]

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THE PART OF ISLAM IN ORIENTAL TRADE

JOSEPH SOMOGYI*

HALFWAY between the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean stretches the peninsula of Arabia. Her coasts were wellknown to Oriental traders from the dawn of history onwards but her interior, an impenetrable desert, had ever been sealed off to them. As it could not be traversed, still less conquered, by the outer world, Oriental trade had to go round it, either circumnavigating the peninsula or using the caravan routes along the Fertile Crescent, the northern fringe of the Syrian Desert between Syria and 'Iraq. Trade by both routes has always been carried on by the inhabitants of the peninsula. From the days of the Phoenicians onwards, Arab sailors were as busy in shipping between the southern coast of Arabia on the one hand, and India or Ceylon on the other,[1] as Arab merchants were on the caravan routes between the Levant and the Persian Gulf.

From the 1st century A.D. onwards, when Greek sailors were able to traverse the Indian Ocean by means of the monsoons discovered by Hippalos of Alexandria, the land route along the Arabian coasts was abandoned, and Yaman and Hadramaut deserted. It was not until the 6th century that this coastwise caravan route became lively again. At that time the centre of Oriental and, indeed, world—trade shifted from Rome to Byzantium and Oriental commodities were in high demand both in the Byzantine and in the Persian Empire. All the goods carried by Arab ships and caravans—spices and precious metals from India, silk from China, fragrant herbs and skins from Arabia herself, grains, oliveoil, bales of different kinds of cloth and arms from Syria, golddust and ivory from North Africa, and slaves from Ethiopia—were accumulated in the Yamanite ports and had to cross the Hijaz to reach the Byzantine and

1. For the part of Arab sailors in both pre-Islamic and Islamic times see G. F. Hourani, *Arab Seafaring in the Indian Ocean in Ancient and Early Medieval Times*, Princeton, N.J.., 1951.

*Dr. Joseph Somogyi, Ph. D., D. Sc. Econ. Professor, Oriental Institute of the Technical and Economic University. Budapest, Hungary.

Persian Empires. The capital and the most important market-place of the Hijaz is Makka. Built round the source of Zamzam, she had ever been the halting and watering-place of the camel caravans; her importance was enhanced by her sanctuary of the black meteor-stone—the Ka'ba—to which all the tribes of the peninsula had made yearly pilgrimages, connected with fairs, for many centuries before the appearance of Islam. North of Makka, at a distance of two days, is situated Madina, the city of date-palms. Both the cities were busy trading centres; their streets and squares were teeming with money-changers and caravan-leaders. Their most important foreign markets were Aila and Ghaza in Palestine, and Busra in Syria.

The Ka'ba of Makka was guarded by the tribe of Quraysh. It was in a poor family of this rich and venerated tribe that about 570 Muhammad was born, the man who was to make his country and people one of the most potent factors in history, which has decisively influenced the development of Oriental trade. Like so many of his tribesmen, Muhammad was also a caravan-leader in his youth. About the age of forty he had visions and began to teach doctrines which entirely estranged him from his tribe because the rich Makkan nobles saw their social status and business profits menaced by his teachings of monotheism, the belief in the resurrection after death, and man's duty of assisting the poor and the destitute. Muhammad actually found himself compelled to emigrate on 16 July 622 A.D. to Madina where, in a more friendly atmosphere, he succeeded in organizing his followers into a religious and military community; he occupied Makka, and made all the influential chieftains of Arabia accept his faith. When he died in 632, he was the recognized founder of a new religion, Islam.

Commercial concerns were prevalent in the genesis of Islam already. Its founder had been a merchant, and its scripture, the Qur'an, regards commerce as an occupation pleasing to God.[1] One of the five principal duties of every Muslim is the pilgrimage to Makka once in his or her lifetime. The annual gatherings of the faithful in the sacred month of Ramadan at the Ka'ba tightened their links of fraternity and, by giving them good opportunities for business transactions, materially contributed

1. The *suras* of the earlier, Makkan, period are favourably minded towards trade; cf. 106; 83. 1 f.; 55: 6-8; 6: 153; 7: 83. The *suras* of the later, Madinan, period set up the restriction that trade must not divert the faithful from the fulfilment of their religious duties; cf 24: 37; 62: 9-11; 2: 194; 9: 24; 2: 282 f. Non-Qur'anic tradition *hadith* also holds a favourable opinion of trade. Accordingly trade is an honourable and profitable occupation ; it is more profitable than animal husbandry or craftsmanship; cf.as Suyuti,? *Kanz al-ummal* II, Nos. 2411, 4227, 4742. "The reliable, just, and faithful merchant is among the martyrs on the day of Resurrection" (Ibn Maja, *Tijarat*, chapt. 1). Occasionally, we also find aversion to trade; cf. Ahmad ibn Hanbal, *Musnad* III, pp. 428, 444. The general-favourably inclined disposition is well expressed in Zaid, *Majmu' al-fiqh*, ed. Griffini, Nos. 539, 544.

to establishing commercial relations between the Muslim countries. Very early there developed special pilgrimage routes, either by using old caravan routes such as that between Damascus and Makka or by taking new routes like both the African pilgrimage routes: the northern or Maghribi pilgrimage route leading from Morocco along the northern fringe of the Sahara via Egypt to Makka, and the southern or Sudani pilgrimage route leading from Sudan via Massaua to Makka. These two routes were used by the African pilgrim caravans, whereas the Asiatic Muslims came to Makka along the old Persian, 'Iraqi and Syrian caravan routes.

Owing to the conquests of Islam, a hundred years after the death of Muhammad, the Ummayad caliphate stretched from the Atlantic Ocean to the Indus, and from Caspian Sea to the cataracts of the Nile. With their trading instincts the Muslims, from the first, availed themselves of the extension of their caliphate for dominating East-West trade. Having failed in their repeated efforts of breaking their greatest competitor, the Byzantine Empire, they employed the tactics of going round the latter's sphere of interest.

As soon as their conquests were over, the Arabs as mediators of Byzantine commerce with the Orient, took into their own hands the trade of the land route along the fertile crescent. Their Caravans continued to carry on commerce on the well-trodden paths of antiquity, from Aleppo along the northern fringe of the Syrian Desert to Mosul on the Tigris. Thus the direct trade connections of Byzantium and Italy with the Levant were cut off. In Asia, the Muslims established close links with Persia, Central Asia, and the Far East; in Africa the Arab merchants organized the trade of the whole of the Maghrib and the Sudan as well as of the east coast.

Their rapid commercial expansion in both continents was efficaciously aided by two factors. One was the use of a common language-Arabic as the language of Qur'an-and the other the development, on Byzantine models, of a new type of sailing-ship, the *dhow*, with a daily speed of 20 to 24 miles. This latter was all the more important because the Arabs, in their endeavour to turn Oriental trade off from Byzantium, revived the ancient sea route from the Red Sea to India. For this reason in 22-643 'Amr ibn al-'As, the general of the second caliph 'Umar, had the Nile-Red Sea canal, used in the time of the Ptolemies, dug out in order to secure a shorter water route between Egypt and Arabia. It was used until 158-775, when it was definitely filled up by the second 'Abbasid caliph, Abu Ja'far al-Mansur.

Under the Abbasids 750-1258 A. D. the centre of gravitation of Islam shifted to the East, from the fringe of the Syrian Desert to that spot on the bank of the Tigris where all the important caravan routes of Syria and 'Iraq meet. It was there, near the site of ancient Babylon, that Baghdad was founded in 145-762.[1] Her magnificence and splendour

1. See especially G. Le Strange, *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate*, London 1900, p. 343.

immortalised by the tales of the *Thousand and one Nights*, was due to her advantageous position as a shipping centre as well. Her bazaars were crammed with the domestic products of the 'Abbasid empire and the wares of faraway eastern and western lands alike. Bulky raw materials like grain, rice and linen—mostly from Egypt—figured among them as well as metal and glass wares from Syria; pearls, brocades, and weapons from Arabia; or perfumes, silks and vegetables from Persia, i.e., wares of great value and small size.

Baghdad's port, Basra, founded in 15-636 just below the confluence of the Tigris and the Euphrates into the Shatt al-'Arab, soon developed into one of the most flourishing seaports of the Middle Ages. It was from there that the 'Abbasids maintained regular shipping all over the Indian Ocean. Starting from the Gulf ports of Siraf and Basra, they traded with India—on whose west coast Saimur near Bombay and Daibul in Sind were the most important markets—Ceylon, Malacca, and Sumatra. From Suhar, the ancient capital of 'Uman on the west coast of the Arab Peninsula, called "the Gate of China" by Arab authors, they traded with China, where their goal was Khanfu, the present day Canton, which by the middle of the 3rd-10th century had a populous Muslim colony and was called the greatest city of the world. From there a few Arab sailors probably visited Korea and Japan: the latter they called Waqwaq.

A western route started from Basra to East Africa, where Arab sailors, in the beginning of the 3rd-10th century, reached Sufala, a gold country opposite Madagascar. This large island was known to the Muslims as Waqwaq. As Japan was also called by this name, both islands were hopelessly confused with one another by the Muslims. It was due to this East African trade that a few Red Sea ports—Zaila on the African coast, and Aden, Jidda, and al-Qulzum on the Arabian coast—could maintain some local importance.

Overland trade was not less important for the Muslims than sea trade. The Asiatic overland routes to China and India were not very important on account of the competition of the sea routes until their temporary revival by the Mongols in the 7th-13th century. More important were the trade routes in Europe and Africa. In Eastern Europe Muslim traders went as far northwards as the middle course of the Volga, where the country of the Volga Bulgars, the northernmost Muslim country, was their final goal. There the Muslim traders mainly purchased all kinds of furs and hides, slaves, and a number of forest products. To Africa they went in quest of gold, in the west also of "white and black ivory," i.e. ivory and black slaves. In the east their goal was al-Allaqi, east of Aswan, and in the west Ghana on the Niger. Besides these countries, the Sahara and Ethiopia were also regularly visited by them. The most important staple places of the African trade were

Alexandria,[1] which retained her old position in commerce and banking, and Cairo, founded in 640 A.D. by 'Amr ibn al-'As.

At first Muslim East and Christian West were practically isolated from each other, there being hardly any direct trade between them. As early as the 2nd–8th century there was some direct Muslim-Christian trade in the Italian cities and Byzantium, and two centuries later also at Trebizond on the Muslim-Byzantine frontier as well as along the Spanish border. However, the chief agents of the trade between Islam and Christendom were the Jews, whose merchants could move freely in both areas of civilization. Jewish merchants regularly visited Byzantium, Syria, Egypt, and north-western India, the present day Pakistan. They carried and sold to the Orient slaves, silks, furs, and arms, and brought to Europe spices, aloes, camphor, and musk. A systematic direct intercourse between Islam and Christendom only started in the 5th–11th century, more especially after the Crusades. Joint partnerships and commercial treaties were then concluded between Muslim and Christian merchants, and the riches of China, India, and Africa, accumulated by the Muslims for half a millennium, together with the industrial produce of the Muslims themselves, poured into Europe. Muslim industry, assumed a character quite distinct from contemporary European industry, for it was entirely controlled by the Muslim rulers, lacked capital, and was organized in craftsmen's guilds. For many centuries the Muslim industrial system was superior to the European because it developed an industrial skill quite unparalleled in Europe. It was only later, and due to its capitalism and free competitive system, that Europe gained her industrial supremacy over Islam.

Muslim monopoly of oriental trade lasted until the 5th–11th century. By then, the power of the 'Abbasids was on the wane already. As early as 754 A.D. Spain became independent under the separate dynasty of the Cordovan caliphate which for seven centuries maintained its domination in Southern and Central Spain.[2] The Spanish Arabs developed the economic life of the peninsula to a level never reached in that country.[3] Her agricultural and industrial production having far exceeded the needs of domestic consumption, Muslim Spain exported an ever-increasing quantity of goods. Her largest river-port, Seville,

1. For Alexandria see A. J. Butler, *The Arab Conquest of Egypt and the Last Thirty Years of the Roman Dominion*, Oxford 1902, p. 368 f., and *Babylon of Egypt*, Oxford 1924.
2. See E. W. Lane and S. L. Poole, *The Moors in Spain*, London 1887.
3. They introduced into Spain a number of plants and fruits the Spanish names of which suggest their Arabic origin. Such are rice (Ar. *aruzz*, Sp. *arroz*), cane-sugar (Ar. *sukkar*, Sp. *azucar*), cotton (Ar. *qutn*, Sp. *algodon*), saffron (Ar. *za'faran*, Sp. *azafran*), oranges (Ar. *naranj*, Sp. *naranja*), apricots (Ar. *barquq*, originally meaning plum,' Sp. *albaricoque*), peaches (Ar. *durraq*, Sp. *alberchigo* derived from the above Ar. *barquq*, or *durazno*), and pomegranates (Ar. *rumman*, Sp. *granada* from a Latin root), and olives Ar. *zaitun*, Sp. *aceituna*).

exported olives, oils, and cotton, and imported Egyptian cloth. The seaports of Malaga and Cadiz exported saffron, sugar, figs, and marble. Small wonder that Muslim Spain carried on a brisk trade with Makka, Damascus, and Baghdad, and through Byzantium and Alexandria with as distant markets as India and Central Asia.

The creation of new Western markets for Oriental wares, together with the necessity of transporting pilgrims and crusaders, stimulated Europe's commerce and navigation to an extent unsurpassed before the advent of Islam. France's chief Mediterranean port, Marseilles, rivalled the Italian trading cities in shipping and commerce. Larger supplies and more rapid circulation of money were made possible by the introduction of credit notes. Genoan and Pisan bankers established branch offices in the Levantine cities. The Order of the Templars started to issue letters of credit, receive money on deposit and lend money at interest. Consulates as the representatives of the commercial, as distinct from the political, interests of their countries were then established for the first time expressly for the development of Oriental trade with the Levant, the first consuls being Genoese accredited to Akka in 1180, and Venetians and Pisans accredited to Alexandria a little later.

Almost simultaneously with the establishment of the Cordovan caliphate, in the 2nd/8th century, independent dynasties sprang up in Morocco; and the province of Ifriqiyya—comprising western Algeria and the whole of Tunisia—was lost under the Aghlabids. In 909 Egypt also made herself independent from Baghdad, and her mighty Fatimid dynasty overthrew the Aghlabid empire. At first, the independent North African dynasties were not detrimental to Oriental trade. Spanish and North African exports went either to Egypt or to Byzantium, and thence they were forwarded to India or Central Asia respectively. In the 5th/11th century, however, when the fleets of the Italian trading cities, in co-operation with the Christian armies of Spain, Sicily, and Syria, drove the Muslims away and obtained control over the Mediterranean, the Italians took into their hands the carrying of the trade between Europe and the Levant but could not wrench from the Arabs the sea route round Arabia, for the latter remained superior in the sea-borne trade with the Oriental lands as well as in the caravan trade over the Central Asiatic highlands. Nevertheless, the Arab sailors had their competitors from the East, for Chinese house-ships or junks also sailed between their home shores and the coasts of the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea.

The second half of the 5th/11th century, however, became fateful to Muslim Oriental trade with the Far East as well. From 1055 onwards the Seljuqs of Bukhara, having embraced Islam, conquered Asia Minor from Byzantium, and Syria and Palestine from the 'Abbasids, thus re-establishing for a century the unity of Islam. As fanatical Muslims, they did not allow Christians to trade with the Levant. But the tables were turned when the Mongols destroyed the Seljuq empire and, in 1258, put an end to the 'Abbasid caliphate as well. The Mongol conquerors were

indifferent to religion and even sympathized with Christendom as their natural ally in breaking the Muslim sway over the Middle East. Consequently, they allowed the Christian merchants free passage through Syria and Arabia in their trade with India and China. And the Christian merchants were prompt in availing themselves of the indulgence of the Mongols, for they traded with the lands of the Great Khan in ever-increasing numbers. It was convenient to them that with the decline of the Byzantine Empire, Black Sea navigation was seized by Geneva whose traders shortened their route to the Orient by crossing the Caspian Sea with ships. In fact, the 6th–12th and the 7th–13th centuries were the heydays of the Levantine trade of the Italian cities. Two inland cities, Aleppo in the north, and Damascus in the south, were the chief caravan centres of their overland route.

But this revival of the Christian Oriental trade by land did not last longer than a generation. The Mamluks, sultans of Egypt since 1254, defeated in 1260 the Mongols in Palestine and reconquered Syria from them in 1299-1301. Thus both the Levantine ports and the overland route of the Christian Oriental trade were again blocked by Muslims. Once more, the West was compelled to take the sea route. A new era of prosperity dawned upon the traffic between the Nile and the Red Sea, with a subsequent period of boom for Alexandria. At the beginning of the 9th–15th century the shipping of the European countries was valued according to the number of calls their ships made each year at Alexandria. She became the transit port of the whole sea-borne Oriental trade.

This revival of Oriental trade had important consequences for the commerce and welfare of Europe, for, from the 6th–12th century onwards, it led to the institution of fairs all over the continent. The yearly fairs owed their origin either to the Christian religious feasts or to the will of some prince who granted special protection to everybody visiting a certain place at a fixed time every year. These annual fairs lasted for several days, and provisions were made for holding several fairs successively in one region, so as to make it possible for the merchants to visit as many of them as possible. In this manner, the wholesale dealer was able to sell his wares in large quantities; the retailer had easy access to a variety of goods which he either resold or sold for manufacture; and the lord of the fair had a large income from the "booth-moneys," i.e., the dues collected for the display of goods in booths. The chief Oriental goods in the fairs included carpets and silks, suits of armour and weapons, ivory and precious metals; to this list were added, after the Crusades, drugs and spices, perfumes and dyes, and gems. Of course, the Oriental wares were not the only ones in the fairs. Oriental trade mightily contributed to the general commercial transactions also all over Europe from the 6th–12th century onwards. Flandrian cloths, Venetian glass and metal-wares and salt, Spanish iron, French wines, British wool and hides, Baltic amber and timber, and Russian furs were also brought

to the European fairs in ever-increasing quantities, and became the objects of business deals among the merchants of the several European countries. No wonder that, despite the development of the guilds, most of the medieval cities of Europe were much more commercial than industrial settlements. Their average population amounted to 5 to 10,000, and in a few cases even to 25,000.

But this flourishing Christian Oriental trade came to an end in the 10th–16th century. In 1501 Persia, having shaken off the Mongol yoke developed under the Safawid dynasty into a strong national state, which comprised even 'Iraq and Armenia. At the same time the Ming dynasty in China put an end to the Mongol rule in the Far East. Neither of these dynasties favoured European traders. To make things worse for them, the Mamluk sultans of Egypt imposed enormous duties on the wares of Egyptian transit trade. As the value of Europe's imports from Asia many times exceeded her exports to Asia, gold and silver streamed out of Europe to an ever-increasing extent, *in settlement of her unfavourable* balance of trade. The amount of gold which was streaming out of Europe to the Orient can be realized from the fact that Venice alone paid out at Alexandria 300,000 pieces of gold a year. Considering the scarcity of gold coins in Europe by the end of the Middle Ages—which was due partly to the neglect by the Germans of the mining of precious metals, and partly to the working up into jewelry of all gold and silver stocks extant for medieval aristocracy and nobility—we can safely infer that Europe could have been ruined by her continued Oriental trade within a short time.

Not only did Oriental trade menace European finance with bankruptcy but its very maintenance became impossible in the 9th–15th century. The East itself changed during the centuries subsequent to the Mongol campaigns. In that period the guidance of Islam passed from the Arabs to the Turks. This change proved fatal to Europe's Oriental trade. Early in the 7th–13th century a small Turkish tribe left its Central Asiatic home and, pressed westwards by the Mongols, invaded Armenia and Asia Minor. In 1307 their leader 'Uthman assumed the title of caliph after the death of the last Seljuq sultan and founded the 'Uthman dynasty, which considered itself the heir of the Umayyad and 'Abbasid caliphates. After having, in the 8th–14th and early 9th–15th centuries, conquered the Balkan Peninsula and Asia Minor, the 'Uthmans took Byzantium in 1453 and during the 9th–15th and 10th–16th centuries conquered the whole region of the Black Sea and the whole Middle East between the Taurus and the Indian Ocean, and between Morocco and Persia. Byzantium, renamed Istanbul, was made the capital of the third Muslim caliphate; however, her commercial and traffic importance ceased entirely. A nation of good soldiers though the 'Uthmans were, they did not know how to trade and navigate. Having occupied the

Black Sea territory, they demolished the flourishing trading cities along its shores, and either drove away or killed the Genoese merchants. The Black Sea was quite deserted by shipping, and its coasts were depopulated. In this manner they cut away from Europe the northern route of her Oriental trade. In the 10th–16th century its southern route too was blocked by the Turkish occupation of Syria and Egypt in 1517.

At the end of the 9th/15th century, the European traders and sailors, aware of the fatal situation due to the close of Oriental trade routes both by land and sea, were pondering everywhere how to open up new routes to the Orient. As a matter of course, this problem particularly affected Venice, since the extension of Turkish power threatened her with strangulation. It was no longer possible for them to fall back upon the idea of their great countryman of the 7th/14th century, Marco Polo, and establish an all-land route to the Far East. What had been possible in the heyday of the Mongol Empire was no longer practicable when the Turkish Empire was at the zenith of her power, and blocked the land-routes of Europe's Oriental trade.

At the beginning of the 10th/16th century, Venice advanced an old idea in a new garment. She put forward to the Mamluk ruler of Egypt the remarkable plan of *constructing a Mediterranean-Red Sea waterway by cutting the Isthmus of Suez*. It was a bold and unheard-of idea. Up to then only the construction of a canal between the Nile and the Red Sea had been conceived by the rulers of the countries interested in Oriental trade. In fact, the possibility of it had been realized three times: by the Pharaoh Nekho of Egypt, by the Emperor Traianus of Rome, and by the Caliph al-Mansur of Baghdad, but never had the idea of a short-cut connection through the Isthmus of Suez occurred to any of them. And, in the circumstances of the day, Venice's scheme was doomed to failure. Not only was it opposed by the Turkish sultans as lords of Egypt but also by the leading maritime power of that age, Portugal, which jealously guarded her recently discovered Cape route to India against any possible competitor. The great Portuguese *conquistador*, Affonso d'Albuquerque, clearly saw that the only dangerous competitor of his country could be Egypt. He remembered the saying of Herodotus: "Egypt is the gift of the Nile." With his daring fantasy he wanted to divert the course of the Nile to the Red Sea and change the Delta into a desert in order to render it impracticable for navigation.

This monstruous idea, due to the jealousy of a great power, prevented the realization of Venice's plan. But Portugal, however, reached her end. She succeeded in turning away Oriental trade entirely to the Atlantic Ocean. This meant a deadly blow both to Venice and to the Muslims. Venice, however, declined definitively: her great trading houses closed down one after another, and her great bankers became bankrupt. No less did the Muslims suffer from Portugal's maritime

policy. In the Mediterranean, the centre of Muslim economic life, shipping and commerce declined and very soon ceased altogether. It was no longer the world's hub as it had been from the dawn of history through millenniums. Instead, it became a lifeless by-sea, fast asleep for the long period of four centuries. World trade and shipping shifted from its shores to the Atlantic Ocean. A new historical era the modern age dawned upon mankind when the Atlantic states, first Portugal and Spain, later the Netherlands and France, and finally Great Britain, established new sea-routes to carry on Oriental trade. These routes either went around the area of Islam - like that circumnavigating Africa *via* the Cape of Good Hope-or turned off from it—like the trans-Atlantic routes going to or circumnavigating both Americas. The Atlantic states opened up a New World for Europe, got enriched with the overseas treasures, and founded colonial empires. Their economic and political development far surpassed the conservative, old-type institutions of the Muslim countries. Small wonder that, when it came in the 11th/17 century to a clash between the Christian West and Islam, the latter succumbed altogether. The decline of Muslims in modern times was not entirely due to internal weakness and stagnation; their chief cause was rather the military, political, and economic preponderance of the West over Islam.[1]

Of course, in these centuries of the modern age the Muslims did not play any active part in Oriental trade. Rather was its part a passive one : it blocked Western Oriental trade, whereby the latter was compelled to find new routes to the Far East.

The world of Islam was again linked into oriental trade when in the 13th/19th century steam traction was introduced into shipping, and the long and circuitous detour round the Cape of Good Hope leading from Western Europe to India became very costly. When on 17 November 1869, the Suez Canal was opened the old route round Africa was abandoned in favour of the new one traversing the Mediterranean and cutting the Isthmus of Suez. The Suez route became the most important route of Oriental trade. It opened up the way of large-scale European economic penetration and political influence into the entire world of Islam from Morocco to present day Pakistan and India as well as Indonesia. The shorter and, consequently cheaper route *via* Suez helped to establish the supremacy of the steamer over the sailing-ship in Oriental trade. This has led to important changes in the composition of the westbound Oriental cargoes. In addition to the articles of small size and comparatively large value an ever-increasing number of Oriental bulky commodities- *i.e.* such as are of large size but relatively small value-also have

1. For a short survey of the policies of the European great powers in the Middle East cf. my paper *Central Europe and the Middle East* in *Journal of Central European Affairs*, Boulder, Colo., U.S.A., Vol. 13, No. 1, April 1953, pp. 1-12.

become exportable and appeared in Western markets.[1]

To the technical changes in the transport system in the 19th century there has come in the 20th century—from the end of World War I – a change in the political system of the Oriental peoples, which was due to the rise of nationalism and the modern trends in Muslim countries. The birth of the new Turkey and the Arab states after World War I and the rise of new independent Muslim countries–Libya and the Sudan in Africa, Pakistan, Malaya and Indonesia in Asia–have resulted in setting up trade relations with the West in which the Oriental countries, getting rid more and more of the shackles and hindrances of Western colonialism, take part as equal partners with the Western countries. This new period of Oriental trade history is marked with commercial treaties in lieu of the old-type capitulations, and the world of Islam plays in it no longer a mere intermediary part: more and more it relies on its own economic resources to develop an independent economic life, to the benefit of its 370 million strong Islamdom, and the rest of mankind alike. For Islam, from its birth, has never been hostile to trade and peaceful relations with the other groups of mankind; nor is it likely to be so in the future.

1. From the vast literature dealing with the Suez Canal cf. especially P. Fitzgerald, *The Great Canal at Suez; Its Political, Engineering, and Financial History*, 2 vols, London 1876; J. Charles-Roux, *L'Isthme et le Canal de Suez*, 2 vols, Paris 1901; A. Birk-K. H. Mueller, *Der Suezkanal, Seine Geschichte und seine wirtschaftspolitische Bedeutung fuer Europa, Indien und Aegypten*, Hamburg 1925. For the connections of the Suez route with the Danube basin cf. my paper. *The Danube and the Suez Canal, Journal of the Central European Affairs*, Boulder, Colo., USA, vol. 10, No. 2, July 1950, pp. 167–73.

THE SAHIB ISMA'IL IBN 'ABBAD

(326 A.H./938 A.D.—385 A.H./996 A.D.)

MAFIZULLAH KABIR*

THE Sahib Isma'il ibn 'Abbad, entitled 'Kafi al-Kufát' was the *Wazir* of Mu'ayyid al-Dawla and Fakhr al-Dawla, the Buwayhid princes of Rayy. He was born in *Dhu'l-Qa'da* 326 A.H./938 A.D. in Taliqan, a place between Qazwin and Abhur in the northernmost part of the Jibal. His father 'Abbad was a man of learning and compiled a book on the laws of the *Qur'an* in which he successfully defended the cause of Mu'tazilism. As for the Sahib, he began his career as a petty writer in the service of Abu'l-Fadl ibn al-'Amid, Wazir to the Buwayhid Rukn al-Dawla, father of the princes referred to above.[1] Rising from that position he was later elevated to the rank of the Secretary of Mu'ayyid al-Dawla and in that capacity won both the confidence and admiration of the prince, who conferred upon him the title of al-Sahib Kafi al-Kufat. When Mu'ayyid al-Dawla became master of Rayy and Isfahan after the death of his father Rukn al-Dawla in 366 A.H./976 A.D., he retained the services of his father's Wazir Abu'l-Fath ibn al-'Amid. Then there appears to have ensued a rivalry between the Wazir and the Sahib as a result of which the Sahib lost his post. Soon, however, the Wazir fell a victim to the wrath of 'Adud al-Dawla, the eldest son of Rukn al-Dawla and the illustrated Buwayhid of Fars, who had the Wazir arrested and killed. Ibn 'Abbad then became the sole Wazir of Mu'ayyid al-Dawla.[2]

The fall of his adversary and his consequent rise to the position of Wazir, marked him out as a prominent person in Buwayhid politics. In the ensuing civil war among the three Buwayhid brothers ('Adud al-Dawla Mu'ayyid al-Dawla and Fakhr al-Dawla), the *Sahib* measured his steps cautiously and together with his master remained loyal to 'Adud

1. Yaqut, *Irshad al-Arib* (Ed. Margoliouth) vol. II, 274.
2. Ibn al-Jawzi, *K. al-Muntazam* (Hyderabad ed.) vol. VII, 179–80; *Irshad*, II, 275.

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al-Dawla. They ejected Fakhr al-Dawla out of his paternal possessions, obliging him to take shelter with the Samanids in Khurasan. When 'Adud al-Dawla in his career of conquest succeeded in annexing the whole of Jibal, he amply rewarded Mu'ayyid al-Dawla by awarding him the districts of Hamadan and Nihawand and it was the Wazir Sahib whom 'Adud al-Dawla met in Hamadan to consult about the administration of the newly acquired territories. 'Adud al-Dawla also made this an occasion to show due respect and honour to the Sahib whom he presented with robes of honour and some fiefs in Fars.[1]

'Adud al-Dawla died in Shawwal 372/March 983 and Mu'ayyid al-Dawla now aspired to become the head of the Buwayhid family but he too was overtaken by death just after one year. The Sahib forthwith wrote to the fugitive Fakhr al-Dawla asking him to hasten to Rayy and Gurgan to take charge of the administration. Fakhr al-Dawla returned and assumed sovereignty over his brother's territories. The cautious *Sahib*, to make sure whether Fakhr al-Dawla had forgotten the hard lot he had had to suffer during the former regime, begged to be excused of the Wizara. Fakhr al-Dawla, however, seems to have accepted everything in a good spirit and realising the importance of the Sahib in the Buwayhid dominion, insisted on his stay by saying, "In this kingdom you have as much a right to the *Wizara* as we have to the *Imara* and the usual course for each of us is to preserve his own rights."[2] It was chiefly at the initiative of the Sahib that the Caliph al-Ta'i' formally recognised Fakhr al-Dawla as the ruler of Rayy by issuing a deed of investiture to him, conferring on him additional titles and presenting him with robes of honour. This also resulted in Fakhr al-Dawla's reconciliation with his nephew Samsam al-Dawla, who was then the Amir al-Umara in Baghdad.[3]

The Sahib completely dominated his master Fakhr al-Dawla whom he had in leading strings and in the event of a difference of opinion it was the Sahib's view that carried. Nor was this domination without its disadvantage.[4] For it was the inordinate desire of the Sahib to become Wazir in Baghdad, the Caliphal metropolis, that involved Fakhr al-Dawla in an abortive expedition to Khuzistan and 'Iraq which ended in a disastrous failure.[5] Despite this ignominious discomfiture in a far off province he is, however, credited with having conquered as many as fifty fortresses for Fakhr al-Dawla, of which he retained none either for himself or for his family.[6] The testimony of Abu Shuja' discounts Ibn 'Abbad as an administrator, as he often used to auction the revenues of the provinces to traders, a practice which was, according to the same author, unknown in

1. Abu Shuja' Rudhrawari, *Dhayl Tajarib* (Ed. Margoliouth as Vol. III of the *Eclipse of the 'Abbasid Caliphate*), 10–11.
2. *Irshad* 11, 275; Tha'alibi, *Yatima al-Dahr* (Damascus ed.) Vol. III, 33.
3. Abu Shuja', Dhayl, 97–98.
4. *Irshad*, 11, 275.
5. Abu Shuja', 163–166, 169–171.
6. Ibn al-Jawzi VII, 180· *Irshad* 11, 275.

'Iraq except in some early period.[1] This is partly corroborated by a statement of Fakhr al-Dawla, who, rather ungratefully, discloses after the death of the Sahib that the latter had wasted the revenue by neglecting the collection of dues.[2]

All this, however, did not prevent the Sahib from being an awe-inspiring personality dreaded alike by his royal patron and other contemporary princes, not to mention the high officials of the state. Fakhr al-Dawla moreover respected him like a father and never thought of admitting him to his presence in moments of relaxation. The *Yatima* has it on record that on one occasion Fakhr al-Dawla plucked up courage to pass a jesting remark on the Sahib's Mu'tazili belief. This enraged the Sahib so greatly that not only had Fakhr al-Dawla to apologise profusely to bring the Sahib back to court but he had also to refrain from any such jokes in future.[3] Such a great restraint did the Sahib exercise on his royal ward that it was only after his death that Fakhr al-Dawla appeared in his normal jolly mood.[4] The contemporary princes of the House of Buwayh, and those of the Houses Ziyar and Ispahbed would all appear in front of the palace of the Sahib silent, with eyes downcast, till a chamberlain would announce permission for one of them to enter. A prince thus ushered in would consider himself very fortunate. On entering he would, at the very sight of the Sahib, kiss the ground three or four times before him and then after finishing the business would again kiss the ground before retirement.[5] In his turn, the Sahib never even stood up to show respect to any of his contemporaries except to one 'Abdu'llah, a leading Mu'tazili divine.[6] As for the officers of the state, they trembled to see even a chamberlain of the Sahib.[7]

In Muharram 378/April 988, the Sahib presented to Fakhr al-Dawla a *dinar* weighing one thousand *mithqals*, on one side of which was a poem in praise of Fakhr al-Dawla and on the other the *Sura Ikhlas*, the title of the Caliph al-Ta'i' and the title of Fakhr al-Dawla.[8]

The death of the Sahib occurred in Safar 385/March 995 after he had served the Buwayhids as Wazir for eighteen years. His dying injunctions to Fakhr al-Dawla are a clear testimony to the soundness of his mind and his sincerety for the well-being of his patron. He advised Fakhr al-Dawla to follow the principles he had established by which the

1. Abu Shuja', 171.
2. Ibid, 263.
3. *Yatima* III, 41; *Irsh*, II, 320-1.
4. *Irsh.* II, 309.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid, 310.
8. Ibn al Athir (Ed. Tornberg) Vol. IX, 41. No such coin seems to have survived, a similar one dated 380 A.H. with *Sura Ikhlas* on the obverse struck by the Sahib is described in Miles, *Numismatic History of Rayy* p. 171; *Irsh.* II, 318-9.

prince would be able to earn the eulogies of later generations whereas the Sahib would pass into oblivion. At the same time he warned Fakhr al-Dawla, that if these principles were disregarded, he—Ibn 'Abbad—would ever be gratefully remembered by the people for the good of the previous period, while Fakhr al-Dawla would be held responsible for all subsequent evils.[1]

On the day the Sahib was dying, Fakhr al-Dawla, as was customary with the ruling princes of the time, appointed a watcher to observe the death and communicate the news quickly to the *Amir*. This being done in time, all stores and treasures belonging to the Sahib were forthwith transferred to the Royal Palace.[2] We have it on the authority of Hilal that the Sahib was mourned like princes and grandees and all shops at Rayy remained closed for the day as a mark of respect for him. When the body was being carried for burial, Fakhr al-Dawla led the mammoth procession of almost all the people in the city who had turned up out of respect for the deceased and who kissed the ground before the dead body and also mourned for him by slapping their faces and tearing their garments in the characteristic Daylamite fashion.[3]

We have so far tried to weave into a narrative, from available sources, the chief events of the political career of Ibn 'Abbad. It was, however, as a writer of outstanding merit and still more as a patron of learning that the Sahib earned widespread renown. His fame evoked admiration from the Samanid prince Nuh Ibn Mansur (976-997), who secretly offered him the *Wizara* of Khurasan presumably as a reward for his literary accomplishments. This was not accepted and among the reasons mentioned by the Sahib were the loss of a group of admirers who had raised him to the lofty summit of glory and the difficulty of transport of his personal effects including his books which alone would have required the services of as many as four hundred camels. Unfortunately for the world of learning, the books of his library, which were catalogued in ten big volumes, were committed to the flames by Mahmud of Ghazna when he conquered Rayy in *Jumada* II, 420/July 1029, because they were supposed to contain heresies and religious innovations.[4]

The charities of the Sahib to men of letters and mendicants exceeded 100,000 *dinars* a year.[5] This seems to have been a large amount, but perhaps because the Sahib could not afford to be as generous to individual clients as was expected, we have strictures on record against him

1. Abu Shuja', 261.
2. Ibid, 262.
3. *Irsh.* II, 322.
4. *Irsh.* II, 315; *Yatima* III, 35-6; Ibn al-Jawzi VIII, 38-40.
5. *Irsh.* II, 310.

that he usually gave only 100 to 500 *dirhams* and a dress to each individual and would rarely give one thousand.[1] We have it on the authority of Hilal that he used to subsidise a number of poets, writers, jurists and ascetics in Baghdad and the two Holy Cities. To Abu Ishaq Ibrahim, grandfather of Hilal, he used to give 500 *dinars* and to Hilal himself 1000 *dirhams* annually.[2] The Sahib maintained a magnificent court befitting his status and dignity and all his attendants were sumptuously attired in colourful silk dresses. He made gifts of silk dresses and on one occasion alone gave away 820 silk turbans. The poet al-Za'frani, when asking for a silk dress, received from him a turban, a handkerchief, a wrapper, a mantle and a pair of socks. The Sahib further wished that if he possessed any other dress of silk he would have made him a gift of that too.[3]

Ibn 'Abbad was an accomplished author with several books to his credit, chief among which were, a dictionary called *Kitab al-Muhit*, a collection of his letters, a book on the Zaydi theology, a book on 'Ali Ibn Abi Talib, two books on History, a *diwan* of his poetry,[4] and also a book on medicine to which even Ibn Qurra and Ibn Zakariya would have little to add and of which a specimen is provided by Tha'alibi.[5] Tha'alibi preserves for us copious examples of his compositions in both prose and poetry.

In letter-writing, which to the writers of the fourth century of the Hijra, was more a finished form of literary presentation than mere business-like correspondence,[6] the Sahib was an adept. While Ibrahim Ibn Hilal al-Sabi created elegance and charm in official correspondence, the Sahib added freshness and vigour in private letters addressed to friends and admirers by dilating mostly on natural themes as the following specimen would indicate.

كتابي هذاوقد ارخى الليل سدوله وسحب الظلام ذيوله ونحن على الرحمل غدا ان شاء الله اذا مدالصباح غرره قبل ان يسبغ حجوله ولولا ذالك لاطلته كوفوف الحجيج على المشاعر ولم اقتصرمنه على زاد المسافر فان المحتمل له وسع الحقوق لدى وحقيق ان اتعب لـه خاطرى ويدى ـ

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1. Ibid, 304.
2. Ibid, 335.
3. *Yatima* III, 33-4; *Irsh.* II, 320-1.
4. *Irsh.* II, 315-6. See *Islamic Culture* Vol. XVII, No 2, 1943, p. 176, for the detailed description of his *Diwan*. *Ed.*
5. *Yatima* III, 42-44.
6. I have discussed them all in my article" *Cultural Development under the Buwayhids of Baghdad*" to be published by the Asiatic Society of Pakistan in the first issue of their Journal.

"I am writing this when night has let its veil down and darkness has trailed its skirt; and to-morrow, if Allah be willing, we shall be on our journey when dawn will spread its brightness before, however, its silvery white be complete. Had it not been so, I would have prolonged the letter like the stay of the pilgrims on the *Mash'ar* and would not have confined it to mere provisions of a traveller, for the incumbent of this has unlimited rights over me and deserves that I should trouble my mind and hands for his sake.[1]

He is at his best when writing about his experience of love :—

"My Lord,

I was in her exclusive company like the exclusiveness of one who imagines a sun-rise from her face, the emergence of pearls from her mouth the plucking of roses from her cheeks, the source of witchcraft from her sight, ivory-casket from her bosom and the beginning of night from her hair... . .. ..."[2]

Equally successful is he when writing to a friend missing his company in an assembly of wine-bibbing and merry-making :—

"My lord, we are in an assembly which is self-sufficient except for you and grateful but for you. The eyes of the narcissus opened there; the cheeks of the violet became rosy; the scent of large lemons became widespread; the boiling spring of orange was loosened; the tongues of palms were made to speak; the preachers of music stood up; the winds of wine-glasses blew; the trade of companionship found its market; the caller of music ecstasy took his stand; the constellation of companions appeared and the sky of ambergris enveloped us. I swear by my life that had you been there, we would have attained on account of your presence ever-lasting Paradise and the linking-chord of the necklace would have been provided.[3]

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1. Ibid, 85,
2. Ibid, 84.

انفردت يا سيدى بتلك انفراد من يحسب مطلع الشمس من وجهها ومنبت الدر من فمها وملقط الورد من خدها ومنبع السحرمن طرفها وحقاق العاج من ثديها و مبادى الليل من شعرها

3. *Yatima*, III 81.

نحن يا سيدى فى مجلس غنى الاعنك شاكرا الامنك فقدتفتحت فيه عيون النرجس وتوردت فيه خدود البنفسج وفاحت مجامر الاترج وفتقت فارات النارنج وانطقت السنة العيدان وقام خطباء الاوتار وهبت رياح الاقداح ونفقت سوق الانس وقام منادى الطرب وطلعت كواكب الندماء وامتدت سماء الند فبحياتى لما حضرت لنحصل بك فى جنة الخلد وتتصل الواسطة بالعقد ـ

Narcissus and violet in this context most probably refer to singing girls. The lemon, orange and palm might be varieties of liquors served.

Equally well-versed was the Sahib in writing poems. In describing simple objects he was vivid, unerring by creating a lively interest almost out of nothing. He said about 'glass and wine' :—'The glass has become subtle, and so also the wine; they became similar and offered a perplexity; as if the glass is wine and the wine is the cup.'

رق الزجاج ورقت الخمر فتشابها فتشاكل الامر
فكانه خمر ولا قدح وكانها قدح ولا خمر [1]

The following is a specimen of how the Sahib beautifully depicts such an insignificant incident as the mark of mud on his dress while riding:

"I rode while the palm of the earth was writing on my garment lines which could not be concealed; the ground was the ink-pot and the ink was from the mud; the paper was the cloth and the right hand of the (اشهب) (greyish Horse) was the pen."[2]

Again on a snow-fall :—

"The snow came down and became widespread for pleasure and also for drinking by both great and small; the sky then appeared dressed in a tunic of light and offered presents of scattered pearls; as if the sky had married the earth for which campher was scattered."[3]

Among the eulogies of the *Sahib*, the following on 'Adud al-Dawla seems to be the best :

"(You are) a fortune on the way which perplexes even Jupiter and which is beyond the calculation of any astrologer. How many a world you have revived one after another when they had become like broken dried grass. By Allah, if there had been no Allah, the world would have said of you what the Christians said about the Messiah.

"(You are the embodiment of) praiseworthy actions which if revealed would have inundated the world and your eyes would not have witnessed the face of a single detractors : nay, even if they were blessed with the mere poor-rate (*Zakat*) of it, your ears would never have heard of a back-biter. And if I were to say that Allah did not create the universe for anyone else except you, I would do no wrong nor would I

1. *Yatima* III, 94.
2. Ibid, 97.

انی رکبت وکف الارض کاتبة علی ثیابی سطورا لیس تنکتم
والارض محبرة والحبر من لثق والطرس ثوبی ویمنی الاشهب القلم

3. Ibid, 95.

اقبل الثلج فانبسط للسرور ولشرب الکبیر بعد الصغیر
اقبل الجوف غلائل نور وتهادی بلؤلؤ منثور
فکان السماء صاهرت الار ض فصار النثار من کافور

commit any sin."[1]

As for the religion of the *Sahib*, he was a *Shi'i* of the Zaydite denomination and his poetry is replete with references to his religious feeling :—

"If they search my heart," he says, "they will find in it two lines inscribed without any writer having written them—the love for 'Ali Ibn Abi Talib and the love for my lord Abu Talib."[2]

He was also a Mu'tazili to which fact reference has already been made. It is only in respect of an unsuccessful love that he comes near submitting to fate :—

"For ages I preached freedom of action and considered predestination as wrong and loathsome. But I have lost my faith in freedom of action in respect of my love for a gazelle, so I submit in all loyalty to Fatalists."[3]

On the other hand, it was because of his Mu'tazili belief that he earned such strictures of his contemporaries as the following :—

"O Ibn 'Abbad, son of 'Abbas, son of 'Abdu'llah, of noble birth, you deny predestination whereas you have been brought forth to this world in spite of yourself."—a verse attributed with variations to both al-Salami and Abu Dulaf al-Khazraji.[4]

In his patronage of men of learning the Sahib has been likened, not unjustifiably, to Harun al-Rashid, the 'Abbasid.[5] He was praised by no less than 500 poets and the number of eulogistic odes they showered on him is estimated to have been one thousand composed in both Arabic and Persian.[6] The most prominent of these poets, as mentioned by Tha'alibi and Yaqut, were Abu Sa'id al-Rustami, 'Ali Ibn Muhammad al-Badihi—so called because of his extemporisation,—Abu Dulaf al-Khazraji, Abu'l-'Abbas al-Dabbi, Abu Bakr al-Khwarizmi and Abu'l-Qasim al-Za'frani. Of these the Sahib regarded Abu Sa'id al-Rustami as the best[7] and derived the maximum praise from the following lines by al-Rustami :—

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1. Ibid, 99–100.

سعود محار المشترى فى طرىقها   ولا تناتى فى حساب المنجم
وكم عالم احييت من بعد عالم   على حىن صاروا كالهشيم المحطم
فوالله لولاالله قال لك الورى   مقال النصارى فى المسيح بن مريم
محامد لوفضت ففاضت على الورى   لما ابصرت عيناك وجه مذمم
وكلا ولكن لو حظوا بزكاتها   لما سمعت اذناك ذكر ملوم
ولوقلت ان الله لم يخلق الورى   لغيرك لم احرج ولم اتاثم

2. *Yatima* III, 98.
3. Ibid, 106.
4. Ibid, 110; *Irshad* (II, 273) attributes this to al-Salami while elsewhere (*Irsh.* II, 303–4) this is assigned to al-Khazraji.
5. *Irsh*, II, 322.
6. Ibid, 314.
7. *Yatima* III, 129.

ورث الوزارة كابرا عن كابر — مرفوعة الاسناد بالاسناد
يروى عن العباس عباد — وزارته واسمعيل عن عباد

"He inherited the *Wizara* from great men among his forefathers whose pedigree has been traced back to Wazirs (just as in pure tradition the narration is traced back to the Prophet); 'Abbad inherited the *Wizara* from 'Abbas and Isma'il from 'Abbad."[1]

But the best genius among the clients of the Sahib appears to have been Abu Dulaf al-Khazraji, who like the Sahib himself, was an expert in 'the slang of the Persians' (مناكاة بنى ساسان), in which they could converse with one another without being understood by others. Abu Dulaf was not unique in this field, as he followed Jahiz, who one hundred and fifty years before him, had given a prominent place to the common folk in his writings, and Ahnaf al-Ukbari, a contemporary of his, had written a long poem with exhaustive notes and comments on common folk using their language. Abu Dulaf presented such a poem to the Sahib.[2] In the various arts and crafts of the common folk and their characteristics he was a specialist and the inclusion of these lends special charm to his verses, which should form a separate subject for study.

Besides those whom we have mentioned as being directly patronised by the Sahib, men of letters like the Sharif al-Radi al-Musawi, Abu Ishaq Ibrahim Ibn Hilal al-Sabi, Ibn al-Hajjaj and al-Salami were also recipients of occasional favours from him for which they also eulogised him.[3]

The Sahib was unfortunate in having an opponent in Abu Hayyan al-Tawhidi, an outstanding genius of the period, whose sharp tongue indulged in vituperation of him in all possible ways. Several times al-Tawhidi failed in his attempts to see the Sahib[4] and they met only on one or two occasions. When they met, the poet's pride, his bold and upright nature and above all his terse and matter-of-fact replies to the queries of the Sahib without any flattering tone, failed to draw the latter's sympathy for him.[5] Further, when asked to copy out thirty volumes of the Sahib's compositions, al-Tawhidi made the sensible suggestion that since it was humanly impossible for him to do so, he could prepare a good selection of his writings. But this was construed to mean —so we are told—that al-Tawhidi was trying to find fault with the compositions of the Sahib.[6] This resulted in open hostility between the two, and, driven to extreme poverty and penury, al-Tawhidi proceeded to heap venom on the Sahib and the other illustrated Buwayhid *Wazir*, Abu'l-Fadl Ibn al-'Amid, in his *Book of the Two Wazirs.*'

1. Ibid, 33.
2. Ibid, 175.
3. I have discussed them all in my article "*Cultural Development under the Buwayhids of Baghdad*" to be published by the Asiatic Society of Pakistan in the first issue of their Journal.
4. *Irsh.* V, 405-6.
5. Ibid, 393.
6. Ibid, 396-7, also 385.

MODERN ARABIC FICTION WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO IRAQ

S. A. KHULUSI*

ALONG with a fertile imagination the Arabs possess a dynamic vision which can portray things in constant motion. They can never pause for a moment and examine the details. Hence their lack of power of characterization which is so highly developed in some other nations such as the English. It was only after the happy marriage of the Arab power of narration to the English talent of characterization in 1704 that in 1742 the modern novel was born. It was in 1704 that Galland translated the *Arabian Nights* into French and it was almost simultaneously rendered into English. But the world had to wait until 1742 to get Richardson's *Pamela,* the first novel that we know of in the modern sense. Yet this legitimate child of Arab-English parents had to be taken to France to acquire refinement and perfection to be brought back to his fatherland with the expeditionary forces of Napoleon in 1798. This brief cycle of only 94 years explains how interdependent the nations of the world are, especially in matters literary and cultural.

With the thundering sound of the Napoleonic guns, the Arab Renaissance began. It almost followed the same lines as the European Renaissance in the fifteenth century, when Europeans began to translate Greek, Roman and Arabic works into their own local languages. Khediv Muhammad ʿAli Pasha was the man who gave the initiative to such a revivalist movement by sending educational missions to France. Though the Egyptian mission members were sent by and large to study scientific subjects, they were able to get in touch with French literature and translate a number of books. Fortunately the head of the missions was that indefatigable man, Rifaʿah Bey Tahtawi, who was the Petrarch and the Dante combined of the Arab Renaissance. He translated medical, scientific and literary works and invented a new genre of poetry in Arabic known as *al-Wataniyyat*, national anthems.

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Just as the Europeans (during their Renaissance) had to borrow many terms and expressions to make their languages more capable of embracing the enlarged scope of knowledge, the Arabs had to do it also. They lent Europe words like *rizma* (ream); *anbar* (anber); *al-manakh* (almanac); *targuman* (dragoman), *samt* (zenith); *al-Khuwarazmi* (algorism), (logarithm); *suda* (soda); *balsam* (balsam); *sifr* (cipher); and hordes of others to help Europe with its Renaissance. At the time of the Arab Renaissance the Arabs had to reverse the process and borrow not only words and scientific terms but also some stylistic points and turns of phrase. Nevertheless, some of the words meant for modern inventions were used only for a short time until Arabic ones were coined for them or dug out of ancient dictionaries, words such as al-*'Ajila* (express-train); *al-hafila* (omnibus); *barqiyya* (telegraph) and so on.

Next the old Arabic style of the Period of Decadence or what is more commonly known as the Dark Ages, that was heavily laden with metaphors and figures of speech, had to be simplified and polished and made a suitable medium for the newly rising prose style that was to adjust itself as a medium of novel-writing.

Though the earliest novels and plays were those translated from Shakespeare, Corneille, Moliere and Sir Walter Scott, nevertheless we consider them in their translated form as part of modern Arabic literature inasmuch as they helped to introduce a new flexibility and new ways and means of expression into the language.

If we skip Ahmad Shawqi's unsuccessful highfalutin story, *Ghadat al-Hind*, (The Damsel of India), Ibrahim al-Muwailihi's *Hadith 'Isa Ibn Hisham* would be the nearest approach to a modern novel. Just as the eighteenth-century French and English writers sought in supernatural tales of Oriental origin a means of social satire, Arab novelists followed the same procedure. They imagined an old Pasha or prince of such-and-such reign coming back to life and criticizing the blind imitation of the West, as Muwailihi did; or someone rising from the grave a thousand years hence and describing the marvellous progress of mankind in order to criticise the prevailing miserable conditions, as was done by the Iraqi poet-philosopher in an epic comprising 1000 verses.

So novel-writing found its inception in the *Maqamat* or stories of mendicancy, the earliest modern example of which was *Hadith 'Isa Ibn Hisham*, followed by *Layali Satih* of Hafiz Ibrahim the poet, which in the main criticised conditions prevailing in Egypt by raising questions for discussion by a group of people meeting every evening, and an unknown voice (perhaps that of the poet himself) suggesting the solution. It is a mixture of rhymed and unrhymed prose.

For a long time the *Maqama* was the only type of novel allowed, because novel-writing in the modern sense was frowned upon. Hence,

when *Zaynab*, the first modern Arabic novel, appeared in 1914,[1] it had to be published anonymously. It was years afterwards, when novel-writing became a respectable art in the Arab world that the name of the author, Dr. Muhammad Husain Haykal Pasha, was known.

Not unlike the first English novel, (Richardson's *Pamela*), the first Arabic novel (*Zaynab*) was born in a romantic atmosphere, as is evident from the author's preface to the second edition of the book, published in 1929, where he confesses that by writing *Zaynab* he only attempted to recall in the lonesome hours of his student days in Paris the village life in Egypt. Hence we find many descriptions of natural scenery dragged in unnecessarily for the simple reason that the author enjoyed recalling them to mind. Moreover the writer was not skilful in psychological characterization. At times he has to appear in person to make the progress of the story intelligible.

In *Zaynab*, the traditional antithetical style gives way to a more modernised one full of colloquial usages that are at once unidiomatic and far removed from grammatical rules.

Another great novel after *Zaynab*, in the history of modern Arabic novel development is Mazini's *Ibrahim al-Katib* (published in 1931) which was critically analysed by the late Iraqi novelist Mahmud Ahmad as-Sayyid who saw a close resemblance between Mazini's story and Artzybashev's *Sanine* rendered into Arabic by Mazini himself. It is possible, however, that Mazini did not deliberately aim at imitating it, but was subconsciously influenced by it.

In Iraq we had to wait till the late thirties, to get our first real novel, *al-Duktor Ibrahim* (Dr. Ibrahim) by Dhunnun Ayyub who cleverly portrayed intellectual opportunism in Iraq in the person of the English educated Dr. Ibrahim who is married to an American lady. He tries every possible means to get to the top. He embraces every faith and creed and joins hands with every influential society and organization at home and abroad. His motto is the end justifies the means, however degrading that may be. In the end after many vicissitudes and changes of tactics he gets to the position he aspires to though he loses the respect of all decent people.

When one reads the story one feels the author is writing his autobiography, because he is almost all the time relating in an indirect way what he experienced at the hands of the egoistic self-seeking Dr. Ibrahim. The character is so well drawn that you can feel it as someone you have known and spoken to. He became such a familiar figure in the circle of the educated classes that one would not hesitate to say to anyone who aims at intellectual opportunism, "Don't try to be another Dr. Ibrahim!"

We experienced a great difficulty in switching over from the old-time romance to the modern novel. Even today the old-world romance

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1. Abdul Hamid as-Sahhar, al-Adab al-Misri al-Mu'asir, *al-Adib*, Vol. XXIII No. 4 p. 69.

exists side by side with the novel, but the demand for the latter is gaining strength. The old aristocratic Baghdadi stories of kings, caliphs and princes as portrayed in the *Arabian Nights*, where you find a good deal of narration and very little characterization is receding to the background before the democratic everyday-life novel that is full of light and shade and in which the characters are vivid and palpitating. The best example of such a successful attempt is Shakir Khisbak's novelette, "*'Ahdun Jadīd*," (A New Era). It is the story of an Iraqi family consisting of a father who is a butcher and thinks of everything in terms of the stockyard, a good-hearted mother, two sons and two daughters. The father is the dominating type who is the absolute master at home. He is always shouting about and bossing the members of the family, and woe to him who dares to oppose him. He is so vividly described that one can see him as a living person and the author's description is so masterly that he makes one believe that such a person does exist. There he comes in "a man of high stature with a big head, which he is compelled to bow before entering. He can enter from the small door but his shoulders are bound to rub against the walls. Whenever you look at him you imagine the huge mass of his body was originally meant for two people. Had it been divided into two, it would have certainly been better. Right on top of this massive body is a huge head which is clean shaven with a razor. So he looks exactly like a bald man. His broad squarish face is characterized by rough features and a high receding forehead and two small eyes that are almost lost in the broad face but for their piercing brilliance. His long nose is on the large side, with clearly open nostrils; a few tiny hairs have grown on its tip. As for the mouth it is large and the upper lip is slightly tilted upwards. The lower lip is thicker. On close observation, it looks inclined downwards. His moustache covers the whole of his upper lip and lends his face an appearance of strength and defiance."[1]

I do not think a photograph gives one more details and in such a lively way than the author in the above description.

This is the central figure of the story. He comes in one day and as he is having his lunch with his two sons, he starts to rebuke the elder who is called Najm, for allowing himself to be cheated in an expensive bargain. The mother interferes, so the father shouts at her and gives her an insulting answer. Whereupon the son Najm, for the first time in his life, dares to stand up against his awe-striking father and requests him not to be insolent to his mother. This unexpected opposition to the absolute authority of the father startles him, so he slaps the son on both cheeks leaving the red prints of his fingers on them. This is enough to make the son pack up his clothes and go away.

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1. Shakir Khisbak, *'Ahdun Jadid*, p. 8.

Now starts the tragedy. Everybody is sad and dejected. Days pass and there is no news from Najm. No one seems to care for food, drink and conversation. Enquiries lead the father to the knowledge that his son is in the sacred town of Karbala and that he is unwilling to return to his native town of Hilla so long as his father is there. Now, the fierce tyrannical father undergoes a complete change. He becomes like a docile lamb. He speaks gently to everybody and of everybody and observes his prayers regularly, whereas formerly he used to scoff at religion and make fun of religious people.

In the end the mother goes to Karbala and after long pleadings and entreaties with her son, she manages to persuade him to come back. They return amidst the jubilation of the whole family. The denouement is very sharp and the closing scene is touching. As the mother and her son Najm enter, they find the father in the middle of his prayer. He quickly terminates it to say to them softly: "Glad you're back safe!"

This novelette is typical of the modern trend of Arabic novels and short stories today. Realism is very much sought after. In the course of his development, the normal Arab novelist seems to pass through three distinct stages:

(1) The emotional, sentimental sex stories, which are mostly read by teenagers.

(2) The social novels where the writer can air his views on social reforms and depict the miserable condition of the peasants, the marsh Arabs and the unenlightened illiterate people.

(3) The political novels which portray the prevailing political conditions, the opposition of the people and the riots and demonstrations of the nation, and the drastic methods resorted to by the government.

The last two categories are playing a great part in reforming Arab social, cultural and political life, slowly but steadily.

Today, a novelist without a social or political message is frowned upon. Realists like Tolstoy, Dostoevisky and Gorki are being widely read, translated and imitated. Fifteen years ago Maupassant was in great vogue, but he has since passed into the limbo of oblivion.

The ridiculing of irresponsible rich people, especially the rich tribesmen and shaikhs is a favourite theme for novelists. Ja'far al-Khalili, one of our well-known writers, describes in his recent novel *Tiswahin?* (The Best of Them All), the most capricious and eccentric acts of some of these shaikhs. One of them, he says, paid on one occasion two thousand dinars for drinks in honour of a dancing girl. Another ordered a dress of five and ten dinar banknotes, to be sewn for a songstress, and a third one prepared tea for his mistress by burning bills: (pp. 38–39).

Political novels appeared in Iraq for the first time in a distinct unmistakeable form in 1936. The first man who initiated this genre was Dhunnun Ayyub. Many followed suit, but few excelled him; one of those was Shakir Khisbak who had published so far two stories in this pattern,

the story of *My Friend 'Abd 'Ali*,[1] and *The Years of Terror*[2] which latter stands out as one of his best. In it he describes the ill-treatment of a family by the police, on account of one of its members participating in a political demonstration against the government. With masterly strokes, the author draws the pictures of a naive father, an impatient mother and an impetuous son. Every now and then you would hear the father saying (P. 184): "The beginning of all this trouble was that innovation announced by the government and termed as the General Election. They pretended that the people were able to elect their officials..... Of old one was ever sent to prison except for murder, theft or misdemeanour, but now the prisons are full of impulsive youngmen accused of rashness and attempts to interfere with the affairs of the government in a manner that is displeasing to it. I know nothing of the secrets of the government; so I received its call to meddle with its own affairs with a deaf ear and a blind eye."

The sarcastic tone of the story is quite evident and it is mostly heard from the father's lips (P. 186), especially when he says :—

"To tell you the truth I always had apprehensions of the fate awaiting my son *Wahid*; for what can one expect for a young man who dares to insult the mighty government by describing it as the servant of the people" and also when he says (pp. 195–196); "My son, leave the business of a government that has drifted away from the path of God to God himself for God alone knows how to avenge us against tyrants."

The good hearted simple mother pleads ardently with the saints to protect her son. She even tries to bribe them by saying : "O Father of Husain, I have ready for you five sheep to offer as sacrifices and twenty-five candels to illuminate your shrine. And you, Zaynab, I entreat you to save my son, the only one I have. You well know the sufferings of a mother when her only son is in distress. I shall die, if they take him away from me." She goes on with her pleadings with lady Zaynab, the daughter of Husain, giving the impression that no one can understand the sufferings of a woman but a woman. The story ends with a tragic scene. The mother loses her power of speech permanently at the sight of the police beating her son and dragging him to prison.

This is a typical political short story written by a socialist novelist. There are others written by nationalist novelists, such as Khalid ad-Durra, the well-known Iraqi journalist, and writer.

Khalid's novels are different from those of the socialist group. His, apart from being socio-political, are mostly concerned with bitter criticism of the ruling class rather than depicting the sufferings of their subjects as a consequence of their misrule.

Many of his novels were banned because they were interpreted as

1. Shakir Khisbak, op. cit., pp. 153–168. His other work is : *Sira* (Short Stories) 1948.
2. Op. cit., pp. 184–201.

describing certain influential personalities.[1] There are, however, some that escaped misinterpretation and were allowed circulation. One of those is his famous, "*Ufulun wa Shuruq*" (*A Setting And A Rise*), which passed the censor after suppression of certain paragraphs and modification of others. And in spite of all these alterations the motive of the writer is still clearly in evidence.

The story is of a Bey who leaves Baghdad for Constantinople during the British occupation of Iraq in the First World War, leaving behind him a wife, a daughter and a son. The wife soon discovers the scandalous affair of her husband with the maid who eventually gives birth to a daughter whom she names Fatima and whom she claims to be from a man other than her master, though her master was the cause of the beginning of her sin. In a couple of decades the family of the Bey squander all the wealth they had, whereas Fatima, the natural child of their maid, becomes a well-known singer, dancer and artiste.

While Khisbak's style is purely literary, that of Durra is a mixture of the literary and the journalese. He is more realistic because he delves into the heart of Iraqi society and displays social scenes and experiences unattainable by Mr. Khisbak and the group of dreaming socialists. Khalid describes in this novel the white slave traffic very clearly and gives the adventure of an intelligent courtesan who starts as a poor but attractive maid in the house of a rich man. She is originally driven into sin either by her master or his eldest son. So she runs away for fear of being discovered and takes refuge with one of the white slave traffickers, who is an elderly, clever, avaricious woman. She changes her name, buys her clothes and jewels against certain bills that the poor girl is forced to sign. All her earnings, save a trifling fraction, go to this old greedy witch. Life continues in this manner until an important government official, a rich man, falls in love with her, pays all her alleged debts, sets up a home for her and gives her the status of a mistress. Afterwards she gets in touch with a theatre manager and becomes a dancer and singer. Then her past is partially forgotten and forgiven.

Durra's technique is to a certain extent influenced by that of the *Arabian Nights* and the ancient Arabian methods of narration. There is also the semblance of a frame story, not unlike that of the *Arabian Nights* in principle. The author does not hesitate to leave his reader in the middle of the road, so to speak, to look for one of the characters left

1. *Ufulun wa Shuruq*, Introduction. pp. 6-7. Durras's most sensational novels are, *Miz'il Pasha*; *Al-Mutnabbi*: *Wazir al-Mazalim, the Minister of Justice*; *Sufiyyun Fi'l-Jahim, Ascetics in Hell.*

behind. He also, in a way, follows the style of the historical novelist Jurji Zaydan (who is the Walter Scott of the Arabs) especially in the opening paragraphs of certain chapters (e.g. Chapter 7).

Digressions in the story are frequent, particularly when the author starts philosophizing on Iraqi beauty[1] and the famous scar known as *al-Ukht,* the Baghdad boil, which either disfigures or accentuates the beauty of a lady.[2] Another subject that takes him out of his way is that of unsuccessful solicitors and lawyers.[3] This seems to be a complex with the writer, since he was originally trained to be a lawyer, but did not succeed in the profession, so he returned to journalism, his favourite hobby, and began to sign his articles as " Khalid-ad-Durra, the Unsuccessful Lawyer ".

His style is reminiscent of the two great Egyptian writers: Dr. Taha Husain and Ibrahim al-Mazini. From the former he has borrowed the idea of parallel sentences; and from the latter not only his sense of humour and sarcasm but also his bad habit of repeating and contradicting himself in one and the same novel. That is undoubtedly due to the fact that the novel was written spasmodically and with long intervals in between. The author would write a chapter and leave it for a while, and when he takes it up again, he has already forgotten certain incidents and details mentioned in an earlier part.

We are reminded of Mazini's style when the Bey's wife learns from the maid that Mahmud, the druggist wishes to marry her to save her the disgrace she finds herself in ; so she remarks: " Then he is far nobler than my mean base husband ". Whereupon the maid sighs and tries to find the right words to report, and in a stammering manner she says: " No Ma'am, don't say that. Mahmud is only a holligan, and my master is a pure noble man. You can't compare the two ! "[4] The plot closely resembles Yusuf Wahbi's famous play, *Awlad-al-Fuqara,* (sons of the poor); but the approach is that of the famous Turkish woman-novelist Khalida Edib as displayed in her novel, *Sinakli Bakkal,* which is the name of a quarter in Stanbul.

It is possible that Durra had not read the book as it has not been, to my knowledge, translated into Arabic. So it may be a mere coincidence, or that the identical social ills of the Ottomans and the present day Iraqis necessitated the same approach and the use of the same literary mannerisms to make the story popular amongst the largest possible number of readers.

1. Khalid ad-Durra, *ufulun wa shuruq,* 1953. pp. 126-128.
2. Ibid, p. 129.
3. Ibid, pp. 112-113.
4. Ibid, pp. 29-30.

A constant figure in the novel is 'Ali Asghar a typical old-fashioned Baghdadi *kababchi* who serves a kind of grilled meat. This man's part in the story is to pull a string and make a series of bells ring in unison according to a certain tune each time an attractive lady passes by. By the time you finish the novel he becomes an intimate friend of yours, because he is the only one who remains with the reader to the end. The other characters depart in different directions with different fates intended for them by the author, but the kababchi helps to a very great extent to give depth to the story.

So much for the novel. As for the short story, this came in the wake of the literary magazines that planned to have a short story in each issue to entertain the reader, if anything else failed to interest him in that particular number. Obviously there is no room here for full-size characterisation. All that you get is a small incident magnified with a sharp denouement or issue.

Unfortunately many of the earlier Iraqi short stories were in the technical sense not short stories but narrative esssays similar to what Addison and Richard Steele used to publish in the Tatler and the Spectator early in the eighteenth century. The parallelism is complete when we remember that the so-called short stories have a frame-tale of an Oriental or an unknown land adapted or invented to hold the views of the writer together. This is especially true of the socialist short story writer of the type of Dhunnun Ayyub. With him we rarely find any real short story. His literary product in this line has been by and large the pseudo-short-story or the narrative essay. Such is his collection, *al-kadihun* (the Slaving labourers), *Sadiqi (My Friend) Burj Babil,* (The Tower of Babel) ; *Hummayat* (Maladies).

If we have to look for the real literary technique of short story writing, we must seek it in 'Abdul Majid Lutfi, Shakir Khisbak or the woman novelist Mahira al-Naqishbandi with Turkish, English and Italian influences respectively

It is in the literary production of those people that one plainly studies and understands the life of the masses and the friction between the aristocracy and the lower classes. But if you are aiming seeking sure realism devoid of artistic touches then Ja'far al-Khalili is your man.[1]

Of all those short story writers Khisbak is the only one who betrays Egyptian influences owing to his education in the Cairene University and his stay in Egypt for a number of years. That is particularly noticeable in his story *ad-Dakhil*[2] (The Intruder), *al Khatim al Masi,*[3] (The Diamond

1. Especially in his book *'Indma kuntu Qadiyan* (when I was a Judge—Najaf, 1941). His other works are : *Min Fawq-ar-Rabiya* (from the top of the hillock) a collection of short stories (Baghdad, 1949), *Fi Qura al-Jinn* (in the villages of the Demons) Najaf 1948; *Yaumiyyat, I'tirafat; Al-Dayi'*
2. *'Ahdun Jadid,* pp. 52-65.
3. Ibid, pp. 142-152.

Ring), and *Qalbun Kabir*[1] (A Big Heart), where he even uses some local Egyptian expressions and colloquial phrases.

This brings us up against the long-standing problem whether or not a novelist, a playwright or a short story writer should use colloquial language in his dialogue. The problem has not been officially solved yet; but its long neglect has compelled the writers to use at times a language that is half-way between the literary and the colloquial for the educated characters and the pure slang for the uneducated ones. Mahmud Taymur, who is considered one of the greatest modern Arabic short story writers, has on more than one occasion written whole stories in colloquial Egyptian which he later translated into literary Arabic. In this he only followed his elder brother Muhammad Taymur who did the same thing with regard to his plays which at the time gained great popularity not only in Egypt but also in Syria and Lebanon. Most of the early pioneers of the stage adopted the same plan. It is no wonder then that the Iraqi authors, who appeared later than the Egyptians and Syrians on the stage of modern Arabic literature, followed suit.

Today in Iraq, there are a number of short story writers and playwrights who are preserving the present-day colloquial dialect from extinction, as the cinema, radio and frequent travels in other Arab countries are quickly changing the local Iraqi dialect.

Khisbak's short stories are helping in this direction though sometimes he is under the influence of the Egyptian dialect as it is very clearly seen in his most successful short story, *A Big Heart* which deserves special mention here, on account of the strong elements of surprise and suspense it contains. It is the story of the thirteen-year old child Flora, the daughter of a French couple residing in Egypt. She falls in love, in her childish way, with the lodger who shares the house with them. But the poor lodger, who is busy with more mature and sophisticated ladies is unaware of this secret affection. So she feels hurt. She avoids him and even begins to hate him But it so happens one day that as he is having a ride with his friend Hamdi, the car runs into a lamp-post, and he is seriously hurt and taken to hospital, while his friend dies on the spot. Believing that he is going to die, Flora is so grieved that she ultimately throws herself (while on her way to school) on the tram-line of Hulwan. Her suicide is received with such a shock by her parents that they immediately leave Egypt for France.

The best part of the story is the clever description of the state of fainting, which I venture to translate here as best as I can :—

"I don't remember when that happened, in which hour of the day or the night. All that I remember is that I came to on a heart-rending cry. I opened my eyes with great difficulty and saw the vague shadows of people sitting round my bed. At first I was unable to distinguish anyone of them because they all looked like silhouettes. Then little by

1. Ibid. pp. 122-139.

little their features started gaining fixity in my vision, so I was able to recognize the nurse, Flora and her parents. My eyes became fixed on Flora's face. I smiled to her, so she laughed and laughed rejoicingly, staring at me all the time with tearful eyes, like someone startled and scared. Her shouts reached my ear as though coming from afar. She was exclaiming in a trembling voice: "He will not die..He will not die." Then that same trembling voice receded and the picture of Flora's face became fainter and fainter until I could no longer see or hear anything."[1]

In this story, the author makes free use of Western words like: good-luck, O.K., au revoir[2] and so on.

Fear seems to be the author's strongest instinct, and he is good at describing it and it recurs often in his short stories. In one of them he covers three pages to depict the fear of a man buying what he thought at the time to be a stolen diamond ring, but it turned out to be a fake one. We perceive the same cleverness in depicting an atmosphere of terror in his *Years of Terror*.[3]

Stray personal remarks, short essays on love and philosophizing comments stud almost every short story of Khisbak. He would say, for instance, (on p. 159): "At times man thinks that he has attained his goal and only at the last moment he realizes his complete failure," and (on p. 179) he says:" We are living in a society in which sexual honour presides over all other social values." Local Iraqi sayings and idioms are of frequent recurrence such as (on p. 165) "To them lying is like drinking a glass of water," and "I swear by al-Husain."

Khisbak's models are Khalili and Lutfi. From the first he has borrowed his realistic vein and the use of colloquialism, from the latter his literary technique and artistic embellishments. Mr. Lutfi, though at heart a realist, does not offer his realism in a crude, naked form. That is why he refrains from using the local Iraqi idiom. His achievements as a short story writer are well known throughout the Arab world. He is a regular contributor to that widely read Egyptian monthly called *al-Qissa* (the Novel). His earliest work, *Asda'az-Zaman.*" (The Echoes of Time) comprised a number of narrative essays and pseudo-short stories,[4] but they were promising forerunners of what was to follow. His style is Western in the best translated form. He only acquired it through his admiration of the works of American-Arabs like Gibran, Raihani and Abu Madhi, and by copious reading of Western literature translated into Arabic and Turkish. Hence you find no trace of ancient classicism in him. In two of his great stories, *Ra'ihatu-i-turab* (The Smell of The Soil) and *Buqa' ad-Dihn* (Spots of Grease), he describes some of the problems of the Iraqi working class.

1. Ibid, p. 136.
2. Ibid, p. 127 or p. 131.
3. Ibid, pp. 184–201.
4. Abdul Majid Lutfi, *Asda' Az-Zaman*, pp. 50-54; 151-156; 182-186. His other work is *'Afifah* (Literary Reminiscences) 1953.

It will be gathered from the above account and illustrative examples and quotations that Arabic fiction in Iraq, and this is true of all the other Arab countries, is passing through a phase of realism. It is only in Iraq that one finds the political novel and short story strongly represented and aiming at a final predomination over other varieties.

So after many years of experimentation, Arab novelists as a whole, and Iraqi novelists in particular, have discovered that the best means of achieving great results is by adopting realistic methods and taking the social and political destiny of the Arab world in their hands.

See for further details the following bibliography :—

1. DR. SALAHUDDIN NAHI : *Aqasis Shatta*, 1949.

2. NIZAR SALIM : *Faid*, 1952, *AshyaTafiha*, 1950, *al-Lawn al-Maqtul*, 1953.

3. S. A. KHULUSI : (a) *Nufusun Maridah*. Morbid Souls, An anthology of Short Stories, (at-Tafayyud Press, 1941).
(b) *Bint as-Sarraj*. The Saddlers Daughter, a novel with Spanish background, (al-Ma'arif Press, Baghdad, 1952.

4. DR. NASIR AL-HANI, *al-Mujaz Fi'l-Adab al-Hadith*, A Compendium on Modern Literature, (at-Tafayyud Press, Baghdad, 1944), pp. 95.

5. DALIL AL-MAMLAKAH AL-'IRAQIYAH' An Iraqi Who is Who, (Baghdad, 1936).

6. HENRI PERES : *La Litte'rature Arabe et L'Islam par les textes*, les XIX et XX siecles, troisieme edition, (Alger, 1947), pp. 225.

7. C. BROCKELMANN : *Geschichte der Arabishe Litteratur*, Vol. II, Supplement, Vols. II and III.

8. M. H. 'ABD AR-RAZIQ : *Arabic Literature since the beginning of Nineteenth century*, (Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies) Vol. II, Part II (1922), pp. 249-265; Vol. II, Part IV (1922), pp. 755-763.

9. H. A. R. GIBB : *Studies in Contemporary Arabic Literature*, (Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies) Vol. IV, Part IV (1923), pp. 745-760, Vol. V, Part II (1929), pp. 311-322; Vol.V, Part III (1929), pp. 445-466; Vol. VII, Part I (1933), pp. 1-22.

10. MAHMUD TAYMUR : *Ash-Shaikh Sayyid al-'Abit*, Cairo, 1926; pp. 1-48.

11. MUHAMMAD AMIN HASSUNA : *Al-Adab al-Qasasi*, Narrative Literature, as-Siyasah al-Usbu'iyyah, No. 224 (Cairo, 1930), p. 11; and an-Nahdah al-Qasasiyyah al-'Arabiyyah," The Renaissance of Arab Fiction, Ib., No. 225 pp, 18-19.

DEVELOPMENT AND CHARACTER OF PERSIAN LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE IN THE STATE OF BOMBAY.

B. M. GAI. *

INDIA and Persia were commercially, politically and culturally connected from ancient times. Even as early as the Achæmenian period, the hordes of Emperor Darius the great had swept over the Indus Valley and later in the time of Bahram II, the Sassanian Empire comprised " the lands at the middle course of the Indus and its mouth, Kutch, Kathiawar, Malwa and the adjoining hinterland of these countries ".[1]

Connections between India and the Islamic countries, however, date back to †A.H.15/A.D.636-37, when in the time of Caliph 'Umar I, a pillaging band of Arabs came upto Tana(Thana).[2] Muhammad ibn Qasim, the commander of Caliph Walid I the Umayyad, undertook the first systematic invasion of Sind in A.H.93/A.D.711. Around the same time, in about A.H.98/A.D.716, the first group of Zoroastrian Iranian emigrants landed somewhere near Sanjan in Western India.[3] ‡

These earlier Arab conquests did not have much of historical importance because the real founders of the Muslim Empire in India were Turks.[4] Mahmud Ghaznavi invaded India for the first time in A.H.392/A.D. 1000-I and during the last year of his career he annexed the Punjab in A.H.417/A.D.1026.[5] After Muhammad Ghori's victory in A.H.571/

1. Commissariat: *History of Gujarat*, Herzfeld quoted on p. 1.
2. Lane Poole, *Mediaeval India*, p. 5.
3. Commissariat: Int: P. xliv.
4. Haig: *Cambridge, History of India*, Vol. III, p. 10.
5. Haig: Vol. III, p. 26.

† Connections between India and Arabia go back to Pre-Islamic times when Arab mariners came to the South coast of India. *Ed.*

‡ The first emigration took place during the reign of king Afrasiyab when Persian Families residing in Khurasan forced by the atrocities of the King sought refuge *in India. Ed.*

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A.D.1175, he appointed Qutbud Din Aibak, his faithful Turkish officer, as the Viceroy of the Indian Dominions. It was Aibak, who was the real founder of Muslim Dominion in India."[1] During A.H.588–595/A.D. 1192–1198, he extended his sway in the Indian peninsula and his conquests in Gujarat and other places culminated in his accession in India in A.H.603/A.D.1206. Gujarat, "the richest kingdom in India", was however, finally subjugated in A.H.696/A.D. 1296 in the time of 'Alaud Din Khilji and a century later in A.H.806/A.D. 1403, Muzaffer Shah I established his independent kingdom in Gujarat.

Two other historical events which are conspicuous and had far-reaching effect on the problem under study are the invasion of India in A.H.801/A.D. 1398 by Timur Lang and the defeat of Ibrahim Lodi in the battle of Panipat in A.H.933/A.D. 1526, resulting in the subsequent enthronement of Babar at Delhi and the establishment of the Mughal dynasty of India.

It is difficult to determine with any fixity of time the exact manner of the advent of the Persian language into India. Regular infiltration of fresh bands of Persians and Turks into India and their day-today association with the Indians must have resulted in a mutual acquisition of languages. Though Persian was not the native tongue either of the Turks or the Mughals who ruled over India for centuries, it had become so popular with the Timurid princes during their stay in Central Asia, that they used it in preference to their own mother tongue, Turkish. Royal impetus, even before the Mughals, was responsible for instilling in the Indians a love for the Persian language. According to Firishta[2] Sikandar Lodi in A.H.895/A.D. 1489 preferred those of his subjects for court-service who had a knowledge of Persian and thus the non-Muslims devoted themselves to the study of Persian.[3] Mughals, the lineal descendants of Timur played a great role in the popularisation of Persian. Humayun on account of his pro-Persian leanings neglected Turkish and encouraged Persian at the court, making it the main medium of expression.[4] It must, however, be admitted that the development of Persian as a language was restricted upto the time of Akbar. The study of Persian, which was not so current among the Indians during the long period of six centuries from the conquest of Mahmud Ghaznavi to the time of Akbar, received a fillip in A.H.990/A.D.1582, with the enactment of Todarmal that "all government accounts should be kept in Persian instead of in Hindi as heretofore", which enforced the study of Persian on the Indians, at least for pecuniary considerations, if not for anything else. Persian maintained its status during the reigns of Jahangir, Shahjahan and Aurangzeb and by A.H.1215/A.D.1800, the "Persianisation" of the Indians was complete. The impact and influence of Persian on the two main regional languages of the State of Bombay,

1. Haig: Vol. III, 41.
2. Firishta, *Tarikh-i-Firishta* Vol. I, p 344.
3. Ghani, *History of Persian Language and Literature at the Mughal Court* Vol. I, p. 73.
4. Ghani, Vol. I, p. 46.

Marathi and Gujarati, is noteworthy. The influence of Persian began to wane when it was decided in A.H. 1245/A. D.1829 to replace Persian by English as the official and court language, and by A.H.1260/A.D.1844, Persian finally ceased to be the official language of India.[1]

Coming to the problem under study, we find in Gujarat and the Deccan two prominent nurseries of Persian language and literature in the State of Bombay. On account of the dearth of patronage in Persia during the Safawid regime, Persian poets and writers tended to migrate to India and attach themselves either to the courts of the Muslim kings of the North or of the Deccan. The Muslim kings of Gujarat were avowed patrons of learning and it has been claimed that during the span of one hundred and fifty years of their rule of Gujarat, they had rendered greater service to the cause of art and culture than the Muslim kings of Delhi had, in the course of six centuries.[2] In the Deccan too, the Bahmanis ruled for nearly two centuries from A.H.748-934/A.D.1347-1527. Independent kingdoms were established in A.H.896/A.D. 1490 by Ahmed Nizamul Mulk at Ahmadnagar, Yusuf 'Adilshah at Bijapur and Fathullah 'Imadul Mulk at Berar. The Qutbshahis ruled at Golkonda from A.H. 624–1093/A.D.1518–1682.

In Gujarat which was called "the beauty and ornament of India"[3] by Aurangzeb, there were several places like Ahmadabad, Surat, Broach, Cambay and Champanir, where the Iranian emigrants settled down and occupied themselves in religious and educational activities and literary pursuits. Ahmadabad, by virtue of its being the metropolis of Muslim Gujarat, was a rendezvous of savants and scholars and the present-day historical relics of that place bear eloquent testimony to the oriental character of the city.

Historiography:

To begin with the development of Persian literature in Gujarat, historiography seems to have been the most popular subject of the writers of Gujarat, especially Ahmadabad. Halawi Shirazi (living in A.H. 878/A.D. 1484), a poet of the court of Ahmadshah I of Gujarat (A.H. 813–846/A.D. 1411-1442), wrote a history entitled *Tarikh-i-Ahmad-shahi*.[4] Bahman ibn Kaiqubad ibn Hurmuzyar Sanjani, a Zoroastrian priest of Navsari, completed in A.H. 906/A.D. 1500, a traditional story in Persian verse, entitled *Qissa-i-Sanjan* about the flight of Iranian Zoroastrians from Iran and their advent in India and their traditional landing and final settlement at Sanjan in A.H. 325/A.D. 936.[5] Malik-ul-Qudat Faidullah ibn Zainul 'Abidin alias "Sadr-i-Jahan," born at

1. Sayyid 'Abdullah, *Adabiyat-i-Farsi men Hinduon ka Hissa* : p. 192.
2. Hayy : *Yad-i-Ayyam* p. 28.
3. Commissariat : Int. p. iii.
4. Jhaveri, *Gujarat na Farsi* p. 104.
5. Shaikh-A-Qader : *Catalogue of Persian Mss. in the Library of the university of Bombay* p. 320; Ethe/IOL, Vol. I, p. 1522; Rieu/BM *Catalogue of Persian Arabic Mss.* Vol. I, p. 49.

Ahmadabad, wrote in A.H. 907/A.D. 1502, *Tarikh-i-Mahmudshahi,* a general history from the beginning to the period of Sultan Mahmud of Gujarat.[1] Qane'i of Ahmadabad, a court poet of Sultan Muzaffar Shah II composed between A.H. 924-933/A.D. 1518-1526, *Tarikh-i-Muzaffarshahi,* a work which is more literary in character than historical.[2] Sayyid Shah Abu Turab Wali composed a history of Gujarat beginning with the conquest of Gujarat by Humayun in A.H. 940/A.D. 1532, to the conquest of Ahmadabad by Muzaffar Shah III (A.H. 992/A.D. 1584).[3] Nizamud Din Ahmad ibn Muhammad Muqim al-Harawi, (d. A.H. 1003/A.D. 1594), Diwan of the household of Babar and Vazir of Mirza 'Askari the governor of Gujarat, later Bakhshi of Gujarat in A.H. 993/A.D. 1585, composed in A.H. 1001/A.D. 1592, *Tabaqat-i-Akbarshahi* or *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* or *Tarikh-i-Nizami,* a general history of India from the Muhammedan conquest to the author's time. The work, one of the earliest general histories of India, is divided into a *Muqaddima,* nine *Tabaqas* and a *Khatima.*[4] Hasan ibn Muhammad al-Khaki ush-Shirazi, who was the Bakhshi of Gujarat in A.H. 1007/A.D. 1598, completed in A.H. 1019/A.D. 1619, *Ahsan-ut-Tawarikh,* a general history from the earliest times to the date of composition.[5] This history is different from *Ahsan-ut-Tawarikh* composed by Hasan Beg Rumulu. Sikandar ibn Muhammad Manjhu ibn Akbar of Gujarat, composed in A.H. 1045/A.D. 1605, "*Mir'at-i-Sikandari*", a history of the Sultanate of Gujarat. Muhammad Sadiq ibn Muhammad Salih al-Isfahani al-Yazdani of Surat, (b. A.H. 1018/A.D. 1609), commenced in A.H. 1041/A.D. 1631, *Subh-i-Sadiq,* a comprehensive historical, biographical and geographical work from the earliest times to A.H. 1048/A.D. 1638, and completed it in A.H. 1048/A.D. 1638.[6] Muhammad Latif ibn Muhammad 'Ali ibn Muhammad Shah of Broach composed, probably in A.H. 1057/A.D. 1647, or after the time of Aurangzeb, a history entitled *Mir'at-ul-Hind,* containing accounts of the Subahs and Parganas of Gujarat, with details of revenue, administration and navigation.[7] Bihishti Shirazi, the panegyrist of Prince Murad Bakhsh of Ahmadabad, composed "*Ashub-i-Hindustani*"; a historical account in verse of the struggles of Shahjahan's son for the empire, probably between A.H. 1068-70/A.D. 1657-59, or before the death of Murad Bakhsh, which took place in A.H. 1071/A.D. 1660.[8] Ishardas Nagar of Patan Gujarat (d. A.H. 1109/A.D. 1697), a *mutasaddi* in the employ of Shuja'at Khan the governor of Gujarat, wrote *Futuhat-i-'Alamgiri,* a history of Aurangzeb from his rise to power to the thirty-fourth year of his reign, i.e. A.H. 1101-2/A.D. 1689-90.[9]

1. Jhaveri, p. 98-99.
2. Jhaveri, p. 74-75.
3. Rieu/BM, Vol. III, p. 967.
4. Rieu/BM, Vol. I, p. 220-21.
5. Rieu/BM, Vol. III, p. 886.
6. Bankipore, *Catalogue of Persian Arabic Mss. Ed. Abdul Hamid* Vol. VII. p. 45-47.
7. Rieu/BM, Vol. III, Suppl., p. 55; Jhaveri, p. 41.
8. Rieu/BM, Vol. II, p. 690.
9. Rieu/BM, Vol. I, p. 269.

Sayyid Hashim ibn Kamalud-din Muhammad Akbar Husayn Karrar Bukhari Rizvi, born at Broach, composed either in A.H. 1111/A.D. 1699, or in A.H. 1114/A.D. 1702, *Sahaif-us-Sadat*, in three or four parts, containing accounts from the beginning of the world to the time of Hadrat Makhdum Jahaniyan Jahangasht.[1] Jagjiwandas ibn Manohardas Gujarati (d. A.H. 1120/A.D. 1708) wrote in A.H. 1120/A.D. 1708 *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, a short historical account beginning with Muhammad Mu'azzam Shah 'Alam Bahadur Shah, of whom the author was a chronicler.[2] An anonymous writer composed *Tarikh-i-Farsi*, containing details about Qadis, Zamindars and Muhtasibs of Dholka and Broach under the Zila' of Ahmadabad, beginning with the year A.H. 1161/A.D. 1748.[3] Qadi Murtada Husayn known as Allahyar 'Uthmani Bilgirami (b. A.H. 1170/A.D. 1756), who was in the employ of Mubariz-ul-Mulk, the Subahdar of Gujarat, composed *Hadiqat-ul-Aqalim*, a large modern geographical encyclopædia with historical and literary records, in imitation of *Haft Iqlim*. The work is rich in details pertaining to the various periods of Indian History.[4] 'Ali Muhammad Khan, Diwan of Gujarat, during the close of the reign of Muhammad Shah, composed an extensive record of the return of the revenues of the Subahs, which he entitled *Mir'at-i-Ahmadi-i-Subah-i-Ahmadabad Gujarat*. Subsequently he appended historical matter to this work and separately issued the appendix under the title *Khatima-i-Mir'at-i-Ahmadi*. The work was commenced in A. H. 1170/A.D. 1756.[5] Munshi Mugatram of Junagadh wrote *Tasnifat-i-Mugatram*, a detailed historical account of "Sorath", which included a *Qasidah* written on the wedding of Nawab Hamid Khan in A.H. 1201/A.D. 1786 and another *Qasidah* on "Chorwad Vijay", dated A.H. 1204/A.D. 1789.[6] Qadi Muhammad Nurud Din Husayn ibn Qadi Ahmad Husayn (D.A.H. 1286-A.D. 1869), of Broach, wrote *Intikhab-i-Tarikh-i-Gujarat* and *Tarikh-i-Bharuch*.[7] Upadhyay Kurji Jadiv, Mir of Virah, a *parganah* of Bhuj, translated in Persian a Gujarati history of the Jarijah, the ruling tribe of Kutch territory from its origin to A.H. 1235/A.D. 1819, at the request of Mr. Walter, Assistant Resident of Kutch. The translation which is in unidiomatic Persian is entitled *Nisabnama-i-jarija (jadeja)*.[8] Diwan Ranchhurji Amarji Nanavati, a Vadnagra Nagar of Junagadh, wrote *Tawarikh-i-Sorath wa Halar*. The work, written in the beginning of the 19th century, bearing the date A.H. 1240/A.D. 1824, is a valuable contribution based on *Mir'at-i-Ahmadi* and is the one and only work on the History of Saurashtra.[9]

Several works on history were written and or published in the State

1. Jhaveri, p. 101.
2. Jhaveri, p. 12; Rieu/BM, Vol. I, p. 231.
3. Kokil, *Handlist of Persian Mss. in Gujarat Forbes Sabha* p. 76.
4. Ethe IOL, Vol. I, p. 502.
5. Rieu/BM, Vol. I, p. 288-89.
6. Jhaveri, p. 10; Kokil, p. 30-31.
7. Handlist of Qadi of Broach.
8. Rieu-BM, Vol. I, p. 290.
9. Rieu/BM, Vol. III, p. 1041; Jhaveri, p 8-9.

of Bombay during the last century.[1] Mirza Muhammad 'Ali Kashkul of Bombay translated Malcolm's *History of Persia* into Persian in A.H. 1290/A.D.1873. A grandson of Muhammad Habib Khan compiled in Persian an account of the work done by two Iranian ambassadors in India, Haji Khalil Khan and Muhammad Nabi Khan and entitled it *Tarikh-t-Safarat-i-Haji Khalil Khan wa Nabi Khan ba Hindustan.* It was published in A.H.1305/A.D. 1887. Bomanji Dossabhoy of Bombay wrote in A.H.1305/A.D.1887-a short account of the Jubilee year of Queen Victoria under the title *Tausif-i-Malika-i-Hindustan.* Mirza Muhammad Shirazi published *Aksir-ut-Tawarikh* in A.H.1309/A.D.1891. Mirza Nasrullah Khan Isfahani of Bombay wrote *Turktazan-i-Hind* in A.H.1311/A.D.1893, a history of India from the time of Sultan Mahmud Ghaznavi to the time of the grandson of Aurangzeb. Agha Ab'ul Majda of Bombay translated in Persian in A.H.1312-A.D.1894 an account of the Indian Mutiny of 1857, from a narrative of an English Lady Mrs. Hortestet, who was involved in the Mutiny. Haji Agha of Bombay issued in A.H.1325-A.D.1907, *Intiqad-ut-Tawarikh* a series of Questions and answers on Persian history. Mirza Muhammad Rahim Bilbilai published in A.H.1345-A.D.1926, *Khitaba-i Mua'jaznuma* a Persian political address, which he delivered before the Ukhuwwat-i-Islamiya-i-Iranian-i-Bambay on the dethronement of Ahmadshah Qajar. Behram Phiruzeshah Bharucha of Bombay compiled in A.H. 1350-A.D. 1931, *Dastan-i-Kamil-i-Shahariyar Yazdigerd.* Abd'ul Husayn Spenta translated in A.H.1356-A.D.1937, P. P. Balsara's *Ancient Iran : Its contribution to Human Progress.*

Among the minor writers of historical or miscellaneous diaries in Gujarat may be mentioned :Munshi Balmukund,[2] a nagar of Gujarat, who was living in A.H. 1124/A.D. 1712; Mehta Jagjiwandas,[3] the Waqa'i Nawis of Rajpipla who was living in A.H. 1126/A.D. 1714; Kishindas Mugatram[4] of Gujarat, who was living in A.H. 1177/A.D. 1763; Nandrai Nagar[5] and Munshi Nandlal,[6] both of Ahmadabad; Shivlal Sunderlal Nagar[7] of Ahmadabad, who compiled his diary in A.H. 1162/A.D. 1748; and Bhawanishankar Rai, a Nagar of Petlad who wrote a diary in A.H. 1183/A.D. 1769.

Works on historiography are available in the Deccan in a large number, written mainly in Bijapur and Ahmadnagar. 'Isami, (b. A.H. 711/A.D. 1311, at Delhi), wrote in A.H. 751/A.D. 1350, *Futuh as Salatin*[8] also

1. Catalogue of Books and Periodicals, published as supplements to the Bombay Government Gazette from 1870 to 1942.
2. Jhaveri, p. 55.
3. Jhaveri, p. 45.
4. Jhaveri, p. 53.
5. Jhaveri, p. 53.
6. Jhaveri, p. 50.
7. Jhaveri, p. 52.
8. Devre, *Short History of Persian Language and Literature at the Bahmani, 'Adilshahi and Qutbshahi Courts* (thesis) p. 275-79.

*Isami's *Futuh-as-Salatin* written at Daulatabad, which is outside the present territorial limits of the State of Bombay has been included in this survey, as it was written at the court of the Bahmanis, who then ruled over most of the territories which at present comprise the State of Bombay.

called *Shahnama-i-Hind*, at the request of Sultan 'Alaud Din Bahmani. Shah Tahir Dakhni ibn Shah Radiud Din al-Isma'il al-Husayni (d. A.H. 952-53/A.D. 1545-46 at Ahmadnagar), composed *Fath Nama*, a historical account of the conquest of Sholapur by Burhan Nizamshah of Ahmadnagar, whose court he had joined in A.H. 958/A.D. 1521.[1] Khurshah ibn Qubad al-Husyani, an envoy of Nizamshah of Ahmadnagar to Shah Tahmasp composed during A.H. 970-71/A.D. 1562-63, *Tarikh-i-Ilchi-i-Nizamshah*, a general history from the earliest times upto A.H. 970/A.D. 1562.[2] 'Ali ibn 'Azizullah Tabatabai (d. A.H. 1005/A.D. 1595) undertook the composition of *Burhan-i-Ma'athir*, another history of the Bahmanis and the Nizamshahis from A.H. 742-1004/A.D. 1341-1595, at the request of Sultan Burhan Nizamshah. It includes the accounts of twenty-one Sultans of three dynasties, was commenced in A.H. 1000/A.D. 1591 and is the first exhaustive history of the Nizamshahi dynasty.[3] Mir Rafi'ud Din Ibrahim ibn Nurud Din Taufiq Shirazi (b. A.H. 947A.D. 1540) commenced in A.H. 1017-18/A.D. 1608-9, *Tadhkirat-ul-Muluk*, a history of the 'Adilshahis of Bijapur, from their origin upto A.H. 1020/A.D. 1611 and of the contemporary dynasties of the Deccan. The history begun in A.H. 1009/A.D. 1600 and completed in A.H. 1020/A.D. 1611 is divided into nine parts and an appendix and is written in a plain simple style.[4] Muhammad Qasim Hindushah Astrabadi, known as Firishta (b. A.H. 960/A.D. 1552-53/ at Astrabad) who held the post of the Captain of the Royal Guard at the court of Sultan Murtuda Nizamshah of Ahmadnagar (A.H. 972-996/A.D. 1564-1587) and was called to Bijapur by Ibrahim 'Adilshah (A.H. 988-1037/A.D. 1580-1627), undertook at the latter's request the composition of *Gulshan-i-Ibrahimi* or *Tarikh-i-Nawras-nama*, a history which "deservedly holds the first rank among the general histories of India and is the main source of later works of the same class.[5] It was dedicated to the king in A.H. 1015/A.D. 1606-7. Fuzuni Astrabadi of the court of Sultan Muhammad of Bijapur, began in A.H. 1050/A.D. 1640, *Futuhat-i-'Adilshahi*, a history, in six parts, of the 'Adilshahis of Bijapur, from their origin to A.H. 1054/A.D. 1644.[6] Qadi Nurullah composed *Tarikh-i-'Ali-i-'Adilshahiya*, a historical account of 'Ali 'Adilshah's reign upto A.H. 1076/A.D. 1655.[7] Mulla Zuhur ibn Zuhuri composed *Muhammadnama*, a historical account from Ibrahim 'Adilshah's reign upto the end of Muhammad 'Adilshah's reign (A.H. 988-1068-A.D. 1580-1657).[8] Abul Qasim wrote *Guldasteh*, a history comprising the first twenty-one years of the reign of Muhammad 'Adilshah of Bijapur (A.H. 1037-67/A.D. 1627-56) especially his southern campaign and conquest of

1. Bankipore, Vol. II, supplt. pp. 94-95
2. Rieu-BM, Vol. I, p. 312-13.
3. Rieu-BM, Vol. I, p. 314-15.
4. Rieu-BM, Vol. I, p. 316; BOD-OX, Vol. I, p. 146; Rehastek, p. 73.
5. Rieu-BM, Vol. I, p. 225.
6. Rieu-BM, Vol. I, p. 317.
7. Devre, p. 404.
8. Devre, p. 404.

Jinji. Mir Ibrahim Lari-i-Asadkhani, a descendant of Asad khan-i-Lari wrote a history of the Adilshahi dynasty, during the time of 'Ali 'Adilshah (A.H. 1068/A.D. 1657-1672).[1] Shaikh Abul Hasan ibn Qadi 'Abdul 'Aziz wrote another history of the 'Adilshahis from the rise of the dynasty till A.H. 1097/A.D. 1685.[2] Wajid 'Alikhan, the grandson of Nawab 'Ali mardan khan, who left for Poona, joined the service of Baji Rao and participated actively in his wars for four years, composed *Gulshan-i-Jang*, an account of these wars, during A.H. 1230-33/A.D. 1814-17).[3] Ghulam Murtada, alias Salih Hadrat, composed *Basatin us Salatin* another history, in eight parts, of the 'Adilshahi dynasty from its origin to the conquest of Bijapur by Aurangzeb.[4] The author, who composed this work in A.H. 1238/A.D. 1822, is according to Grant Duff, "the most respectable and best informed person in Bijapur." Sayyid Badrud Din of Chinchod, near Ahmadnagar, wrote *Kaifiat-i-Jang-i-Kabul*, an account in Persian of the work of the English army in Kabul and the battle of Lahore with the Sikhs. It ends with the date A.H. 1262/21st April 1845.[5] The same Mir Badrud Din of Chinchod, Ahmadnagar, wrote Ahwal-i-Mahratta Shivaji, which is really speaking an account of the events that happened after the accession of Baji Rao II to the end of his reign.[6]

Like historiography, biography too was a theme popular with the Persian writers of the State of Bombay. To begin with the biographies written in Gujarat: Makhdum Sayyid Sharafud Din Mashhadi Bharuchi of Broach (d. A.H. 808/A.D. 1405), a disciple of Hadrat Makhdum Jahaniyan Jahangasht and later his son-in-law, who had settled down at Makhdumpura, Broach, wrote *Jawahir-i-Mashhadi*, an account of the saint and his family.[7] Muhammad Abu'l Qasim of Sarkhez, Ahmadabad, a disciple of the great Indian saint Ahmad Khattu Gujarati or Ahmad-i-Maghribi, (b. A.H. 738/A D. 1337-38; d. A.H. 849/A.D. 1445-46), wrote *Malfuzat-i-Ahmad-i-Maghribi*, alternatively entitled *Risalatul Kapir*, a biography of the saint, his utterances and miracles. The work which appears to have been written after the saint's death in A.H. 849/A.D. 1445-46, is of great historical value.[8] Sayyid Mahmud 'Irji Ahmadabadi (d. A H. 865/A.D. 1460), another disciple of Shaikh Ahmad Khattu, wrote his biography entitled *Tuhfatul Majalis*, during A.H. 849/A.D. 1445-46.[9] Shah Ghazni ibn Sulayman (d. A.H. 922/A D. 1516) of Gujarat composed *Manjanshahi* or *Qumchi*, containing a biographical account of the great saint Shah 'Alam and his miracles.[10] Shaikh Faid Muhammad of Ahmadabad composed *Risala-i-Qadamiya*, a short account of "Qadam-i-Sharif" the footprint of the Holy Prophet, which was brought

1. Devre, p. 404.
2. Devre, p. 405.
3. Rieu, BM, Vl. III, p. 969.
4. Rieu-BM, Vol. I, p. 319; Devre, p. 405.
5. Shaikh, p. 228.
6. Shaikh, p. 239.
7. Kokil, p. 54; Jhaveri, p. 3.
8. Jhaveri, p. 76; Ivanow-*Catalgue of Persian MSS in the Asiati Society of Bengal* ASB, Vol. I. p. 91.
9. Kokil, p, 55.
10. Jhaveri, p. 100; Kokil, p. 56.

to Ahmadabad by Abu Turab Wali in A.H. 989/A.D. 1581, with the permission of Akbar.[1] Maulana Yusuf-b-Ahmad translated into Persian in A.H. 889/A.D. 1484, *Tarikh-i-Ibn Khallikan* and entitled it *Manzar ul-A'yan (Insan) fi Tarjumati Ibn Khallikan.*[2] Fayd Allah-b-Zainul 'Abidin, Husaynud Din Binbani of Champanir, composed *Majma' un Nawadir* in A.H. 903/A.D. 1497, during the reign of Mahmud Begda. It contains details about different classes of society such as kings, ministers, poets etc.[3] Aramshah Kashmiri, born at Mahmudabad near Ahmadabad wrote *Tuhfat us Sadat,* an account of the life of Sayyid Mubarak who died in A.H. 965/A.D. 1557.[4] Sayyid Ahmad-b-Sayyid Rafi'ud Din-b-Sayyid Jalal Shirazi (d. A.H. 1018/A.D. 1609) composed *Futuhat-i-Ahmadi wa Rafi'i,* an account of sayyids from the Prophet Muhammad down to his own ancestor, Sayyid Ahmad Ja'afar Shirazi of Ahmadabad, and also of his own father.[5] Khwaja Muhammad Qasim Ridwan of Surat composed in A.H. 1019/A.D. 1610, *Manaqib ul Akhyar,* a biography of Hadrat Sayyid Jamalud Din called Danasahib Surati.[6] 'Abdul Latif b-'Abdullah al-'Abbasi Gujarati of Ahmadabad (d.A.H. 1048-49/A.D. 1638–39) composed in A.H. 1021/A.D. 1612, *Khulasatush Shu'ara,* a small biography of Persian poets, which was intended to serve the purpose of an introduction in Muhammad Sufi's *Butkhana.*[7] Sayyid Muhammad Maqbul i 'Alam Jalali-b-Sayyid Jalaluddin Husyan 'Mah-i-'Alam' Ridwi Bukhari (b.A.H. 989/A.D. 1581; d.A.H. 1045-A.D. 1635) composed in A.H. 1022-A.D. 1613, *Jum'aat-i-Shahiya* or *Lataif-i-Shahiya* in seven volumes, a biographical account of Hadrat Shah 'Alam Bukhari.[8] Sayyid Ja'afar 'Badr-i-'Alam-b-Sayyid Jalal 'Maqsud-i-'Alam' Bukhari Ridwi b. A.H. 1023/A.D. 1614) at Ahmadabad. d. A.H. 1085/A.D. 1674), composed *Raudat-i-Shahiya,* an account in twenty-four parts containing the details of the lives of saints and also of *Tafsir* and *Hadith.*[9] Mansur-b Chand Muhammad ibn Shaikh Muhammad Munir of Ahmadabad wrote in A.H. 1119/A.D. 1707, *Tuhfat-ul-Qari,* a biographical history of his own ancestors.[10] Sayyid 'Abdur Rahim-b-Sayyid Muhammad Ahmadi Refai'i al-Qadiri composed in about A.H. 1143/A.D. 1730, *Rawdatul Ansab,* containing the *kursinama* (genealogical tables) of well-known families of Gujarat.[11] Shaikh Nizamuddin-b-Shaikh Muhammad A'aras Yahya wrote in A. H. 1155/A. D. 1742, *Makhzan-ul-A'aras,* a biographical account of the well-known saints of Gujarat.[12] Muhammad Qasim ibn Sayyid 'Abdur Rahman Chishti Bukhari 'Budhdha', born in Ahmadabad, wrote in A.H. 1182/A.D. 1768, *Safinatus Sadat,* containing accounts of the Prophet's family and of the saints Shah 'Alam, Qutb-i-'Alam and

1. Jhaveri, p, 101-2.
2. Jhaveri, p. 72-73.
3. Chagtayi; *Muslim monuments of Ahmadabad* p. 9.
4. Jhaveri, p. 9.
5. Kokil, p. 57; Jhaveri, p. 38.
6. Jhaveri, p. 39; Shaikhmiya, *Haqiqat-i-Surat* p. 17.
7. Sayyid, Akber 'Ali Tirmidhi *Paper on al-'Abbasi* p.
8. Kokil, p. 61 Jhaveri, p. 88.
9. Jhaveri p. 86.
10. Jhaveri p. 73-74.
11. Kokil, p. 76.
12. Kokil, p. 75.

Makhdum Jahaniyan and historical information on Gujarat.[1] Maulana 'Abdul 'Aziz of Kalupur, Ahmadabad, wrote during the 12th century A. H. *Shama'il-i-Muhammad,* a biography of the Prophet.[2] Shaikh Rashidud-Din Chishti of Ahmadabad composed at about the same time *Mukhbir-al-Awlia,* an account of the saints of Gujarat, somewhere in the middle of the 12th century A.H.[3] Sayyid Muhammad 'Ali ibn Sayyid Ja'afar Yezdi, who migrated from Yezd and settled down at Surat in A.H. 1226/A.D. 1811 in the service of the English, composed in A.H. 1244/A.D. 1828, *Mizan-ul-Akhlaq,* an autobiography and dedicated it to Sir John Malcolm. Divided into 19 chapters, it contains eulogies of Malcolm, John Romer and James Sutherland.[4] Shaikh Ahmad Bakhshumiyan (d. A.H. 1265/A.D. 1848) of Surat compiled *Hadiqa-i-Ahmadi* a biography in three volumes containing notices of nearly 4688 saints. The work is based on more than four hundred sources.[5] Qadi Nurud Din Husayn ibn Qadi Sayyid Ahmad Husayn 'Fa'iq' (d. A.H. 1286 A.D. 1878), grandfather of the present Qadi of Broach, wrote in A.H. 1286/A.D. 1878, *Makhzanush Shu'ara* or *Makhzanul Insha, a Tadhkera* of *Rekhta* (Urdu) poets of Gujarat, containing accounts of about 109 poets arranged in alphabetical order. The work, (now published by Anjuman Taraqqi-i-Urdu and edited by Dr.A. Haq) was undertaken at the request of two friends of the author, Mir 'Abbas 'Ali Shauq and Mir Haidarsahib Ma'il.[6] The same author also composed *Tadhkeratus Sadat-i-Shiraziya,* an account of his own family, headed by accounts of the Prophet and the martyrs of Kerbala. Shaikh Bahadur, alias Shaikhu miya, (b. A. H. 1246/A.D. 1830; d. A.H. 1308/A.D. 1890), composed *Haqiqat-i-Surat,* at the request of Shaikh Ibrahim Ba'akza, the *Khatib* of the Jami' Mosque of Bombay. It contains accounts of saints and other well-known families of Surat, dating from A. H. 1265/A. D. 1848 to the time of composition of the book.[7] Munshi 'Abdul Hakim-b-Shaikh 'Abu'l Wahhab 'Abbasi wrote *Tadhkeratus Salihin,* another account of the well-known families of Gujarat.[8] Shaikh Fathullah Shattari-b-Muhammad, born at Ahmadabad (or Surat?), wrote *Mu'nis-al-Talibin,* a biography of the celebrated saint Maulana Muhammad Ghauth Gwaliari, who visited Gujarat.[9]

In the last century,[10] too, several biographical works were written and or published in the State of Bombay. Faqir Muhammad Sadiq Shihabi wrote *Manaqib-i-Ghauthia,* an account of the miracles of the saint, Sayyid 'Abdul Qadir Gilani and published it in Bombay in A.H. 1307/A.D. 1886. Mirza Muhammad Shirazi composed in A.H. 1307/A.D.

1. Jhaveri p. 100.
2. Kokil, p. 70.
3. Jhaveri p. 79.
4. Rieu OM. Vol. I. p. 388.
5. Shaikumiya, p. 2.
6. Jhaveri, p. 33; Shaikh p. 150-51.
7. Jhaveri, p. 40, 93.
8. Jhaveri, p. 40.
9. Jhaveri, p. 94.
10. Catalogue of Books and Periodicals, published as supplements to the Bombay Government Gazette, from 1870 to 1942.

1889, *Tadhkeratul Khawatin*, a biographical sketch of eminent Persian, Arab and Indian ladies. 'Abdul Mahdi Mughal of Bombay compiled in A.H. 1312/A.D. 1894, *Kitab-i-Dah Hikayat*, comprising miracles of prophets. Faramarz Naoruzji Kutar wrote in A.H. 1313/A.D. 1895, a biography entitled *Ahwal-i-Sir Jamshedji Jeejeebhai, Baronet*. *Muntakhab-i-Nafis Athar-i-Shaikhur Ra'is*, a biography of Abu Hasan Mirza, alias Shaikhur Ra'is of Bombay, a descendant of 'Alishah of Iran, was published in Bombay in A.H. 1314/A.D. 1896. Khudabakhsh Bahram Ra'is of Bombay published in A.H. 1315/A.D. 1897, *Guldasta-i-Chaman-i-Ayin-i-Zartusht*, a biography of Zoroaster. A. S. Irani composed in A.H. 1337/A.D. 1918 *Karnama-i-Parsiyan-i-Hindustan*, an account of the eminent Parsis of India. Ardshir Khudabakhsh Irani 'Bahjat' wrote in A.H. 1362/A.D. 1943, an autobiography under the title of *Bahjat-ul-Athar*.

The writers of the Deccan do not seem to have devoted much attention to this class of literature and very few works of a biographical nature are accessible.

Epistolography : Epistolography too was a fairly popular subject with the writers of Gujarat. Hafiz Muhammad Fadil of Surat wrote in A.H. 854/A.D. 1450, *Majmua'-i-Faid wa Fadl*.[1] Sayyid Muhammad Sirajuddin 'Shah 'Alam', (b. A.H. 817/A.D. 1414; D. A.H.880/A.D. 1475), has left a collection of *Khutut*.[2] 'Abdul Latif-b-'Abdullah al 'Abbasi Gujarati (d. A.H. 1048-49/A.D. 1638-39) compiled *Ruqa'at-i-'Abdul Latif*, a rare collection of official letters, being the correspondence of Lashkarkhan, Governor of Kabul, whom the author had served a while. The work is of great historical interest regarding the reign of Jahangir.[3] A Nagar Brahmin of Gujarat compiled *Nav Bada-i-Madhavi*, a collection of letters written to his son Gokulchand, which is dated A.H. 1102/A.D. 1690.[4] Karsonji Vedanti, another Gujrati Nagar, composed *Ruqa'at-i-Gharib*.[5] Kewal Krishanji,[6] of Gujarat and Munshi Kalachand[7] of Ahmadabad have also composed *Ruqa'at*. Mehta Sukhram, another Nagar of Gujarat has preserved his correspondence with Munshi Kalachand and he was living in A.H. 1119/A.D. 1707.[8] Munshi Balmukund, a Nagar of Gujarat, living in A.H. 1124/A.D. 1712, the Munshi of Nawwab Abdullah Khan,[9] and Mehta Shobharam (d. A.H. 1131/A.D. 1718), a Nagar of Ahmadabad, also wrote *Ruqa'at*.[10] Raja Chhabilaram, (d. A.H. 1131/A.D. 1718), a Nagar Brahmin of Gujarat, and others, such as Raja Girdhar Bahadur and Raja Chimna, compiled *'Aj'aib-ul-Afaq wa Gharaib-ul-Dahr*, a notable collection of epistles, written by the Emperor Farrukhsiyar and Mahmudshah and by the chief officers of the State to Raja

1. BOD/OX, Vol. I, p. 854.
2. Jhaveri, p. 95-96.
3. Ivanow/ASB, Vol. I, p. 159.
4. Jhaveri, p. 4.
5. Jhaveri, p. 4.
6. Jhaveri, p. 55.
7. Jhaveri, p. 86.
8. Jhaveri, p. 43.
9. Jhaveri, p. 55.
10. Jhaveri, p. 57.

Chhabila Ram and others,[1] *Ruqa'at-i-Girdharimal* was written in about A. H. 1237/A. D. 1821 and contains the correspondence between the officers of Gujarat, including the Mutasaddi of Surat, and the Faujdars of Cambay and Baroda.[2] Mir Amanullah Husayni of Gujarat also wrote a collection of letters.[3] Kishordas Chhabildas Desai of Broach, the Munshi of the Nawwabs of Broach and the great-grandfather of Shri K. M. Munshi, composed a book of correspondence of about 300 pages and one of the dates mentioned in this important historical work is A.H. 1186/A.D. 1772.[4] Mir Muhammadkhan Fadl-i-Husayn khan Hamadani of the Bakhshi Family of Surat composed in A.H. 1222/A.D. 1807, *Waqay'a-i-Ahsan-al-Madaih*, a work on *Insha*.[5] Sayyid Muhammad-b Sayyid Zainul 'Abidin of Broach, (d. A.H. 1252/A.D. 1836), an ancestor of the present Qadi of Broach, compiled *Makhtutat*, a collection of epistles between the Sindhiya Government of Broach and the nobles of Gujarat during the 12th century A.H.[6] Hafiz Muhammad Musa wrote in A.H. 1195/A.D. 1780, *Pardakht-i-Musawi* or *Kitab-i-Musawi*, a work showing how *firmans*, *parwanas* and letters to nobles were written for Diwan Ranchhurji of Junagadh.[7] Ranchhurji Amarji of Junagadh, compiled *Ruqa'at-i-Ranchhurji*, his own letters to Fadl-i-'Ali and those received by him, in the beginning of the nineteenth century. These epistles throw considerable light on the History of Junagadh.[8]

In the Deccan, we have an eminent collection of letters known as *Riyad-ul-Insha*[9] and *Manazir-ul-Insha*, (MS) compiled by Mahmud-i-Gawan, (d. A.H. 886/A.D. 1481), a vazir of the Bahmani kings of Bidar in the Deccan.

Religio-Mystical Literature : There is a fourth category of literature met with in the State of Bombay, which is partly religious and partly mystical in character and can be traced to the ultra-religious tendencies of the Muslims and to the influence of several saints who had made Gujarat and the Deccan their spheres of activity. Most of these works are in the nature of exegetical commentaries on the Holy Qur'an or the Prophetic Traditions or interpretations of Mystical philosophy, theology and scholasticism.

Gujarat : Fadlud Din Muhammad ibn Qiwam Balkhi of Kadi, near Patan Gujarat, wrote a commentary on Nizami Ganjawi's *Makhzan-ul-Asrar* after A.H. 795/A.D. 1392. Makhdum Sayyid Sharfuddin Mashhadi Bharuchi of Broach (d. A.H. 808/A.D. 1405) wrote *Sahaif-al-Huwaiya* on mysticism.[10] Kamalud Din Husayn Khwarazmi (d. A.H. 845-46/A.D.

1. Jhaveri, p. 11-12; Kokil, p. 44; Rieu/ BM, Vol. III, p. 986.
2. Jhaveri, p. 13.
3. Kokil, p. 70.
4. Jhaveri, p. 64.
5. Kokil, p. 76.
6. Kokil, p. 71.
7. Kokil, p. 26.
8. Kokil, p. 33; Jhaveri, p. 10.
9. BOD/OX, Vol. I, p 830, is now printed at the Govt. Central Presss, Hyderabad-Deccan. *Ed.*
10. Handlist of Qadi of Broach.

1441-42) rendered into Persian *Maqsad-ul-Aqsa*, a collection of 25 mystical treatises of Shaikh 'Aziz-b-Muhammad Nasafi. Some of the *Risalas* are entitled *Manzil-i-Ulema, Dar Afrinash-i-Arwah-o-Ajsam, Dar Muhabbat-o-'Ishq'*. Hadrat Makhdum Sayyid Yahya (d.A.H. 850/A.D. 1446) took up residence at Baroda, where he wrote *Majalis-i-Burhani, Mashaghil-i-jalali, Mashaghil-i-Muta'ali* and *Mashaghil-i-Burhani*.[1] Allama Samnani Muhammad-b-'Ali-b-Rashid composed in A. H. 855/A. D. 1451, *Sukut-al-'Ashiqin*, a treatise on mysticism. Muhammad Sadiq Shihabi Sa'adi Qadiri, a pupil of Sayyid 'Abdul Qadir-b-Sayyid 'Abdul Jalil Gharib Allah, who lived in the beginning of the ninth century A.H. composed *Manaqib-i-Ghauthia*, at Ahmadabad, an account in 50 chapters of the doctrines and spiritual tenets of the founder of the Qadiri order.[2] Hadrat 'Uthman Shama' i Burhani, (d. A.H. 863/A.D. 1458), who had settled in Bahauddinpur near Ahmadabad, wrote *Madarij-ul-Ma'arij*.[3] Sayyid Muhammad Maqbul-i-'Alam Jalali-b-Sayyid Bakhshi Ridvi (d. A.H. 880/A.D. 1475), also known as Miya Manjhla or Manzan, a disciple and descendant of the great Sufi saint of Gujarat, Makhdum-i-Jahaniyan Shah 'Alam, composed. *Lataif i-Shahi*, a treatise on prayers, invocations and theological, magical and cabbalistical speculations connected with mystical doctrines.[4] 'Abdul Latif-b-Jamaluddin of Naharwala Patan, composed in A.H.877/A.D. 1472, *Risala-i-Dastur dar Khilafat*, a treatise on mysticism. Baha'ud-Din Ibrahim-al-Ansari-al-Qadiri al Chishti, who lived in Gujarat in the beginning of the 10th century A.H., wrote *Risala-i-Shattariya'* a treatise in four parts on the *Dhikr* and the principles of Asceticism, according to the rules of the Shattariya school.[5] Muhammad-b-Khatiruddin-b-Latif-b-Mu'inuddin Qattal-b-Khatiruddin-b-Yazid (b. A.H. 906/A.D. 1500-1) of Gujarat, composed *Jawahir-i-Khamsa*, probably completed in A.H. 928/A.D. 1521-22, a treatise on the forms of devotion, prescribed for a Muslim in general and a follower of the Shattari school in particular.[6] Abu Salih Shaikh Hasan Muhammad of Gujarat (d. A.H. 982/A.D. 1574), composed *Sharh-i-Nuzhat-ul-Arwah*.'[7] 'Allama Wajihuddin-b-Nasrullah 'Arwai (b. A.H. 911 A.D. 1505; d. A.H. 998/A.D. 1589) of Gujarat, teacher of rational and traditional sciences at Ahmadabad, was the author of nearly thirty books, mostly commentaries, including *Sharh i Lawaih* and *Sharh i Jam i Jahan Numa*.[8] Khub Muhammad Chishti (d A.H. 1023/A.D. 1614) of Ahmadabad wrote a Persian commentary entitled *Amwaj i Khubi* on his own Urdu Mathnawi *Khub Tarang*, in A.H. 1000/A.D. 1591. He also composed other mystical treatises entitled *Jam i Jahan Numa, Aqidat i Sufiya, Khulasa i Maujudat, Risala i Sulh i Kul* and *Hifz i Maratib* [9]

1. Kokil, p. 55; Shaikhmiya, p. 22.
2. Ethe/IOL, Vol. I, p. 984-85.
3. Jhaveri, p. 71-72.
4. Kokil, p. 56; Ivanow/ASB, Vol. I, p. 595-96.
5. Ivanow/Curzon, p. 302.
6. Ivanow/ASB, Vol. I, Supplet, p. 73.
7. Hayy, p. 55: Chagtai, p. 84.
8. Hayy, p, 57 58; Kokil, p. 62-63; Bankipore, Vol. XVII, p. 66-67.
9. Jhaveri, *Catalogue of Persian Mss. in the Curzon Collection* p. 80.

Sayyid Ahmad-b-Sayyid Rafi 'ud Din-b-Sayyid Jalal Muhammad Sayyid Ja'afar (a descendant of Sayyid Ahmad Ja'afar Shirazi of Ahmadabad) composed in A. H. 1020 / A. D. 1611, *Muniyatul 'Arifin-Sharh-i Zad al 'Ashiqin.* 'Abdul Latif-b-'Abdullah al-'Abbasi Gujarati (d. A.H. 1048/A.D. 1638-39) of Ahmadabad, composed several works on the *Mathnawi* of Maulana Rum, entitled *Nuskha i Nasikha-i-Mathnawiyyat i-Saqima*, a recension of the *Mathnawi*, *Lataif-i-Lughat*, a glossary of the *Mathnawi* and *Lataif ul Ma'anwi min Haqaiq al Mathnawi*, a commentary on the *Mathnawi.* Sayyid Muhammad Ridvi Maqbul i 'Alam Jalali Bukhari, (d. A.H. 1045/A.D. 1635) who visited Gujarat, composed *Tarjuma -i-Qur'an dar Farsi*, (claimed to be the first translation of the Holy Qur'an in India), at the request of Jahangir.[1] Shaikh Hamid-b-Shaikh 'Abdul Majid, 'Umdat ut Tujjar, (born at Ahmadabad and (d. A.H. 1113/A.D. 1701), who arrived in Surat in A.H. 1050/A.D. 1640, composed *Risala-i-Hamidiya.*[2] Sayyid Ja'afar 'Badr i 'Alam' (d. A.H. 1085/A.D. 1674) of Gujarat composed *Sad Hikayat*, a work dealing with the miracles of Hadrat Qutb i 'Alam and Hadrat Shah 'Alam. He also composed *A'mal wa Ashghal*, a mystical work containing the incantations of these two saints.[3] Shaikh 'Abdul Fattah 'Askari Gujarati (d. A.H. 1090/A.D. 1679) wrote a commentary on the *Mathnawi* of Rumi.[4] Wali Gujarati, the famous poet of Ahmadabad, wrote in A.H. 1111/A.D. 1699 *Nur al Ma'arifat*, an account of the Madrasa i Hidayat Bakhsh and a mosque built by Maulana Nuruddin Siddiqi. Shaikh Muhammad Fadil-b-Shaikh Hamid (d. A.H. 1129/A.D. 1716) of Baroda composed *Ma'adin al Fadayal, Sharh-i-Shimay'al, Kitab-i-Nasihat-i-Sughar, Kitab-i-Hidayatul Miskin, Hashiya-i-Durar* on theology, *Kitab-i-Khanab-i-Makhrub* on Tradition and *Sharh-i-Dalail al Khayrat.*[5] Kishanchand-b-Ramchand of Ahmadabad, composed in A.H. 1136/A.D. 1723, *Harbans Puran*, a Persian translation of Hari Vansa, which is the appendix (of the 19th Parva) of the *mahabharatha.* Sayyid Sa'adullah Surati, (d. A.H. 1138/A.D. 1725) wrote *Kashf ul Haqq, Risala-i-thubut-i-Madhhab-i-Shi'a, Risala-i-Tuhfat ur Rasul* and *Risala-i-Chehel Bayt-i-mathnawi*, all pertaining to mysticism.[6] Hadrat Pir Muhammadshah of Ahmadabad (b. A.H. 1100/A.D. 1688) composed in A.H. 1140/A.D. 1727, *Nur ush Shuyukh*, comprising two *Risalas.*[7] Shaikh Muhammad Salih Pirbaba (d. A.H. 1147/A.D. 1734) of Ahmadabad, composed *Nur al 'Irfan*, containing the account of the Madarsa-i-Hidayat Bakhsh of Ahmadabad.[8] Khwaja Faidal Hasan-b-Nur al Hasan (b. A.H. 1098/A.D. 1686: d. A. H. 1151/A. D. 1738) of Surat wrote *Sharh-i-Kaidani*, alternatively known as *Farrukhsiyarshahi*, on theology.[9] Maulana Nurud Din-b-Muhammad Salih (d. A.H. 1155/A.D. 1742) of

1. Hayy, p. 64.
2. Jhaveri, p. 90-91; Shaikhmiya, p. 73.
3. Kokil, p, 62.
4. Bankipore, Vol. I, p. 109.
5. Shaikhmiya, p. 75.
6. Kokil, p. 66.
7. Jhaveri, p. 81.
8. Jhaveri, p. 38; Kokil, p. 58-59.
9. Shaikhmiya, p. 20.

Ahmadabad, was the author of nearly 150 commentaries and marginal notes in Persian and Arabic. [1] Khwaja Nur 'Ali ibn Nur al Hasan (d. A.H. 1164/A.D. 1750) of Surat, composed *Kanz al Fawaid.*[2] The Qadimi Parsis of Surat had addressed seventy-eight questions on religious subjects to the priests of Yezd and Kerman in A.H. 1187/A.D. 1773 and a complete version of their answers is known as *Riwayat-i-Haftad o Hasht.* Maulvi Khairuddin Muhammad Zahid Surati (d. A.H. 1206/A.D. 1791), composed *Shawahid ul Tajdid, Irshadul Talibin, Kitab-i-Silsila* and *Risala-i-Shaghl o Ashghal.*[3] Shaikh Sultan Bhaimiya of Cambay, wrote in A.H. 1248/A.D. 1832, *Mir'at ul Haqiqat*, a treatise on mysticism.[4] Qadi Sayyid Ahmad Husayn ibn Sayyid Muhammad, (d. A.H. 1273/A.D. 1856), the Shahr Qadi of Broach, composed a treatise *Siraj ul Huda fi Ma'arifat-i-'Ali-i-Mustafa,* on *Sirat*; he also wrote one on mysticism[5] entitled *Irshad-i-Ahmadi* and *Ahkam-i-Qudat ul Muslimin* on religion and theology and a Bayad on theology and tradition.[6] Khwaja ibn Ahmad ibn Mahmud, who flourished during the period of Sultan Muzaffarshah, composed *Dastur al Ihtisab*, a translation of *Ihtisab ul Ihtisab*, on theology. [7]

Ibn Nuruddin Muhammad Suhrawardi, a disciple of Muhammad 'Abdullah, a dervish of Pirana near Ahmadabad, wrote *Awrad al Awrad*, a book on the prayers of Sufis, in three parts.[8] Khwaja Muhammad Dehdar Surati of Surat wrote *Hashiya-i-Nafahat ul Uns*, and *Kitab-i-Khulasat ur Rahman fi Ta'awil-i-Khutbat al Bayan.*[9] Khwaja Faidul Hasan ibn Khwaja Nur al Hasan of Surat wrote *Fatawa-i-Faid-i-Naqshbandiya.*[10] Shaikh Muhammad Salih of Gujarat composed *Tuhfat al 'Irfan-i-Hadith*, a translation in Persian of the original Arabic collection of 40 traditions about the upkeep of horses by Maulana Nuruddin Siddiqi. He also composed in Persian a marginal note entitled *Mubarak al Hadith Azhar, Sharh-i-Mashariq al Anwar*, on the Arabic *Sharh* of 'Abdul Latif, and a treatise on mysticism entitled *Ahwal o Aqwal-i-Buzurgan.*[11] Diwan Ranchhurji Amarji of Junagadh translated into Persian, in the beginning of the 19th century, *Ashwa Megh Parva* and *Karan Parva* under the title of *Karan Parva.*[12]

Numerous works in Persian pertaining to Islam and Zoroastrianism

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1. Hayy. Yad-i-Ayyam 62; Jhaveri, p. 88-89.
2. Shaikhmiya, p. 20.
3. Shaikh, *Catalogue of Persian Mss. in the library of the university of Bombay* p. 329.
4. Shaikhmiya, p. 30; Hayy, p. 62-63.
5. Jhaveri, p. 40.
6. Kokil, p. 72.
7. Kokil, p. 68.
8. Ivanow, ASB. Vol. I, Supplt. p. 77.
9. Shaikhmiya, p. 69.
10. Kokil, p. 66.
11. Kokil, p. 58-59.
12. Kokil, p. 36, Jhaveri, p. 10.

have been published in the State of Bombay during the last eighty years:—[1]

Bomanji Byramji Patel: *Dar Zuhur-i-Zartusht*: A.H. 1287/A.D. 1870.

Mubid Tirandaz Ardshir Irani: *Khurdeh Avesta Ba Ma'ani*: A.H. 1290/A.D. 1873.

Anonymous: *Qisas al-Anbiya*: A.H. 1293/A.D. 1876.

'Abdul 'Aziz: *Tafsir-i-'Azizi*: Commentary on Para 29-30: A.H. 1298/A.D. 1878.

Muhammad ibn Murtada: *Kalemat-i-Maknunah*: A.H. 1297/A.D. 1889; on Metaphysics.

Anonymous: *Lubab al-Akhbar*: On traditions: A.H. 1297/A.D. 1879.

Sayyid 'Ata Husayn: *Kanz-ul-Ansab*: On geneology of saints: A.H. 1302/A.D. 1884.

Abu Bakr ibn Muhammad 'Ali Qurashi: *Anis ul Muwa'izin*: A.H. 1303/A.D. 1885.

Mirza Shakir Teherani translated *Minhaj-ul-Yaqin*: A.H. 1304/A.D. 1886.

Mas'ud ibn Mahmud: *Salat-i-Mas'udi*: On prayers: A.H. 1305/A.D. 1887.

Sayyid Muhammad Hashim: *Mujarrabat-i-Hashimi*: A.H. 1306/A.D. 1888.

Sayyid Muhammad Diya: *Akhlaq-i-Diyayi*: A.H. 1311/A.D. 1893.

Shaikh Isma'il Ashghan *Wathiqa-i-Najat*: A.H./1313/A.D. 1895.

Haji Muhammad Hasan Haji Muhammad Isfahani of Bombay: *Majma'-ul-Masa'il*: Precepts of the Shi'a Sect: A.H. 1315/A.D. 1897.

Shaikh 'Ali Malati: *Manasik-i-Hajj*: A.H. 1315/A.D. 1897.

Dastur Khudayar: *Khubi Numa-i-Din Zartusht*: A.H. 1316/A.D. 1898.

Muhammad Hasan Shushtari: *Sahifa*: Shi'a prayers: A.H. 1316/A.D. 1898.

Haji Muhammad Husayn: *Burhan al-Labib wa Tuhfat al-Jami*: On the Interpretation of the Qur'an: A.H. 1316/A.D. 1898.

Rustam Bahram: *Dabistani Mazdayasni*: A.H. 1325/A.D. 1907.

Agha Mirza Abu Talib Shirazi: *Asrar-ul-'Aqaid*: On Babi religion: A.H. 1327/A.D. 1909.

Akhund Mulla Muhammad Kazini Khurasani: *Dhakhiratul 'Ubbad fi Yaum-ul-Milad*: On Shi'a Faith: A H 1327/A.D 1909.

Maulvi Hidayatullah: *Khazinatul Fawa'id*: A.H. 1328/A.D. 1910.

Haji Mirza Agha Sharif Shirazi: *Ganj-i-'Azim*: On tradition: A.H. 1332/A.D. 1913.

Muhammad Jabila Rudi: *Jam'iut Tamthil*: A.H. 1340/A.D. 1921.

Shaikh 'Ali Bihbihani: *Risala*: Religious laws: A.H. 1340/A.D. 1921.

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1. Catalogue of Books and Periodicals, published as supplements to the Bombay Government Gazette from 1870 to 1942.

Shahrukh Kaikhusraw Kirmani : *Furugh-i-Mazdayasni* : A.H. 1340/A.D. 1921.

Agha Sayyid Muhammad Kazim Tabataba : *Ghayat-ul-Quswa* : A.H. 1341/A.D. 1922.

Haji Sayyid Muhammad 'Ali Gulastani : *Kitabul Wasail fi 'l-isabat al-Haqq wa Izhar al-Batil* : A.H. 1341/A D. 1922.

Khudabakhs Shahad : *Ayin-i-din i-Zartushti* : A.H. 1342/A.D. 1923.

Mubid Mihirgan Shiavax Irani, *Du Ism A'azam wa Sad wa Yak Nam-i-Khuda* A.H. 1342/A.D. 1923.

K. A. Fitter : *Sad wa Yak Nam i-Khuda* : A H. 1344/A.D. 1925.

Agha Shaikh Muhammad Tafti : *Qati 'al-Watn* : Refutation of Bahai cult : A.H. 1345/A.D. 1926.

Haji Mirza Ibrahim : Translated *Minhaj-al-Salikin* : A.H. 1346/A.D 1927.

A. Spenta : *Payam-i-Rasti* : A.H. 1348/A.D. 1929.

Agha Pour-i-Daud : *Adabiayat-i-Mazdayasni* : A.H. 1349/A.D. 1930.

Agha Pour-i-Daud : *Khurdoh Avesta* : A.H. 1352/A.D. 1934.

M. A. Mazandi : Translated Prof. S. M. Tahir Ridwi's book "Parsis—People of the Book," under the title *Parsiyan Ahl-i-Kitaband* : A.H. 1356/A.D. 1937.

Haji Mirza Ibrahim : *Rahnumay-i-Khayr* : Appeal to Bombay Shi'as to improve their trusts : A.H. 1358/A.D. 1939.

Agha Pour Daud : "Yasna" : *Research on Zoroastrianism* : A.H. 1359/A.D. 1940.

Khazeh Ardshir Benshahi : *Kitab-i-Pak Jumla Khursedh Avesta* : A.H. 1360/A.D. 1949.

In the Deccan.

Ahmad Munshi of Bijapur composed in A.H. 993/A.D. 1585, *Qisas-al-Anbiya*, containing legends-about prophets from Adam to Muhammad. It is alternatively known as *Tarikh-i-Anbiya.*[1] Kamalud Din Fakhrud Din Jahrami translated into Persian in A.H. 994/A.D. 1585-86, the Arabic work *al-Sawa'eq-al-Muhriqa* of Shihabuddin Ahmad Hajar al-Haythami al-Makki, at the request of Ibrahim 'Adilshah of Bijapur. The Persian version entitled *Barahin-i-Qati'* is faithful to the original in system and arrangement.[2] Khwaja Ahmad Bijapuri (d. A.H. 1016/A.D. 1607) originally from Dehdar, Shiraz, settled down at the court of 'Ali 'Adilshah at Bijapur and then went to the court of Burhan Nizamshah of Ahmadnagar. He was the author of *Sharh-i-Gulshan-i-Raz*, *Hawashi-i-Nafahat-ul-Uns*, *Sharh-i-Khutba-i-Bayan* and *Fasl-ul-Khitab*. Ahmad ibn Nizamuddin composed *Fiqh-i-Ibrahimshahi* on prayers, at the request of Ibrahim 'Adilshah I. Salami Khunji, the panegyrist 'of Ibrahim 'Adilshah II, composed in A.H. 1034/A.D. 1624, *Qurrat-ul-'Uyun* containing

1. Ivanow, ASB, Vol. 1 p. 140.
2. Bankipore *Catalogue of Persian, Arabic Mss. in the oriental Public Library* Vol. XIV, p. 131-32.

spiritual instruction to his own son.[1] Mir Badrud Din alias Bademiya, of Chinchod near Ahmadnagar, wrote *Sarshikan-Mushrikan-i-Kufr*, containing information about religions and prophets, which was completed at Dairā-i-Ahmadnagar in about A.H. 1268/A.D. 1851-52.[2]

Medicine: Gujarat, Muhammad ibn 'Abdullah Lari composed in A.H. 893/A.D. 1488, *Manahil-al-Anzar*, at the request of Mahmudshah I, of Gujarat.[3] Bhuwakhan composed in A. H. 932/A. D. 1525-26, *Ma'adan ush Shifa-i-Sikandarshahi* at the request of Sikandar of Gujarat, a work on Yunani Medicine.[4] Mir Ruhullah Bharuchi, a wellknown physician of Broach, composed in A.H. 991/A.D. 1583, *Fawaid-ul-Insan*, at the request of Akbar and the author was rewarded with a jagir at Khamgam near Broach, for curing the Begam of Jahangir.[5] Sayyid Mir Ruhullah Thani, grandson of the above, wrote in A.H. 1158-61/A.D. 1745-48, in Broach *Ladhdhat-ul-Hayat* on Yunani medicine in the time of Nawab Ne'matkhan of Broach.[6] Pir Muhammad, an inhabitant of Gujarat, wrote in A.H. 1139/A.D. 1726-27, during the reign of Muhammadshah, *Sihat ul Amrad*, a work in seven parts, propounding the treatment of various diseases.[7] Ahmad ibn Muhammad Multani composed *Mujarrab al Shifa*, containing a list of efficacious remedies.[8] Sayyid Qutbud Din ibn Sayyid Muhammad Hashim composed in Surat in A.H. 1211/A.D. 1796, *Risala i Ilm i Buhran*, a medical treatise on crises in diseases.[9] In A.H. 1222/A.D. 1807, a dictionary of drugs entitled *Jami'i Alfaz i Iswi*, was compiled in Surat from the names taken from *Ikhtiyarat i Badi'i* with their Arabic, Persian and Hindustani equivalents "from one Dr. Pudget".[10] Mulla Firuz ibn Kaus wrote a short tract on the defence of inoculation of the smallpox, in which he refuted the objections raised by one Dastur Burzorji of Rustampura, Surat. Qadi Sayyid Ahmad Husayn ibn Sayyid Muhammad of Broach (d.A.H. 1273/A.D. 1856) wrote *Mujarrabat i Ahmadi*.[11] Hakim Abdul Ghani composed *Mizan ut Tibb* in A H. 1287/A.D 1870 and Khan Sahib Mirza Muhammad compiled "*Sihatnama i Izdewaj ya Tuhfat al Khawatin*" in A.H. 1325/A.D. 1907.

Music: An anonymous writer composed during the reign of Sultan Firuzshah Tughlaq (A.H. 752-760/A.D. 1351-1378 a treatise on Indian music entitled *Ghunyat-al-Munya*. at the request of his patron Amir Shamsud Dawlah wad Din Ibrahim Abu Rida.[12] Makhdum Sayyid Kamal Qazwini Bharuchi (d.A.H. 881/A.D. 1476) of Broach wrote *Mazahir ul Haqq*, containing the views of the four main Islamic sects on

1. BOD/OX, p. 795.
2. Shaikh, p. 239-40.
3. BOD/OX, p. 959.
4. Kokil, p. 77.
5. Jhaveri, p. 34.
6. Jhaveri, p. 35-36.
7. Ivanow ASB, p. 730.
8. Kokil, p. 42, Jhaveri, p. 32.
9. Rehastek, *Catalogue of Persian Mss. in the Mulla Firuz Library*. p. 99.
10. Rieu/BM, Vol. II, p. 470.
11. Kokil, p. 57.
12. Ethel/OL, Vol. I, p. 116-17.

the permissibility of music.[1] Musa Raushan damir (d.A.H. 1077/A.D. 1666) of Surat, translated into Persian a Hindi work on music and dance entitled *Yar Chatak* (Par Chatak).

Astrology: Hadrat Shah Wajihud Din 'Alawi of Ahmadabad (d.A.H. 998/A.D. 1589) wrote a treatise on astrology entitled *Sharh-i-Risala i Qausji*[2] and Qadi Muhammad Nurud Din Husayn of Broach (d. A.H. 1286 A.D. 1869) composed one entitled *Tal'i-i Nujum.*[3]

Lexicography: Fadlud Din Muhammad ibn Qiwam Balkhi of Kadi, near Patan, Gujarat, compiled a lexicon entitled *Bahr-ul-Fadail* in A.H. 838 A.D. 1434). Sunderlal Nagar of Ahmadabad also compiled a lexicon in A.H. 1235 A.D. 1819.[4] Dastur Darab of Surat, teacher of M. Anquitil, arranged in alphabetical order a Pahlawi-Persian vocabulary entitled *Farhang-i-Pahlawi* of anonymous composition.[5] Muhammad Husayn Tabrizi Burhan compiled the famous lexicography *Burhan-i-Qati'* under the patronage of 'Abdullah Qutbshah.

Fiction:

Chaturbhuj-b-Mihirchand Kayasth of Sonpat who lived in the time of Akbar, translated into Persian from Hindi, *Singhasan Battisi* or Thirty-two Tales of the Throne.[6] Mir Muhammad Taqi al-Ja'fari al-Husayni "Khayal" (d. A.H. 1173/A.D. 1760) of Ahmadabad, who lived in the time of Muhammadshah, commenced in A.H. 1155/A. D. 1742-43, *Bustan-i-Khayal*, a large collection of historical, legendary and romantic stories and fairy tales. The work in nine volumes was completed in A.H. 1169/A.D. 1755 and dedicated to Nawab Rashidud Din Khan Bahadur.[7] Rao Dalpat Singh, born at Ahmadabad, completed in A.H. 1181/A.D. 1767, *Malahat-i-Maqal*, a collection of miscellaneous anecdotes.[8] The author's father Gulab Rai held the office of *Mutasaddi* at Ahmadabad. The following are the works on fiction published in the State of Bombay during the last eighty years:

Sayyid Abdul Fath alias Ashraf 'Ali : *Sad Hikayat* : A. H. 1290/A.D. 1873.

Bomahji Byramji Patel : *Hikayat-i-Latif* : A.H. 1288/A.D. 1871.

Sayyid Muhammad : *Tutinama* A. H. 1293/A. D, 1826.

Anonymous : *Qissa-i-Duzd wa Qadi* . And *Qissa-i-Gurba wa Mish* : 1294/1877.

Nadirshah Hormasji-i-Sukhia · *Tarjuma-i-Aesop Fables* · A.H. 1295/A.D. 1878.

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1. Kokil, p. 55.
2. Kokil, p. 57.
3. Kokil, p. 73-74, Jhaveri, p. 37-38.
4. Jhaveri, p. 62-63.
5. Rieu/BM. Vol. I, p. 52.
6. Rieu/BM: Vol. II, p. 762.
7. Bankipore. Vol. VIII. p. 187, BOD/OX, p. 439.
8. Rieu/BM: Vol. III, p. 1005.

Anonymous : *Hikayat-i-Dilpasand* : A.H. 1301/A.D. 1883.

Mirza Isma'il : *Hikayat-i-Latif* : A.H. 1303/A. D. 1885.

Mirza Muhammad Taqi-b-'Ali Akbar Kazerani : *Kitab-i-Khurshid Afrin* wa Falaknaz : A.H. 1308/A.D. 1890.

Agha Muhammad Ardkani : "*Musaybat-i-Mulla Nasiruddin*.

Mirza Karim Shirazi : *Kitab-i-Chehel Tuti* and *Shahzada Shiruyi* : A.H. 1347/A.D. 1928.

Grammar :

Shaikh Kabiruddin Nagori (d. A.H. 858/A.D. 1454), who migrated to Ahmadabad from Ajmer and Nagor, composed *Sharh-i-Misbah al-Nahv*, on grammar.[1] Maulana 'Abdul 'Aziz of Kalupur, Ahmadabad, wrote in the 12th century A.H. *Mughni-al-Mubtadi*, on grammar.[2] 'Abdul Nabi-b-Qadi 'Abdur Rasul of Ahmadnagar rendered into Persian a very large treatise on Arabic grammar and entitled it *Jami-'al-Ghumuz dar Nahv*.[3] The manuscript of the Persian version is dated A.H. 1226/A.D. 1811. Mulla Firuz-b-Kaus of Bombay compiled *Farhang-i-Lughat-i-Dasatir* in A.H. 1231/A.D. 1815 and also wrote *Risala-i-dar 'Ilm-i-'Uruz Qafiya wa Khulasat-al-Badi'* in A.H. 1239/A.D. 1823.[4]

Miscellaneous works :

Muhammad Sadiq-b-Muhammad Salih Isfahani al Azadani (b.A.H. 1018/A.D. 1609 at Surat) compiled in A. H. 1056/A.D. 1646, *Shahid-i-Sadiq*, a collection of miscellaneous moral and historical anecdotes.[5] Madhodas of Gujarat composed in A.H. 1098/A.D. 1687 *Mika wa Manohar*, a romance of Mika or Menka and Raja Manohar.[6] Sayyid Jalaluddin Hamid i 'Alam-b-Sayyid Muhammad 'Mahbub-i-'Alam', (d. A.H. 1114/A.D. 1702-3) composed *Mir'at-al-Ru'ya* dealing with the interpretation of dreams.[7] Qadi Muhammad Nizamuddin Khan of Ahmadabad (d. A.H. 1151/A.D. 1736) composed *Risala-i-Fadilatul 'Ilm, Mizan-al-Sa'at* and *Risala-i-Qahwa*.[8] Shaikh 'Inayat-b-Shaikh Daku of Surat (or Bombay) composed in about A. H. 1196/A. D. 1781, *Risala-i-Jahazrani*, containing details of navigation, seas and tempests.[9] Sayyid Muhammad Mir Suz of Ahmadabad wrote *Risala-i-Tir Andazi*, a treatise on archery.[10] Khurshid-b-Isfandiyar of Navsari abridged the *Shahnama of-Firdausi* into Persian prose for Captain Aungier.[11] Qadi Sayyid Ahmad

1. Hayy, p. 45.
2. Kokil, p. 70.
3. Rehastek, p. 50.
4. Rehastek, p. 149.
5. Rieu/BM : Vol. II, p. 775.
6. Ethe/IOL.: p. 534.
7. Chaghtai, p. 95.
8. Jhaveri, p. 89-90.
9. Jhaveri, p. 84-85.
10. Jhaveri, p. 83-84.
11. Rieu/BM: Vol. II, p. 54.

Husayn-b-Sayyid Muhammad of Broach (d. A.H. 1273/A.D. 1856) composed *Alwan-i-Ne'mat*, a treatise on cookery.[1] Diwan Ranchhurji Amarji of Junagadh composed *Jangnama-i-Holi*, an artistic description of the Holi celebration.

The following prose works of a miscellaneous nature were written and/or published during the last seventy years.[2]

Shah Muhammad 'Abdullah Mashshaq : *Mahbubshahi-i-Karima* : A.H. 1300/A.D. 1882.

Mufti Tajuddin : *Chamanistan-Sharh* on *Gulistan* : A.H. 1301/A.D. 1883.

Munshi Mubarak Husayn Tajalli : *Tash-i-Ta'alimi*, a game at cards for teaching composition of Persian words to children : A.H. 1302/A.D. 1884.

Munshi Nithar Ahmed : *Majmu'ai Farsi* : A.H. 1303/A.D. 1885.

Abu'l Fadl Husayn : *Kamal-ut-Ta'abir* : A.H. 1303/A.D. 1885.

Jamshedji Bejonji Kanga and Pestonji Cawasji Kanga : *Hints on the Study of Persian* A.H. 1306/A.D. 1888.

Jawaharsingh : *Jauhr-i-Aflak* : A.H. 1398/A.D. 1890 : Preparation of Muslim Calendar.

Anonymous : *Muntakhab-ul-Ne'am* : Muslim dishes A.H. 1308/A.D. 1890.

Muhammad Dehdar : *Jafr-al-Jami'* : on making charms A.H. 1309/A.H. 1891.

H. H. Agha Jahangirshah of Bombay . *Maqalat-i-Jahangirshah* : Information about Persians : A.D. 1313/A.H. 1895.

Hormasji Tehmulji Dadachanji : *Gauhar-i-Danish* : A.H. 1319/A.D. 1901.

Agha Sayyid Muhammad Jawid Shirazi Najafi : *Misbah-ul-Hidayat* : A.H. 1324/ A.D. 1906.

Mirza Ahmad Dara : *Kuh-i-Binish wa Darya-i-Danish* A.H. 1324/A.D. 1906.

Mirza Muhammad Zargain : *Badai'-ul-Athar* : Accounts of Abdul Baha's Travels in Europe : A.H. 1335/A.D. 1916.

Haji Mirza Ibrahim Shirazi : *Izhar-ul-Haqq* : Advice to Bombay Iranians to give up their differences A.H. 1346/A.D. 1927.

D. J. Irani : *Taqwim-i-Bastani* : Views of three eminent Parsis on old and new Persian calendar A.H. 1346/A.D. 1927.

A. K. Irani : *Danishtaniha* : A Miscellany A.H. 1353/A.D. 1931.

Tahira-i-Irani : *Pandnama-i-Chahar Fasl* : Religio-social themes : A.H. 1353/A.D. 1934.

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1. Kokil, p. 73.
2. Catalogue of Books and periodicals in the Bombay Govt. Gazette. 1870-1942.

Academic works ;

More than fifty works of an academic nature, mainly meant for students, were published during the last eighty years. These curricular works dealing mainly with grammar, composition, fiction, and glossary were published as readers or aids, notably by Sohrabji Bahramji Doctor, Sayyid 'Abdul Fatah Munshi, Manekji Dadabhoy Arjani, Hormasji Tehmalji Dadachanji, 'Abdul Karim Munshi, Pestanji C. Kaskar, N. A. Hajib i Shahi, Agha Mirza Ahmad Sa'adat, Shah 'Abdul Karim Sa'adat, Irani Amuzanda Shirmard, D. G. Kulkarni, K. D. J. Lala, Muhammad Mustafakhan, Haji Mirza Hasan and Dr. U. M. Daudpota.

Poetry :

Poets of the State of Bombay have been classified under two main groups, those of Gujarat and of the Deccan, as most of them have composed in two or more categories of Persian poetry, such as lyrical, mystical, romantic or ethico-religio-philosophical and classification according to subject-matter is not practicable. As stated earlier, Persian poets migrated to the courts of the Muslim kings of India on account of the lack of patronage under the Safawid regime in Iran.

Talib, a poet of the Mughal emperor Jahangir, lived in Ahmadabad and died in A.H. 1036/A.D. 1626-27), and has written several panegyrics.[1] Abu Talib 'Kalim', who migrated from Kashan and joined Shahjahan's court, versified the official chronicles in simple Persian.[2] Mir Muhammad Yusuf Taba'i-b-Mir Ya'qub, whose family came originally from Bukhara, was born in Ahmadabad and was a poet of the court of Khankhanan[3] Hasan Beg Shamlu, who came to India during the reign of Jahangir, and was the *Bakhshi* of Gujarat during Shahjahan's rule, has to his credit *Diwan-i-Kiram-i-Shamlu*, containing odes and a panegyric.[4] Mulla Ayyub of Gujarat was a poet of the court of Sultan Muzaffarshah II, (A.H. 917-33/A.D. 1511-1526). Mulla Muhsin Hamadani-b-Mulla Sharari "Muhsin" (d. A.H. 1005/A.D. 1596) settled down in Ahmadabad, where he is supposed to have met Taqi Awhadi.[5] Maulana Qasim Mashhadi "Arsalan," a Persian poet originally from Mashhad, arrived in India in Akbar's reign and settled down at Ahmadabad. He also visited the Deccan courts of Bijapur and Ahmadnagar and later returned to Ahmadabad, where he died in A.H. 1015/A.D. 1606.[6] Muhammad Husayn Kashi "Tajalli", of Kashan, settled down in Gujarat, where he died in A.H. 1021/A D. 1612. He used to have poetical contests with the famous poet Naziri.[7] Muhammad

1. Kohil, p. 23
2. Haig, *Cambridge History of India* Vol. IV, p. 220.
3. Nihawandi. *Ma'athir-i-Rahimi* p. 1212.
4. Ivanow/Curzon, p. 197.
5. Jabbar *Tadhkera-i-Shu'ara-i-Dakan* Vol. II, p. 1032.
6. Jabbar, Vol. I, p. 211.
7. Jabbar, Vol. I, p. 321.

Sufi, (d. A. H. 1035 or 1038/A. D. 1625 or 1628), originally from Mazandaran migrated to India in Akbar's reign and settled down in Gujarat. He compiled, in A.H. 1010/A.D. 1601, a selection of about 50,000 couplets from various Persian poets and entitled it *Butkhana.*[1] Maulana Mashriqi-b-Shaikh Kabiruddin of Ahmadabad was a poet attached to Khankhanan and he died in A.H. 1015/A.D. 1606.[2] Muhammad Husayn Naziri of Nishapur took up permanent residence at Ahmadabad where he died in A.H. 1023/A. D. 1614.[3] He was a religio-mystical lyricist. Maulana Khush Hal-b-Qasim Tashqandi was another poet of Ahmadabad.[4] Maulana Sarfi Sawji was attracted to the court of Khankhanan at Ahmadabad, on hearing of the status enjoyed by 'Urfi, Naziri and Shakibi Isfahani.[5] Mir 'Azmatullah " Mahshar " of Ahmadabad also composed poetry in Persian.[6] Hafiz Mir Muhammad 'Ali Gujarati " Sa'ud " was born at Ahmadabad where he took up teaching. A scholar in astronomy and geomancy, he also wrote Persian verses.[7] Sayyid Muhammad Maqbul i 'Alam Jalali-b-Sayyid Jalal Mah i 'Alam b-Hasan Bukhari Ridvi (b. A.H. 989/A.D. 1581; d. A.H. 1045/A.D. 1635) was a native of Ahmadabad, a follower of Shah i 'Alam Habib and a spiritual descendants of Raju Qattal. His *Diwan-i-Jalali* is mystical in character and contains 7 panegyrics, 23 quatrains and 94 odes. He appears to have lived about the beginning of the 10th century A. H.[8] Mulla 'Abdush Shakur Bazmi-b-Shaikh Munawwar of Karj or Karaj in Gujarat (b. A.H. 1001/A.D. 1592-93; d. A.H. 1073/A.D. 1662-63) versified in Persian in A.H. 1029/A.D. 1619, the story of *Padmawat* (or Padam) and *Ratan Sen* (or Ratan or Rat), alternatively called *Rat Padam,* from a Bhakha version of the story, composed by Malik Muhammad Jai'si. Bazmi dedicated this *mathnawi* containing 3014 verses to the Emperor Jahangir.[9] Sayyid Hasan 'urf Shaikh Hasanji, born at Patan, Gujarat, and settled at Surat (d. A.H. 1062/A.D. 1651), composed a *diwan*, manuscript of which contains religious poetry and undotted panegyrics. He also wrote two quintets in imitation of Nizami Ganjawi and Amir Khusraw. His other works are a *Risala* on *Kashf*-o-*Karamat* and a poem entitled *Burhan-i-Hindi-i-Maulud-i-Nabi.* All his poetical works were later compiled by Shaikh Waliullah-b-Ibrahim under the title of *Athaf-i-Ahsan.*[10] Nathji Khimji, a Nagar poet of Beganpur, Gujarat, was living in A.H. 1063/A.D. 1652.[11] Nasiruddin Muhammad of Surat composed *Dastan-i-Bharam Gur* in A.H. 1066-/A.D. 1655.[12] Mirza Raushan Damir

1. Bankipore, Vol. III, p. 60-61 ; BOD OX, p. 196.
2. Nihawandi, p. 1368-69.
3. Nihawandi p. 118 : Ghani, Vol. III, p. 74 ; Ivanow ASB. p. 316-17.
4. Nihawandi, p. 34.
5. Nihawandi, p 698-99.
6. Jabbar, Vol. II, 977.
7. Jabbar, Vol. II, p. 614.
8. Beale, *Oriental Biographical Dictionary* p. 194; Ivanow/ASB, p. 405-06 ; Sprenger, Vol. I, p. 445.
9. Beale, p. 105; Bankipore, Vol. III, p. 55-56 : Ethe, IOL, Vol. I, p. 865,
10. Kokil, p. 64; Shaikhmiya, p. 26-27.
11. Jhaveri, p. 44-45.
12. Jhaveri, p. 36.

d. A.H. 1077/A.D. 1666) was appointed the *Bakhshi* and chronicler of the port of Surat in the reign of Shahjahan and later the *Diwan* and *Amin* of Surat. He was a great Persian and Hindi poet with the *nom de plume* of "Pranahi" and translated into Persian a Hindi work on music and dancing, entitled *Yar Chatak* or *Par Chatak.*[1] Iranshah -b- Malikshah made a poetical version of *Kitab-i-Sad Dar-i-Nazm* at the request of Dastur Shaharyar-b-Dastur Ardeshir-b-Bahramshah and Hirbad Mihirnush-b-Dastur Bahram of Navsari made a copy of this *Sad Dar* in A.H. 1135/A.D. 1722.[2] Wali Muhammad Shamsuddin (b. A.H. 1079/A.D. 1668; d. A.H. 1155-A.D. 1742) was educated at the Madrasah of Wajihuddin 'Alawi Gujarati at Ahmadabad and attached himself to the Qadiri Shattari order of Ahmadabad, where he died. He wrote poetry in both Persian and Urdu. Murshid Qulikhan "Makhmur" (b. A.H. 1095/A.D. 1683 at Surat; (d. A. H. 1164/A. D. 1750) who wrote Persian verses, was a pupil of Habibullah Isfahani of Surat.[3] Qadi Nizamuddin Khan "Fa'iq" (d. A.H. 1165/A.D. 1751) the *Qadi* of Ahmadabad (A. H. 1149/A. D. 1780,) wrote a *mathnawi* entitled *Mathnawi-i-Mir'at ul Husn*, containing a head-to-foot description of the Beloved and a poem entitled *Rahmat-i-Maulana Nuruddin,* on his father's death.[4] Munshi Gokuldas[5] of Gujarat, Brijnath[6] of Ahmadabad, Mehta Udayram Bhatt,[7] a Nagar of Ahmadabad, Jashvantrai Nagar[8] of Ahmadabad and Munshi Sadashankar,[9] a Nagar of Ahmadabad, were poets and writers in Persian who were living in A.H. 1150/A. D. 1737, A. H. 1162/A. D. 1748, A. H. 1163/A. D. 1749 and A.H. 1164-A.D. 1750 respectively. Mulla Baqir "Shahid" (d. A.H. 1178/A.D. 1764) was born at Ahmadabad and compiled a *diwan* of verses. Jiwanlal Nagar of Gujarat, who was living in A.H. 1182-A.D. 1768, was the author of a Persian *nazm* entitled *Lagan Gala.*[10] Mir 'Abdul 'Ali "'Uzlat" -b- Maulawi Sa'adullah Surati (b. A.H. 1104-A.D. 1692 at Surat; d. A.H. 1189-A.D. 1775), after attaining perfection in all exoteric and esoteric sciences, which won him the appellations 'Aristu" and 'Ustad' etc., travelled far and wide throughout India. He was well-versed in music, Qur'anic recitation, and Persian and Hindi verses, which were compiled into a diwan.[11] Khalifa Asadullah Tatawi "Nazil" Burhanpuri, "Tabi" who composed verses in Persian, was originally from Tatta (Sind), but settled down in Burhanpur, whence he moved to Surat and became a companion of 'Ali Nawazkhan, the *Mutassadi* of

1. Bilgirami, *Khazanai Amera* p. 296-79.
2. BOD/OX, p.
3. Azad, *Sarv-i-Azad* p. 221-22; Jabbar, Vol. II, p. 1011-12. Shaikh, p. 159.
4. Jhaveri, p. 33; Kokil, p. 193.
5. Jhaveri, p. 59.
6. Jhaveri, p. 43.
7. Jhaveri, p. 54.
8. Jhaveri, p. 43.
9. Jhaveri, p. 57-58.
10. Jhaveri, p. 49-50.
11. Azad, p. 236; Jabbar, Vol. II p. 811-20.

Surat.[1] Muhammad Murtada Muzaffarabadi Sorathi (d. A.H. 1195-A.D. 1780) composed *Majma un Nawadir*, a rare poetical collection comprising poems of two types of letters dotted and undotted.[2] Kewal Kishan " Khayali " of Gujarat composed *Mathnawi-i-Khayali*, a mystical poem on the soul and its influence on the body and mind, at the request of Shah Zainuddin Qadiri.[3] Mehta Tricumji Krishanji Vaid,[4] a Nagar of Gujarat, living in A.H. 1218-A.D. 1803, Sayyid Ahmadullah-b-Shah Pir muhammad,[5] born at Surat in A.H. 1235-A.D. 1819; (d.A.H. 1309/A.D. 1891,) Muhammad Zahiruddin-b-Ghulam Mohiyuidin,[6] born at Ankleshwar and author of *Bazar-i-Mustafa*, living in A.H. 1265-A.D. 1848 Rewashankar Parwari " Parwar "[7] a shephered, Mehta Vijayaram Sukh [8] of Ahmadabad, Rajshankar Tuljaram Jiwanji Mehta[9] of Gujarat and Mirza Muhammad beg Haqiqi[10] of Lal Haveli, Ahmadabad, have aslo composed poetry in Persian. Qadi Ghulam Qasim Mihri-b-Qadi Husayn, a native of Bombay, compiled *Manzumat-i-Qasim*, containing odes, panegyrics and *Mathnawis* of a religious character.[11] Mulla Firuz-b-Mulla Kaus (d. A.H. 1249/ A.D. 1833) of Bombay composed *George nama* in three volumes comprising nearly 40,000 couplets, as a mark of gratitude to the British who had given him a pension.[12] He also composed in Y.Z. 1176-A.D. 1807, *Pandnama-i-Fariduddin 'Attar wa Mulla Firuz*, a book of admonition on the lines of *Pandnama*.[13] His third poetical composition was *Dinkard-i-Manzuma*,[14]

The following poetical works were published in the State of Bombay in the last century[15] :—

Ibrahim Salih Musa : *Chaman-i-Binazir* : Odes : A.H. 1284/A.D. 1867.

Anonymous : *Kitayat-i-Islam* : On fundaments of Islam : A.H. 1298/A.D. 1880.

Sohrabji Kuverji Taskar :

Poem in honour of Birthday of H.M. Empress of India : A.H. 1297/A.D. 1879.

Poem in praise of Marquis of Ripon, Viceroy of India : A.H. 1299/A.D. 1881.

Poem on Nawwab Sir Salarjang Bahadur, Minister of Hyderabad : A.H. 1300/A.D. 1882.

Poem on Sir Frank Henry Souter, Commissioner of Police : A.H. 1302/A.D. 1884.

1. Jabbar, Vol. I, p. 322.
2. Jhaveri, p. 21, 32; Kokil, p. 27.
3. Bankipore, Vol. I, supplt. p. 206-07.
4. Jhaveri, p. 60.
5. Jhaveri, p. 94-95.
6. Jhaveri, p. 95.
7. Jhaveri, p. 53.
8. Jhaveri, p. 58-59.
9. Jhaveri, p. 45.
10. Lodhi, *Mri'at-ul-Khayal* p. 208.
11. Rieu/BM, Vol. II, p. 74.
12. Jabbar, Vol. II, p. 911-12.
13. Rehastek, p. 20, 132.
14. Rehastek, p. 181.
15. Catalogue of Books and periodicals published as supplements to the Bombay Government Gazette from 1870 to 1942.

Poem on Queen Victoria's Jubilee Year: A.H. 1305/A.D. 1887.

Poem on Khan Bahadur Cursetji Rustamji, Chief justice of Baroda: A.H./1305/A.D. 1887.

Poem on Khan Bahadur Padamji Pestanji, First Class Sardar of the Deccan; A.H. 1505/A.D. 1887.

Anonymous: *Tuhfat-ul-'Ushshaq*: Anthology: A.H. 1299/A.D. 1881.

Shah Niyaz Ahmad: *Diwan-i-Niyaz*: A.H. 1301/A.D. 1883.

Anonymous: *Tuhfa-i-Nasa'ah*: Islam and Law: A.H. 1304/A.D. 1886.

Meherji Bomanji Dotiwala: *Munajat*: A.H. 1307/A.D. 1889.

Mirza Mehdi and Mirza Muhammad Ja'afar: *Diwan-i-Qasaid*: Panegyrics in praise of 'Ali: A.H. 1312/A.D. 1894.

Mirza 'Abdul Husayn Shirazi: *Shuja'at-i-Husayni*: Religious: A.H. 1312/A.D. 1994.

Mirza 'Ali Asghar Lari: *Diwan-i-Subbat al-Lari*: A.H. 1313/A.D. 1895.

Mulla 'Abbas Shushtari: *Kulliyat-i-Shabbali*: Religious: A.H. 1313/A.D. 1895.

Mirza Ibrahim: *Dah Hikayat*: Didactic verses: A.H. 1314/A.D. 1896.

Rustam Bahram Tafti: *Bahman Nama*: and Faramarz Nama: Epics: A.H. 1325/A.D. 1907.

Khan sahib Mirza Muhammad: *Siraj al-Muhtaj*: Religious: A.H. 1325/A.D. 1907.

Qadi 'Abdul Karim-b-Qadi Nurmuhammad Porbandari: *Mathnawi* i Bu 'Ali Shah Qalandar: and *Tuhfat-un-Nasa'ih*: A.H. 1326/A.D 1908 and A.H. 1327/A.D. 1909 respectively.

Amanullahkhan Sahib al-Mamalik. *Buhur al-Ilham*: Anthology: A.H. 1334/A.D. 1915.

Mirza Muhammad Taqi *Kitab-i-Haidar Beg*: Love story: 1338/1919.

Sayyid Ashrafuddin Rashti: *Nasim-i-Shimal*: Religio-Social: A.H. 1342/A.D. 1923.

Mirza Muhammad khan Tala'at: *Diwan-i-Tala'at*: Quranic Verses: A.H. 1361/A D. 1942.

In the Deccan:

The earliest Persian poet in the Deccan was 'Isami (b. A.H. 711/A.D. 1311, at Delhi), who composed *Futuh as-Salatin*[1] or *Shahnama-i-Hind* at Daulatabad, at the request of Sultan 'Alauddin Bahmani. He also

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1. Devre, p. 275. Isami's '*Futuh as Salatin* written at Dawlatabad, which is outside the present territorial limits of the State of Bombay, has been included in this survey, as it was written at the court of Bahmanis, who then ruled over most of the territories, which at present comprise the State of Bombay.

wrote lyrics. Shaikh 'Azari Isfahani (d. A.H. 866/A.D. 1461) a Sufi poet of the court of Sultan Ahmadshah Bahmani, composed *Bahmanama* and panegyrics.[1] Naziri, a poet at the courts of 'Alauddin II and Humayun Shah Bahmani, composed panegyrics. Shahidi Qummi, a lyrical poet, (d. A.H. 936/A.D. 1539, at Bijapur), migrated from 'Iraq and Azarbaijan to Gujarat and thence arrived to Bijapur to the court of Ibrahim 'Adilshah.[2] Mulla Muhsin Lari "Muhsin" (d. A.H. 972/A.D. 1564 at Ahmadnagar) was a panegyrist at the court of Sultan Nizamshah Bahri.[3] Khwaja Ahmad Shiraz Dahdari Nazil "Fani" (d. A.H. 1016/A.D. 1607), attached to the court of 'Ali 'Adilshah of Bijapur and later to Burhan Nizamshah of Ahmadnagar, composed a *diwan* of verses.[4] Muhammad Hashim-b-Haidar Mu'ammayi 'Ali as Sanjar-i-Kashi (b. A.H. 980/A.D. 1572; d. 1021 A.H./A.D. 1612 at Bijapur), was a lyricist attached to the court of Ibrahim 'Adilshah II.[5] Mulla Malik Qummi (d. A.H. 1024/A.D. 1615) migrated from Qazwin to India in A.H. 985-7/A.D. 1527-29 and joined the Nizamshahi court at Ahmadnagar. He was a panegyrist of Murtada Nizamshah, and Burhan Nizamshah II, and later of Ibrahim 'Adilshah II. He has composed a *diwan*, comprising odes, panegyrics and *mathnawis*.[6] Nurud Din Ahmad Zuhuri (d. A.H. 1025/A.D. 1616 at Bijapur) arrived in India in A.H. 988/A.D. 1580 and joined the court of Murtada Nizamshah and then of Burhan Nizamshah. In A.H. 1003/A.D. 1594 he joined that of Ibrahim 'Adilshah II at Bijapur. He has a *diwan*, a *saqinama* and panegyrics and *bands* to his credit.[7] Sultan Isma'il 'Adil Shah-b-Yusuf 'Adilshah "Wafai," who ruled at Bijapur from A.H. 916/A.D. 1510 to A.H. 941/A.D. 1534, was also a good poet and lyricist.[8] 'Askari Kashani who lived during the beginning of the 10th century A.H. was a poet of the Bijapur court. Ruknud Din Mas'ud Kashi alias Hakim Rukna-i-Masih (d. A.H. 1066/A.D. 1655) was another poet of Bijapur.[9] Mulla Haidar Kashani "Zahni" arrived at Ahmadnagar during A.H 972-996/A.D. 1564-1587 and later joined the court of Ibrahim 'Adilshah II at Bijapur.[10] Nazir Mashhadi came to Bijapur to the court of Ibrahim 'Adilshah II after A.H. 1030/A.D. 1620. Baqar Khurda-i-Kashi, a lyrical poet, (d. A.H. 1034/A.D. 1624 at Bijapur) arrived at the Bijapur court in A.H. 1006/A.D. 1597.[11] Shams Dahdah,[12] born at Isfahan, also joined the Nizamshahi court at Ahmadnagar and then that of the 'Adilshahis at Bijapur. Muhammad Hakim Amin or Amina "Atish", a court-poet of Muhammad-b-Ibrahim 'Adilshah of Bijapur, composed *mathnawis* such as *'Adilnama, Nuh Sipihr,*

1. Bilgrami, p. 21-22.
2. Devre, p. 293.
3. Jabbar, Vol. II, p. 1034.
4. Jabbar, Vol. II, p. 887.
5. Azad, p 26-27; Bilgrami, p. 259; p. 348.
6. Devre, p. 298.
7. Ghani, *History of Persian Language and Literature* Vol. IV.; Azad, p. 36-35.
8. Ghani, Vol. I, p. 89.
9. Devre, p. 375.
10. Jabbar, Vol. I, p. 447.
11. Devre, p. 360; Nihawandi, p. 794.
12. Nihawandi, p. 1255-56.

Ma'adan al-Afkar and also lyrics, quatrains and panegyrics.[1] Mirza Muhammad Muqim[2] was another court poet of Muhammad 'Adilshah. Shah 'Abdul Ma'ali of the court of 'Ali 'Adilshah II of Bijapur, Shah Qasim Mashhadi Naji[3] of the Bijapur and Ahmadnagar courts and Mirza Sadiq Urdubadi "Sadiq"[4] of the court of Murtada Nizamshah of Ahmadnagar, were also poet in Persian. Mir Muhammad Mah Nandarbari of Khandesh[5] (d. A.H. 1182/A.D. 1768) was a mystical poet.

Conclusion : It is evident from the above sketchy review of Persian language and literature that the contribution of the State of Bombay to the development of Persian was vital and distinctive. The poets and writers of Gujarat and the Deccan, though they may have sought inspiration from and copied the Persian models, have generously contributed to all the departments of Persian poetry and prose.

Some of the oldest poetical and prose works written in the State of Bombay and available now either in print or in manuscript form are: (1) *Futuh as-Salatin* of 'Isami, written in A.H. 751/A.D. 1350; (2) *Jawahir-i-Mashhadi*, writtten by Makhdum Sayyid Sharfuddin Mashhadi of Broach, before A.H. 808/A.D. 1405; (3) a commentary on *Makhzan-ul-Asrar*, written by Fadluddin Muhammad Ibn Qiwam Balkhi of Kadi, Patan, after A.H. 795/A.D. 1392; (4) *Majmu'a-i-Faid o Fadl*, written by Hafiz Muhammad Fadil of Surat in A.H. 854/A.D. 1450 and (5) *Manahil-i-Anzar*, written by Muhammad ibn 'Abdullah Lari in A.H. 893/A.D. 1498.

1. Devre, p. 369; Ethe/IOL, Vol. I, p. 838.
2. Devre, p. 365.
3. Jabbar, Vol. II, p. 1087.
4. Jabbar, Vol. II, p. 612.
5. Jabbar, Vol. II, p. 1082.

SUFISM IN INDIA.

Yusuf Husain Khan *

ALL mysticism is born of religion. Sufism was born in the bosom of Islam. Among the *Sahabah* (the companions of the Prophet) there were, at the very beginning, people who despised the world and led an austere life. This tendency, common to all religions, affirmed itself among the Muslims when the rapid expansion of Islam, in the first century of the Hegira, assured to its adherents politcal supremacy from Spain to the Indus. The pious and sincere followers of the Qur'an had to reprove the profane desires and ambitions of the faithful, who increased from day to day, as new countries were conquered and material property seemed to bring forgetfulness of God. Many, who regarded all external splendour and wealth as an infraction of the principles governing the true Islamic life, retired from the world to lead a life of abstinence and renunciation.

The Muslim mystics or the Sufis of the first two centuries of the Hegira were ascetics, men of deep religious feeling, who laid great stress on the principles of *Tauba* (repentence) and *Tawakkul* (trust in God). These early mystics of Islam were fundamentally inspired by the Qur'anic conception of a transcendent God. Their contemplation remained confirmed within the limits of the Qur'an and the practice of the prophet.[1] By the end of the second century of the Hegira, Sufism had become a monotheist theosophy of which the fear of God and the Day of Judgment were the dominant features, but the element of loving adoration was not altogether absent. Rabia, the woman mystic of the second century of the Hegira, says :

'Love of God hath so absorbed me that neither love nor hate of any other thing remains in my heart.' In her verses also she uses the symbolical language of human love to describe the relations between

1. Massignon, *Essai sur les Origines du Lexique Technique de la Mystique Musulman*, Paris, 1922.

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the mystic and his Divine Beloved, a practice which became popular in the later centuries, both in the Arabic and Persian languages.

The erotic imagery used by Dhu'l Nun Misri in his verses is full of passionate devotion to the Divine Being. In fact, the nature of love is such that it tends to resolve all differences between the lover and the beloved into one simple unity. In later centuries the allegory of love became a prominent characteristic of Sufi literature.

The asceticism of the early Sufis gave birth to the regular movement of *Tasawwuf* in the third century of the Hegira, aiming at the loving devotion of God and a discipline of the individual soul. At Baghdad, under the Abbasides, the Sufi Theosophy attained its perfection. The influence of Greek thought had shaken the very foundations of Islamic faith, and scepticism had become the order of the day. To meet this situation the Muslim theologians had to justify their faith and dogma by logical disputations. This was a very favourable moment for the incubation of mystical doctrines, likely to give a spiritual satisfaction to troubled souls who cared more for the inner light than for external rituals, however ingeniously sought to be justified by argumentation.

The man who played an important and decisive role in the history of Sufism was a Persian, the celebrated Bayazid Bustami, a contemporary of Dhu'l Nun Misri, who gave a definite turn to *Tasawwuf* by introducing into it the element of ecstasy and the mystic doctrine of the immanence of God, which in Islamic mysticism has invariably implied that 'all is in God,' and not that 'all is God', as is sometimes erroneously believed. He was banished from his native town for having made heterodox declarations which shocked the orthodox *'Ulama*. He said, "Beneath this cloak of mine there is nothing but God". "Glory to me : How Great is my Majesty." (*Tadhkiratu'l Auliya*).

Bayazid died in 875 A.D. His school took the name of 'Taifurian.' He was the first in Islamic mysticism to employ the word *fana*, the annihilation of the self which later became the basis of Sufi theosophy. It implies that human attributes are annihilated through union with God, a state in which the mystic finds eternal life (*baqa*).

The method of Bayazid was still further developed by Husain Ibn Mansur Al-Hallaj (922), a disciple of Al-Junaid, who was condemned and executed in the reign of the Caliph Al-Muqtadir (908-32). His mystical formula *Ana'l Haqq* ('I am God'), became a very important factor in the evolution of the mystical ideas in Persia and then in India.

Hallaj, who travelled widely in Khurasan, Persia, Turkistan and India, was a man of original genius and a profound metaphysician. The orthodox *'Ulama* considered him to be a rank blasphemer. It was at their instance that he was imprisoned and then executed. His chief work is '*Kitab ul Tawasin*' which has been ably edited and annotated by Monsieur L. Massignon, formerly of the College de France, Paris. In it Hallaj has affirmed the idea of the transcendence of God. It was the

manifestation of Love in the Divine Absolute that determined the multiplicity of His Attributes and His names (*Kitab ul Tawasin*). The ideas of Hallaj furnished a basis for the development of the doctrines concerning the nature of the *Insan-i-Kamil* ('the perfect man') which are so marked a feature of the writings of Ibnal 'Arabi and 'Abdul Karim Jili in later centuries.

The natural reaction of the monistic doctrines of Bayazid and Hallaj was to reinforce orthodox Islam by re-establishing the principle of Unity, on the basis of mystical experience and thus to effect a *reproachment* between the *Shari'at* and *Tariqat*. In fact, this position was taken up by Junaid of Baghdad himself and later by Ghazzali (1058–1111 A.D.), Shaikh 'Abdul Qadir Jilani (1077-1166 A.D.) and Shaikh Shihabuddin Suhrawardy (1145-1234), who not only reconciled the divergent tendencies of Islamic mysticism into one consolidated entity but also won recognition for Sufism of the sober type in orthodox theology and religious law. They enjoined on the devotee the practice of self-discipline which prepares the heart for the intuitive knowledge of God.

Ghazzali constantly appealed to the supreme authority of Muhammad and insisted that sainthood was derived from prophecy. In his magnum opus, the *Ihya-ul'ulum* he laid stress on immediate experience, ecstasy and inward transformation without which no salvation was possible.

Before reaching India, the movement of *Tasawwuf* had reached the highest point of its development in the twelfth century. After the conquest of Northern India by the Muslims, various Sufi orders were established. In particular, the Chishti and the Suhrawardy orders took root in different parts of the country and there developed very great activity. The orders of the Qadri, Naqshbandi, Shuttari and Madari etc., were also represented and functioned on more or less the same lines. The extraordinary success of the Chishti order was due to the fact that it knew better how to adapt itself to the usages and customs of the country in which it had come to settle and it was also due to the personality of its early leaders.

The order of the Chishtis, founded by Khwaja 'Abdal Chishti (d. 966 A.D.), was introduced into India by Khwaja Mu'inuddin Chishti, the disciple of Khwaja 'Uthman Haruni. Born in Seistan in 1143 A.D. he came to India a little before the invasion of Shihabuddin Muhammad Ghori, acquired great renown and was given the title of *Sultanal Hind*, the spiritual king of India. In his youth he had travelled widely in Islamic countries, and had started the life of a wandering hermit in search of a spiritual guide. Eventually he came to Harun, a small town in the province of Nishapur, where he was formally initiated as a disciple of Khwaja 'Uthman Harun, a famous saint of the Chishti order, who directed him to settle in India. Before coming to India, Khwaja

Mu'inuddin associated with many leading Sufis of the time, among whom was 'Abdul Qadir Jilani, founder of the Qadiria order of Sufis.

Khwaja Mu'inuddin Chishti arrived in India in 1190 A.D. and first proceeded to Lahore which was a centre of Muslim learning since the time of Mahmud Ghazni. In Lahore he spent some time in meditation at the tomb of 'Ali Hujwiri, popularly known as Data Ganj Bakhsh, who was one of the early Sufis that settled in India. He was the author of *Kashful Mahjub*, a work written thirty years after the famous *Risalah* of Al-Qusheri (d. 1072), in which the author has upheld the cause of *Tasawwuf* as a means of purifying the inward spirit and life which makes religion a reality. His entire approach is based on the religious law of Islam.

From Lahore, Khwaja Mu'inuddin Chishti went to Delhi and then to Ajmer, which was ruled by Rai Prithivi Raj. One cannot think without admiration of this man, almost alone, living among people who considered the least contact with a Muslim as defilement. Sometimes he was even refused water to drink. In the torrid climate of Rajputana, this was the hardest punishment one can imagine. The high caste priests demanded of the Raja of Ajmer that he should banish the Khwaja, whose influence had begun to make itself felt among the lower classes of the place. The Raja sent the order of expulsion through Ram Deo, head of the priests of Ajmer. Legend relates that in approaching the Khwaja, Ram Deo was so much impressed by his personality that he became, from that moment, a faithful disciple of the Khwaja and spent the rest of life in the service of the helpless and the downtrodden. After the death of the Khwaja in 1234, his numerous disciples continued his apostolic work (*Siyarul Auliya*).

The Chishti mystics believed in the spiritual value of music and patronised professional singers of talent, whatever their caste or religion might be. Khwaja Qutbuddin Bakhtiar kaki, the chief successor (*Khalifa*) of Khwaja Mu'inuddin Chishti, died in a state of ecstasy at the Khanqah (Monastery) of Shaikh 'Ali Sijistani, when the singers recited the verse: "To those who have been killed by the dagger of submission, there comes new life every moment from the unseen world."[1]

Iltutmish, himself a man of deep piety, had great respect for Khwaja Qutbuddin Bakhtiar Kaki. He requested the latter to stay with him but this request was not acceded to, as the Khwaja had no desire to abandon his independence. He visited the Darbar only once to seek redress for the sons of his master Khwaja Mu'inuddin Chishti.

On the death of Maulana Jamaluddin Muhammad Bustami, Iltutmish offered the high office of Shaikhul Islam to Qutb Sahib who declined

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کشتگان خنجر تسلیم را   هرزمان ازغیب جان دیگر است

1. Kushtagane Khanjare taslim ra, Har zaman az ghaib jane digar ast.

it. On his refusal Shaikh Najmuddin Sughra was appointed to this post. He was jealous of Qutb Sahib for whom Iltutmish had great regard. Seeing that the Shaikhul Islam's attitude towards him was unfriendly, Qutb Sahib decided to leave Delhi. On this occasion Khwaja Mu'inuddin happened to be in Delhi. Qutb Sahib wanted to accompany him to Ajmer. When the party started from Delhi for Ajmer, the public of Delhi flocked behind them, imploring Qutb Sahib not to leave them. Iltutmish himself followed the crowd of people and requested Qutb Sahib to remain in Delhi. Khwaja Mu'inuddin Chishti was very much touched by this spontaneous demonstration of loyalty and devotion and he persuaded his disciple to return to his headquarters in Delhi. After this the Shaikhul Islam never offended Qutb Sahib, nor did he raise any objection to his music parties.

Qutb Sahib was succeeded by Khwaja Fariduddin Mas'ud Ganjshakar popularly known as Baba Farid. Disliking popularity and preferring solitude, he purposely took up his residence far from the capital. He had a great aversion for the company of the rich and avoided intercourse with them. when Sayyidi Maula, one of his disciples wanted to leave Ajodhan for Delhi, the Khwaja, while reluctantly permitting him to do so, addressed him in the following words: "Pay particular attention to advice of mine. Do not make friends with kings and nobles. Consider their visits to your home as fatal (for your spirit). Every Darvish, who makes friends with kings and nobles, will end badly." (Barani, *Tarikhi Firozshahi*)

Baba Farid, while advising his chief disciple, Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya, observed: The main purpose in this path (sufism) is the concentration of heart which can be achieved only by abstention from the prohibited means of livelihood and association with kings (*Rahatul Qulub.*) Balban showed great respect to saints and mystics. His devotion to Baba Farid was great, but the latter never took any advantage of this; only once he wrote him a letter of recommendation. Even in this letter, which is written in very dignified language, he has implied that the real power of bestowing anything on human beings lies in the Supreme Being. The letter runs thus: "First I referred this matter to Allah and later on to you. If you bestow anything on him, the real bestower is Allah, and as His agent you will deserve gratitude for doing a favour. But if you fail to bestow anything, you are helpless in the matter, as Allah may have prevented you from doing so."

Baba Farid led a life of severe austerity and piety and died at the age of 93 in 1265 A.D. He was buried at Pakpatan which is a great centre of pilgrimage.

His chief disciple, Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya, was born in Badaun in 1336 A.D. His father died when he was only five years of age. His mother who was a very pious woman, brought him up. When twenty years of age, he went to Ajodhan and became the disciple of Baba Farid, who was struck with his intelligence and the depth of his inner vision.

In 1258, he returned to Delhi, which was destined to be the centre of his spiritual activity for nearly sixty years. After residing in the heart of the city for a number of years he moved to Ghiathpur, a village not very far from Delhi, and yet away from the din of the city. Here one of his disciples Maulana Ziauddin, Vakil of 'Imadul Mulk, constructed a *Khanqah* for him which still exists. According to the author of *Akhbarul Akhyar*, when Kaiqobad, successor of Balban, made Kelokheri his residential quarters, this locality became extremely congested and so many people started coming to Ghiathpur that the Shaikh thought of moving to the city again. While he was contemplating this, a young man came to him and recited this verse. 'On the day thou becamest the full moon, thou didst not realize that the people would raise their fingers towards thee.[1]

The young man further added that there was no special virtue in remembering God after withdrawing from the world, one should aspire to remember him while remaining amidst the people. On hearing this speech the Shaikh changed his mind and stayed on in Ghiathpur.

Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya saw the reign of seven Sultans, succeeding one after another, on the throne of Delhi; but he never visited the Darbar of any of them. He considered it beneath his dignity, as a Sufi, to do so. Sultan Jalaluddin Khilji requested the Shaikh to grant him an interview and in this connection even tried to use the influence of Amir Khusrau, a very dear disciple of the Shaikh, but all his efforts failed. When the Shaikh was apprised of the intention of the Sultan to pay him a surprise visit, he went away to Ajodhan to avoid it. Sultan 'Alauddin was also insistent on paying a visit to the Shaikh, who conveyed to him the following message, "There are two doors in my house. If the Sultan comes by one door, I will quit by the other."

Mubarak Shah, son and successor of 'Alauddin Khilji, was a vain person and lacked a sense of proportion. He insisted that the Shaikh, like other *'ulama* and mystics, should attend the court. The Shaikh's reply to this insolent demand was, "I live a retired life and I do not go anywhere. As it has been the practice of my spiritual masters not to associate with monarchs, I should on these grounds be excused". (*Siyarul 'Arifin*).

The liberal outlook of Nizamuddin Auliya, as well as his delight in music, caused him to be denounced by the orthodox *'ulama* at whose instance Ghiathuddin Tughlaq had him brought before a tribunal of fifty-three theologians. But they pronounced in favour of the Shaikh, influenced, as they were, by the mysterious sway of his magnetic personality. They even abstained from forbidding the musical and mystical practices for which, above all the Shaikh and his followers were

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آن روز که مه شدی نه می دانستی   کانگشت نمای عالمی خواهی بود

1. An roz ke meh shudi na mi danisti kangusht numai 'alami khwahi bud.

reproached. One of his disciples, Maulana Fakhruddin Zarradi, compiled a booklet to prove the validity of hearing music, in which all kinds of religious arguments were advanced to justify the practice. But it is pertinent to note in this connection that the Shaikh in later life did not approve of instrumental music. (*Fawa'idul Fuwad*).

It is said that Ghiyathuddin Tughlaq was jealous of the great moral and spiritual influence which the Shaikh exercised over the people; and when he had enrolled among his followers such persons as Ulugh Khan (later known as Muhammad Tughlaq), son of the Sultan, the latter saw in the Shaikh a great political danger.

While returning from a successful expedition in Bengal, Ghiyathuddin sent word to the Shaikh to quit Ghiathpur, for too many people went there to see him, so that those going there on business of state could not find anywhere to stay. Tradition has it that the Shaikh gave expression to the words: 'Hanuz Dilli dur ast' (Delhi is yet far off). This Persian phrase has since been preserved in the language; today it is still used to designate difficulties which have to be surmounted before arriving at the end of an enterprise. As it happened, the Sultan met an unexpected death through the fall of a pavilion, before having reached the capital, and the Shaikh whom nobody dreamed of banishing, lived there till his death in 1325 A.D. Even today his tomb attracts a large number of pilgrims from all parts of India.

Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya, generally known as 'Mahbub-i-Ilahi' (the beloved of God) represents a great spiritual force in the history of Muslim India. His disciples spread all over the country. His personality and the breadth of his religious outlook assured the popularity of the Chishti order in India. For nearly sixty years he was a source of blessing to hundreds and thousands who came from far and near to seek his guidance. He inspired men with the love of God and helped them to get rid of their attachment for worldly affairs. He regulated the life of his disciples, in accordance with the *Shari'at,* to reach a higher stage of spiritual development. (Barani, *Tarikh-i-Firozshahi)*. Those who were advanced in the stage of submission (*ta' at*), he led to the stage of *tariqat.* His method of guiding his disciples is embodied in the *Fawa'idul-Fuwad* of Amir Hasan Sijzi in which the conversations of Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya are recorded. The great historical value of this work lies in the fact that it was revised by the Shaikh himself who filled up the gaps which were intentionally left by the writer, wherever he was in doubt as to the real meaning of the Shaikh's conversation. It is a manual of practical mysticism, eschewing all discussions pertaining to technical terms of *Tasawwuf* having any metaphysical implications.

A characteristic feature of the teaching of Nizamuddin Auliya is the stress he laid on the motive of love which leads to the realization of God.

Mir Khurd in his *Siyarul Auliya* quotes him thus: 'The followers of the *Tariqat* (the way) and the *Haqiqat* (reality) agree that the main

purpose and objective of man's creation is the love of the Supreme Being.'.

The intuitive insight of the Shaikh readily extended his love of God to the love of humanity without which it would be incomplete.

The same author writing of the Shaikh says 'He (the Shaikh) said that in a (state of) dream he was offered a book in which it was written that one should do one's best to be kind and benevolent and give comfort to the human heart which is the abode of the mysteries of the Supreme Lord. Some saint has well said: 'Do your best to give comfort to somebody, or enable a broken hand to reach the bread'.[1]

The Shaikh also once said that on the day of resurrection nothing would be deemed of greater value than giving comfort to the human heart. Human submission (ta'at) is of two kinds: (1) Necessary and (2) Communicable. The necessary submission implies benefit to the person who offers prayers, fasts, goes on pilgrimage and recites the name of God and praises Him. But the communicable submission implies doing good to others. It consists in such virtues as affection, kindness and benevolence to others. The reward of them is infinite, (*Fawa'idul Fuwad*).

A similar sentiment is quoted by Amir Khusrau in his *Afdalul Fawa'id*:

'He (the Shaikh) said that the entire knowledge of the learned is not equivalent to two virtues: (1) Reform of the people (*Tashihi Millat*) and (2) Detached service of men (Tajridi-khidmat).

Both of these quotations of Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya have a direct reference to social justice and benevolence as a part of Islam. In fact, love and justice go together and belong to the essence of the Islamic life as presented by the Prophet. The Shaikh's reference to 'bread' shows the practical and realistic approach of his mystical theosophy.

Love of humanity was one of the ethical ideals which Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya inculcated in the minds of his disciples. Mir Khurd has noted the text of a certificate of succession (Khilafatnama) given by the Shaikh to Shamsuddin Yahya (d. 1345 A.D.), and it is likely that similar certificates given to other disciples were couched in the same language. It shows the breadth of the Shaikh's vision and his tolerant attitude towards others. It runs thus: "O Muslims! I swear by God, that He holds dear those who love Him for the sake of human beings, and also those who love human beings for the sake of God. This is the only way to love and adore God". (*Siyarul Auliya*).

This message of love imparted by the 'Mahbub-i-Ilahi' was carried to the different parts of the country by his disciples. Shaikh Sirajuddin 'Uthmani (d. 1357 A.D.) known as 'Akhi Siraj' (brother Siraj) carried the message to Bengal. His spiritual master gave him the title of the 'Aina-i- Hind' (the mirror of India) and bestowed on him the spiritual domain of Bengal. He was succeeded by Shaikh 'Alauddin 'Ala'ul Haq (d. 1398), who continued the work of his master in the eastern part of India. His son and successor Nur Qutb-i-'Alam spent all his life among the poor and the down-trodden who responded to the Islamic message of equality

1. Mihrab ke rahati ba jani ba rasad, Ya daste shikastai ba nani ba rasad

and brotherhood. Shaikh 'Abdul Haqq Muhaddith has spoken highly of his Maktubat (*Akhbarul Akhyar*).

One of the disciples of the Mahbub-i-Ilahi, Shaikh Burhanuddin Gharib (d. 1340), made Daulatabad his headquarters. His successor was Shaikh Zainuddin. In Gujerat, Shaikh Sayyid Husain, Shaikh Hisamuddin and Shah Barakullah spread the message of love and humanity. Their missionary work was entirely of a peaceful character, relying wholly on personal example and precept and on the spread of education. They were exponents of the doctrine of the inner light and 'the theology of the heart.'

It is to be noticed that Muslim mystics, in spite of their speculative leanings, did not lose touch with the realities of life. And, after all, bread is a reality of life which can only be ignored at the expense of social justice and tranquillity. It seems that these mystics were not prepared to give up the socio-moral aspect of life in the interest of spiritual exaltation and ecstasy. They fully realized that the socio-moral existence of man clings to the earth; it is of the earth, earthy. This is why they enjoined upon their followers the practice of justice and benevolence.

In Qur'anic teaching, also, prayer is correlated with charity towards fellowmen, the implication being that without the latter the former would be incomplete and ineffective. In the very beginning of the Qur'an the three essentials of religious life are mentioned together so that their equal importance maynot be lost sight of. It is said: "The Qur'an is a guidance for those good people who believe in the Unseen, keep up prayers and bestow on others from that which God has given them." Again the Qur'an says: 'Woe unto those who pray for show and prevent themselves from being charitable."

From these Qur'anic verses it will have become clear that charity and benevolence towards fellow-beings is one of the cardinal principles of Islam, on which the mystics laid considerable stress. Some of them have been outspoken critics, whenever there was any deviation from the high ideal set by the Prophet. This is one of the reasons why they were not keen to be the beneficiaries of the State, as it would have infringed their independence of mind and action. We have many examples in the cultural history of Islam when the recluse Sufis came out with bold criticism of the highest in the State.

Fudail ibn Iyad admonished Harun-al-Rashid, the great Abbaside Caliph in the following words: 'The country is thy house, and the people are thy progeny. If an old woman sleeps at night without having had her meal, she would hold thee responsible on the Day of Judgement. (*Tadhkiratul Auliya*).

The early Chishti mystics were content to impart instruction to their disciples in practical mysticism, aiming at transforming the life of the disciple and kindling the fire of devotion. Being much too busy with the organization of their orders, they did not feel like compiling books or manuals on theoretical problems. The elemental simplicity

and purity of their devoted lives was instrumental in reforming the lives of their own co-religionists and in spreading their faith among other inhabitants of the country. They considered themselves to be the torch bearers of the principles of equality and social justice. For this they did not require any organized system of propaganda through books or tracts. Mostly the works attributed to the early Chishti masters were fabricated later, as is clearly shown by the statement of Shaikh Nasiruddin Chiragh Dehlavi that neither Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya, nor Shaikh Fariduddin nor Qutubuddin Bakhtiar Kaki, nor any of the preceding Shaikhs of his order had written any book and that apocryphal works attributed to them contain portions which are unworthy of them. (*Khairul Majalis*).

One of the disciples of Shaikh Nasiruddin Chiragh Dehlavi, Khwaja Sayyid Muhammad Gesudaraz (the man with the long curls) settled in Gulburga in 1398. Ahmad Shah Bahmani conceived a great admiration for the Khwaja, and followed with unwearied delight his discourses on religion and mysticism. The Khwaja was very fond of music. It appears that through his influence musical festivals became popular all over the Deccan to the chagrin of the orthodox *'Ulama*.

Even a way was found to justify the music parties of the Chishtis by saying that a Sufi is a lover of God, and as such he stands in a different relation to God from others who are merely *'abd'* or slaves. As music inflames the fire of love and helps in creating the supreme state of ecstasy, it is permissible for those who have discretion.

Khwaja Gesudaraz, contrary to the practice of Chishti masters, was a voluminous writer on *Tasawwuf*. At least thirty three works are attributed to him. Some of his works, including the *Khatirul-Quds,'* the *Asmaul Asrar* and the *Sharh-i-Risalai Qusheri* have been edited and published in Hyderabad. His other works are *'Hawashi-i-kashshaf, Sharh-i-Mashariq' Ma'arif, Sharh-i-'Adabul Muridin, Sharh-i-Fususu'l Hikam Sharh-i-Fiqh-i-Akbar* and *Hawashi-i-Quwatul Qulub*. Shaikh Abdul Haq Mahaddith has spoken very highly of the *Asmau'l Asrar'* in which the khwaja unravelled the mysteries of *Tasawwuf* in a symbolic manner. *'Akhbarul Akhyar*, (*p.* 127).

After the death of Baba Farid, the Chishti order was divided into two main sub-divisions, known respectively as the Nizamiyya and Sabiriyya order. The Sabiriyya order was founded by Makhdum 'Alauddin 'Ali Ahmad Sabri of Piran Kaliar. This contemporary of Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya was a great mystic in his own way. He was just the opposite to Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya in disposition. The latter represented the *Jamali* (beauteous), whereas the former represented the *Jalali* (majestic) attributes of God and these complemented each other. Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya by his sympathetic and generous approach towards life attracted thousands to himself, whereas Shaikh Ahmad Sabri isolated himself from the world and lived the life of a

recluse. And yet his moral influence for the uplift of men cannot be minimized.

We have no intention of giving an exhaustive list of the Chishti saints and to describe their achievements in the spiritual and moral realms. Besides this order there are other orders also which have played quite a significant role in the spread of Sufi doctrines in India. The Suhrawardy order is one of the oldest that established itself in north-western India. Shaikh Shihabuddin Suhrawardy, the eminent author of *'Awariful Ma'arif* had directed several of his disciples to proceed to India including Shaikh Hamiduddin Nagori and Shaikh Bahauddin Zakariyya of Multan. Shaikh Hamiduddin Nagori was the author of two books *Tawali'ush Shams* and *Lawa'ih.* He was very fond of musical parties and sometimes he formed such parties with Shaikh Qutbuddin Bakhtiar Kaki, with whom he was on very intimate terms. They respected each other, and the one treated the other as if he were his Shaikh.

The man who may be called the pioneer of the Suhrawardy order in India was Shaikh Bahauddin Zakariyya Suhrawardy. His master Shaikh Shihabuddin had directed him to make Multan the centre of his activity. In those days Multan was the capital of Qabacha, the rival of Iltutmish.

Shaikh Bahauddin Zakariyya Multani was a man of great courage of conviction. He was critical of Qabacha's administration and even went so far as to write to Iltutmish about it. The letter was intercepted by Qabacha's men and the Shaikh was asked to give his explanation in person. Without losing confidence Shaikh Bahauddin Zakariyya went to Qabacha and without getting perturbed in the least said whatever I have written is absolutely correct. I was prompted to write the letter under the commands of God "

Qabacha, on hearing this, became so nervous that he asked forgiveness and paid his respects to the Shaikh (*Fawa'idul Fuwad*).

Shaikh Bahauddin Zakariyya was a man of very mild disposition. He was generous. His relations with mystics of the Chishti order were extremely cordial. When Qutb Sahib first came to India he stayed in Multan in his *Khanqah* for some time. He was on terms of most affectionate intimacy with Baba Farid Ganjshakar, with whom he had a regular correspondence. In one of his letters addressed to Baba Farid he said, " Between you and me, there is a relationship of love ".

To this Baba Farid replied : " Yes, between you and me there is love, and not a mere game (*Akhbarul Akhyar*).[1]

Shaikh Fakhruddin 'Iraqi, the well-known mystical poet of Persia was one of the chief disciples of Shaikh Bahauddin Zakariyya. His famous *ghazal* the first couplet of which is,

1. Shaikh Bahauddin Zakariya used the following words: Miane ma o shuma ishqbazist. In reply Baba Farid said: 'miane ma o shuma ishq ast, bazi nist.'

Nakhustin Bada Kandar Jam Kardand,
Ze Chashme Maste Saqi Wam Kardand.

(The first wine that was poured into the goblet was borrowed from the intoxicated eye of the cupbearer) was composed in the *Khanqah* of the Shaikh at Multan.

Shaikh Husain Amir Husaini Suhrawardy was another disciple who compiled several books on *Tasawwuf*, the most important of them being: *Nuzhatul Arwah* (2) *Siratul mustaqim* (3) *Tarabul Majalis* (4) *Zadul Musafirin* and (5) *Kanzul Rumuz*. Jami in his *Nafahatul Uns* mentions his *Divan* and adds that his verses were extremely elegant.

Shaikh Bahauddin Zakariyya was succeeded by his son Shaikh Sadruddin and the latter by Shaikh Ruknuddin, who appointed Sayyid Jalaluddin Bukhari Jahanian Jahangasht, as his Khalifa. He had travelled widely in Islamic countries and had benefited from the company of the mystics of his time. He made Uch his headquarters (*Akhbarul Akhyar*).

'Sultan Muhammad Tughlaq appointed Sayyid Jalaluddin Bukhari to the post of the Shaikhul Islam, but the latter relieved himself of this position and went to Mecca for Hajj. He himself says that if he had not done so he would have become conceited and would have "stuck in the mud."

When Sayyid Jalaluddin Bukhari visited Shaikh Nasiruddin Chiragh Dehlavi, the latter initiated him into the Chishtia order and presented him with the garment of khilafat. This shows that extreme tolerance that prevailed among the leaders of different mystic orders in those times.

Firoz Tughlaq had great regard and esteem for Sayyid Jalaluddin Bukhari. Whenever the latter went to Delhi, the Sultan came out of the city to offer him a welcome. When in Delhi, the Sayyid used to be a royal guest and was treated with the greatest honour ('Afif, *Tarikhi Firozshahi*).

Another contemporary mystic whom Firoz Tughlaq held in high esteem was Shaikh sharfuddin Yahya Manairi (1380 A.D. who belonged to the Firdausia order of mystics which was a branch of the Suhrawardy order. The activities of the Firdausis were largely confined to Bihar. Shaikh Sharfuddin Yahya Manairi, disciple of Khwaja Najmuddin Firdausi, made his head-quarters at Rajgir, after undergoing severe austerities and self-mortification for nearly twelve years. The Shaikh was not only a practical guide, but also an excellent exponent of the theoretical side of mysticism. His epistles (*Maktubat*) are a fine specimen of orthodox moderation in which it is sought to reconcile the doctrine of the 'Unity of Being' (*Wahdatul Wujud*)- with the law of Islam.

This was the period of history when the doctrine of *Wahdatul Wujud* (Unity of Being) as expounded by Shaikh Muhiuddin Ibn ul 'Arabi (1165-1240 A.D.) had found its way into mystic circles in India. The teachings of Ibn ul 'Arabi were generally condemned by the orthodox Sufis

who sensed in its extraordinary complexity and unreconciled contradictions a great danger to mystical theosophy itself. His system is openly monistic, although he invariably supports his ideas by the text of the Qur'an. Ibn ul 'Arabi asserted the identity of the Haqq and Khalq, the creator and the created. According to him God is the unity behind all the plurality and the reality behind all phenomenal appearance. "There is nothing but God, nothing in existence other than He; there is not even a 'there' where the essence of all things is one "*(Futuhati Makkia)*".

Ibn ul 'Arabi's conception of *Wahdatul Wujud* is an extension of the Islamic doctrine of *Tauhid.* From the doctrine that there exists but one God," he takes us to the professsion that "there is nothing in existence except God". This, he maintained, being a matter of the heart could not be realized through reason. It needed a higher system of knowledge based on the intuitive experience of the individual which he called *Dhauq.*

Ibn ul 'Arabi's system implies the immanence of the Divine Being. He fully realised that it might lead to polytheism which he rejected. To escape this dilemma he laid emphasis on the principle of love which binds all beings together. According to him the highest manifestation in which God is worshipped is love ('Afifi, p. 151). In the *Fususul Hikam* and the *Futuhat Makkiya* Ibn ul 'Arabi has expounded some of the most momentous doctrines of mystical theosophy, which had enormous influence on Muslim thought. As its reaction Imam Ibn Taimiyya and Imam Dhahabi strongly opposed and rejected the doctrine of the 'Unity of Being' and a similar reaction was evident in India, as we shall show later.

In his *Maktubat* (*writings*) Shaikh Sharfuddin Yahya Munairi discussed the mystic implications of Islamic *Tauhid* and clearly expounded that both in its stage of gnosticism (*'Ilm*) as well as in the stage of immediate vision (shuhud) of the doctrine of the 'Unity of being' the slave remains a slave and God remains God. His interpretation of the passing away of the self (fana) is that the devotee in this state of consciousness experiences a vision in which he feels one with God who manifests Himself in the form of light or Illumination (*Tajalli*). The union with God is not like the union of a body with a body or of a substance with a substance, or of an accident with an accident, on the contrary it is an intuitive contact, and a detachment from the world and all that is other than God. The remoteness and nearness to God is maintained only in relation to our ignorance and knowledge. In other words, he who knows more stands nearer to Him than he who knows less.[1] The association of a body with a body is not real. It can be real only when the thing with which it is associated is comprehended by it. The comprehension of one object by another is in relation to its fineness; the finer it is the more comprehensive it would be. The essence of association is the secret of the Qur'anic verse. *Wahuwa ma'kum* (that He is with you).[2] Only men of vision can realise

1. The term *Qurb* (nearness) used by the Sufis is taken from the Qur'an. We are nearer to Him than his life-vein. (50 : 16.)
2. The full Qur'anic verse is: "That He is with you wherever you are. (57 : 4)

this as it is beyond the power of reason to understand. (*Maktubat*).

We have a feeling that the ideas expressed by Shaikh Sharfuddin Yahya Munairi in his *Maktubat* about *Tauhid* (unity of God) and the intuitive contact or association with Him, have a direct bearing on the position taken up later by Shaikh Ahmad Sarhindi, generally known as the 'Mujaddid'. Like Shaikh Sharfuddin Yahya Munairi he also adopted the form of 'Maktubat' for the exposition of his ideas and theories of mysticism. The similarity of ideas between the two mystics is clear and unmistakable.

Shaikh Sharfuddin Yahya Munairi was not only a speculative thinker of a high order, but also a practical guide to his disciples. He was a copious writer as is testified by no less an authority than Shaikh 'Abdul Haq Muhaddith (*Akhbarul Akhyar*, 109). Apart from his *Maktubat* (writings) and Malfuzat (sayings), he compiled several books for the guidance of devotees. The *Fawa'idul Muridin, Irshadat Talibin* and *Rahatul Qulub* may here be mentioned.

As a practical mystic, Shaikh Sharfuddin Yahya Munairi, like his predecessors, laid particular stress on the service of humanity as a part of mystic discipline. In his letter addressed to Malik Khidr he writes: 'In this dark world it is incumbent to serve the needy by the pen, tongue, wealth and position. Prayers, fasting and voluntary worship are good as far as they go, but they are not as useful as making others happy." (*Maktubat*).

In another letter he writes: "The nearest way to reach God for Kings and nobles and men of means and wealth, is to succour the needy and to offer a helping hand to the down-trodden. A saint has said that there are many paths leading to the Lord but the shortest is to console the afflicted and to give comfort to the hearts of men. Somebody mentioned to the saint the goodness of a ruler who kept awake the whole night to offer prayers and fasted during the day. Having heard this the saint said: He is neglecting his own work, while he is doing the work of others." When the saint was asked what he meant by his remark, he added: "The real function of a ruler is to feed his people well, to clothe the naked, to rehabilitate the desolate hearts of men and to succour the needy. As for prayers and fasting and voluntary worship, the darwishes can very well do this." (*Maktubat*).

It was primarily due to these mystics that Muslim society was spiritually and morally consolidated after the disintegration of the Delhi Sultanate and the foundation of various dynasties in different parts of the country. It was through these mystics on the one hand and the Hindu *bhagats* on the other that the gulf between the ruler and the ruled was to some extent bridged.

Shai*kh* 'Abul Quddus Gangohi, (d.1537 A.D.), a mystic of the Chishtia Sabria order admonished Sikandar-Lodhi and then Babar, when the latter had established his rule over Northern India, to do justice and to ameliorate the condition of the people (*Maktubat-i-Quddusi*). He was

an exponent of the doctrine of the 'Unity of Being' which had by now become a part of the texture of mystic thought in India. Moreover, it was the poetry of Jalaluddin Rumi, Hafiz and Jami that had a special appeal to Indian Muslims and which by implication went a long way to popularise the concept of '*Wahdatal Wujud*' among the intelligentsia of the country.

Having dealt to some extent with the development of the mystic orders of the Chishti, the Suhrawardy and the Firdausi, let us now try to appraise the contributions of the Qadiri and the Naqshbandi orders.

The original founder of the Qadiri order was the celebrated Shaikh 'Abdul Qadir Jilani of Baghdad (d. 1165 A.D.), most universally revered of all the saints of Islam. The Qadiri order has been especially instrumental in the spread of Islam in Western Africa and in Central Asia. It was late in reaching India. The first to introduce it in this country were Shah Ni'amatullah and Makhdum Muhammad Gilani, who lived towards the middle of the fifteenth century. The latter settled in Uch which was already a centre of the activities of the Suhrawardy order. He was succeeded by his son, Makhdum 'Abdul Qadir. His grandson, Shaikh Hamid Ganj Bakhsh, was a man of keen mystical insight. He had two sons, Shaikh 'Abdul Qadir and Shaikh Musa, who, after the death of their father, moved to Agra. The latter had accepted a Mansab of five hundred given by the Emperor Akbar. Shaikh 'Abdul Qadir was of an independent disposition. He did not care for government service. He used to say his prayers in the audience-hall of Fathpur Sikri, and when asked by Akbar to say them at home, he said, "My king, this is not your kingdom that you should pass orders." Akbar cancelled his grant of land, whereupon 'Abdul Qadir went back to Uch. (*'Ain-i-Akbari* and *Muntakhabat Tawarikh*).

Other famous mystics of the Qadiri order were Shaikh Da'ud Kirmani, and Shaikh Abul Ma'ali Qadiri of Lahore. Shaikh 'Abdul Haq Muhaddith, who had previously accepted the discipleship of Shaikh 'Ali Muttaqi at Mecca, became a follower of Shaikh Musa Gilani about whom he has given a detailed account in his *Akhbarul Akhyar*.

The Qadiri order found a great devotee in Prince Dara Shukoh who visited Mian Mir (1550-1635 A. D.) at Lahore with his father, the Emperor Shahjahan, and was much impressed by his saintly personality. That very year Mian Mir died and was succeeded by Mullah Shah Badakhshi as his Khalifa. Dara became the latter's disciple. After having acquired the esoteric knowledge of the Qadiri order, Dara wrote *Safinatul Auliya* and *Sakinat-ul-Auliya*, both being mystics' biographies. The theosophy of Dara Shukoh is of a piece with the current notions of *Wahdatal Wujud*' among the Indo-Muslim mystics. His other works on mysticism are: (1) *Risalai Haq Numa*, (2) *Majmaul Bahrain* (3) *Hasanatul 'Arifin*. At his instance persian translations of the *Bhagwat Gita* and the *Yog Vasist* were made by competent scholars. He himself rendered

into persian the *Upanishads* under the title of *Sirr-i-Akbar* (The Great Secret) or *Sirr-i-Asrar* (The Secret of Secrets) which should be considered a great literary achievement of this mystic prince. The object of Dara's literary pursuits was to establish harmony and concord between Islam and Hinduism and thus to transcend the barriers imposed by the dissimilarity of the religions.

In this connection it should be noted that besides the influence on him of his spiritual teachers of the Qadiri order, Dara came in contact with Sarmad, the famous Sufi anarchist of Delhi. The intimate relation of Dara with Sarmad are confirmed by one of the former's letters :—" My master and guide, for so many days I have been thinking of coming to you but I could not. If I am I, then why this suspension of my intention? If I am not I, then this is no fault of mine. If the martyrdom of Imam Husain was in accordance with the divine will, how would you account for the Quranic verse : 'Allah doeth what He wills and commandeth what He wishes'. When the holy Prophet was engaged in a battle with the infidels, the armies of Islam were routed by the enemies. Learned people say that this was meant to be a lesson in patience. But one who has already reached perfection does not require lessons any more". To this letter Sarmad replied: 'Dear friend! whatever we learnt, we have entirely forgotten, except the words of our beloved which we go on repeating'. After the accession of Aurangzeb, a council of '*Ulama* presided over by Shaikh Abdul Qavi, passed a verdict on the heresy of Sarmad and he was executed and buried in front of the Jami' Masjid of Delhi. His 'Ruba'iyat, (quatrains) are rightly praised for their exquisite elegance and penetrating vision.

The Chishti order gained in popularity in the time of Akbar. We know it as a historical fact that Akbar became greatly devoted to the Chishti order from the time that he had a son in answer to the prayers of a Chishti saint, Shaikh Salim Chishti, in whose house Jahangir was born. This is why Akbar used to call him 'Shaikhu Baba'. (*Tuzuk*, p. 1). Another Chishti saint of the early Mughal period was Shaikh 'Abdul 'Aziz Chishti for whom Bairam Khan had great esteem. His son Shaikh Qutbe-i-'Alam Chishti, carried on the torch of esoteric knowledge handed over to him by his father. (*Akhbarul Akhyar*).

In the eighteenth century, Shaikh Kalimullah of Delhi and his disciple, Shaikh Nizamuddin Chishti, stand out as prominent personalities of the time. The latter, in accordance with the wish of his master made Aurangabad his headquarters. For a number of years he was a source of blessing to thousands of men who came to him from all parts of the Deccan. His son and successor, Shaikh Fakhruddin, went to Delhi where Akbar Shah, the Mughal Emperor, became his disciple. His chief spiritual successor was Maulana Niaz Ahmad of Bareli who wrote elegant mystical verses in Urdu.

How the ideas of *Wahdatul Wujud* had permeated the spiritual and intellectual life of the period is evident from the inscription which Abul Fadl wrote for a temple in Kashmir. It runs : "O God, in every temple I see people that seek Thee, and in every language I hear spoken people praise Thee! Polytheism and Islam feel after Thee. Each religion says, 'Thou art one, without equal.' If it be a mosque, people murmur the holy prayer, and if it be a Christian Church, people ring the bell from love to Thee. Sometimes I frequent the Christian cloister and sometimes the mosque, but it is Thou whom I search from house to house. Thy elect have no dealings with either heresy or orthodoxy; for neither of them stands behind the screen of Thy truth. Heresy to the heretic, and religion to the orthodox, but the dust of the rose petal belongs to the heart of the perfume seller.

This temple was erected for the purpose of binding together the hearts of the Unitarians of Hidustan, and especially those of His worshippers that live in the province of Kashmir,

By order of the Lord of the throne and the crown, the lamp of creation Shah Akbar,

In whom the seven miracles find uniformity, in whom the four elements attain perfect fusion,

He who from insincere motives destroys this temple, should first destroy his own place ot worship; for if we follow the dictates of the heart, we must bear up with all men, but if we look to the external, we find everything proper to be destroyed.

O God, thou art just and judgest an action by the motive,

Thou knowest whether a motive is sublime, and tellest the king what motives a king should have." (*'Ain-i-Akbari*)

By the time of Akbar the doctrine of *Wahdatul Wujud* had become the dominant mystical theosophy of Muslim India. The sufis openly extolled *Sukr* or rapturous ecstasy above *Sahu* or sobriety. Most of them attested that they were still within the fold of Islam. The *Din-i-Ilahi* of Akbar, based as it was on a superficial eclecticism, was quite in keeping with the doctrine of the 'Unity of Being!' It helped greatly the popularization of pantheistic ideas and also the weakening of religious consciousness among Indian Muslims. Akbar openly turned his face from Islam and cast reproaches upon the doctrines of Islam and all questions relating to the Shari'at (Badaoni, II, p. 269).

It seems that the Naqshbandi order of mystics was destined to accept the challenge flung against orthodox Islam in India by the upholders of the doctrine of the 'Unity of Being' and by the eclecticism of Akbar. This order was introduced in India by Khwaja Baqi Billah (1563-1603 A.D), seventh in the line of succession to khwaja Bahauddin Naqshband (1317-1389 A.D.), the founder of the order. From the beginning this order had laid great stress on the observance of the law of the Prophet (*Shari'at*) and had emphatically denounced all *bid'at*. i.e. the innovations which had soiled

the purity of the Islamic doctrine. Khwaja Baqi Billah's chief disciple, Shaikh Ahmad Sarhindi, generally known as the *Mujaddid*, attacked the doctrine of the 'Unity of Being' as expounded by Ibnul 'Arabi and accepted by the Muslim mystics in general, not only in India, but in other countries as well.

The *Mujaddid* had a dynamic personality. In spite of his mysticism he was endowed with a particularly visible character. In his epistles (*Muktubat*) written to his disciples and followers he preached that God, who created the world, could not be identified with his creatures. Rejecting the *Wahdatul Wujud*, as believed by some of the Sufi of the sixteenth century under the influence of Vedantist pantheism, he expounded the doctrine of *Wahdatul Shuhud* (apparentism) to serve as a corrective to the prevailing tendency. According to him the 'Unity of Being' is not an objective but a subjective experience. It appears to the mystic that he is identified with God, but in reality it is not so. In his rapturous ecstasy he gets lost in the object of his love and adoration and begins to feel as if his self was completely annihilated. This experience of annihilation of identity is a transient one after which the mystic comes back to the stage of *'abdiyat* (servitude) which is the *summum bonum* of the spiritual life of one who believes in a transcendental God. The *Mujaddid* also rejected the principle of immanence as contrary to the ethical life of Muslims. According to Islamic teaching, he maintains that God comprehends everything and is nearer to us than our life-vein as the Qur'an has put it. The nature of this comprehension and nearness is beyond human understanding. The stage of *'abdiyat* (servitude) can only be reached when one is completely free from all kinds of worldly attachments. The relation between man and God is that of slave and master or that of the worshipper and the worshipped. It is not the relation of lover and beloved, as the Sufis generally hold. The only way to realize the mysteries of the Divine existence, was to follow the law of the *Shari'at* without which the mystic was likely to be led stray from the object of his pursuit. It was because of his efforts to harmonize the doctrines of mysticism with the teachings of orthodox Islam that Shaikh Ahmad Sarhindi was called the *Mujaddid*, renovator and reformer of Islam.

It is generally said that Aurangzeb had no faith in mystics, being a practical, hard-headed man of the world. This is wrong. He was a disciple of Khwaja Muhammad Ma'sum, son of the *Mujaddid*. He had no faith in pseudo-mystics or those who deviated from the path of the *Shari'at*. Some instances of his time are quoted here which throw light on the characters of the mystics concerned as well as on the character of the Emperor.

Aurangzeb wanted to give a grant of land to Shah 'Abdur Rahim, father of Shah Waliullah, a divine and a mystic of the Naqshbandi order who had helped in the compilation of the *Fatawai 'Alamgiri*, but the Shah

sahib declined to accept this offer as he did not like to have any connection with the Court. Aurangzeb was keen to meet Shah Abdur Rahim and he sent a message to him to which the Shah Sahib replied. "All men of God agree that that mystic (*Faqir*) is wicked who is found on the threshold of kings. · God Almighty says in the Qur'an: 'The provisions of this world are scant' (4:77). You have received a tiny bit yourself. If perchance you give me something out of it, there will remain hardly any thing for you. Why should I get my name cancelled from this office of the Lord? In some of the conversations with the leaders of the Chishtia order it is stated that one whose name is entered in the Imperial Office, is automatically removed from the office of the Lord" (*Anfasul 'Arifin*).

While quoting the above statement, Shah Waliullah says: "Aurangzeb put this letter in his pocket. Whenever he changed his clothes, he retained the letter with him. When he was alone and at leisure he used to take out the letter from his pocket, read it and actually weep."

In Burhanpur there used to live a mystic named Shaikh 'Abdul Latif. Aurangzeb, when he was the Subedar of the Deccan, visited him and requested him to accept the grant of a village to meet his expenses, but the mystic declined to do so and recited the following verse: 'The king gives us a village and thus obliges us, while God Almighty gives us daily bread without any obligation." On hearing this Aurangzeb was much impressed and said that he had no intention to oblige but to seek bliss in this world and blessing for the next. To this Shaikh 'Abdul Latif replied, "If you desire bliss in this world and blessing for the next, lead a virtuous life, fix stipends for deserving recluses who trust in God, and protect the oppressed and the meek." Aurangzeb tried to act up to the advice of the mystic as he mentions in one of his letters, (*Ruqqa'at 'Alamgir*). Even after his accession to the throne Aurangzeb used to write frequently to Shaikh 'Abdul Latif for whom he retained high esteem. (*Muntakhabul Lubab*).

During his Subedari of the Deccan, Aurangzeb visited another mystic, Shaikh Burhan, who lived in Burhanpur. As the Shaikh did not like to see kings and nobles, Aurangzeb went to his *Khanqah* incognito. Seeing a new-comer the Shaikh asked him his name. When Aurangzeb told him his name, the Shaikh turned his face away, nor did he give any blessing. Next day Aurangzeb again went to the *Khanqah*, but the Shaikh expressed his disapproval and said, "If you are fond of this house, you may have it, we shall go somewhere else." The third day Aurangzeb again went to see the Shaikh and addressed him respectfully: "You know that Dara has relegated the *Shari'at* to the limits of oblivion. If I become king I shall enforce the law of Islam and shall serve the people. Your attention will help." The Shaikh immediately replied: "Nothing happens by the prayers of such an insignificant *faqir* as I am. You are a king. You should pray and make a vow that you will do justice and serve the people and lead a virtuous life. Your prayer will be heard we shall also pray.

Shaikh Nizam, who accompanied Aurangzeb, felicitated him on the implications of the Shaikh's utterance (*Muntakhabul Lubab*).

The *Mujaddid* by his incisive and unassailable logic had demolished the doctrine of the 'Unity of Being' (*Wahdatul Wujud*) and in its place presented his thesis of 'apparentism' or modified monism (*Wahdat-i-Shuhud*) which silenced all discussion on theoretical mysticism for nearly a century. It was another mystic of the Naqshbandi order, Shah Waliullah (1702-1762 A. D.) who for the first time reopened the question raised by the *Mujaddid*. He on his part, attempted to reconcile the two doctrines of the *Wahdatul Wujud* and *Wahdat-i-Shuhud*, his contention being that there is no fundamental difference between the two theories.

Shah Waliullah, in his treatise called *Faislatul Wahdatul Wujud Wash Shuhud*, (Judgment on the doctrines of the 'Unity of Being' and 'apparentism') claimed that he had been divinely appointed to effect a synthesis between the opposite points of view and that he was going to pronounce his judgment on the dispute between the two doctrines as an arbiter. He has attempted dispassionately to appraise the value of both the doctrines.

In his other treatise on mysticism, *Fuyuzul Haramain*, he describes a dream of his and says: "I dreamt of a large number of men of God who were divided into two groups. Those in the first group were looking fresh and their faces were shining. They were those who remembered God and recited his praises. The other group consisted of the believers in the doctrine of the 'Unity of Being' who devoted themselves to penetrating the mystery of existence. Their faces were drawn and dark. Both the groups were disputing between themselves trying to prove the superiority of their respective doctrines.. ....on hearing their arguments I said: 'Both the parties are unaware of the comprehensive reality' (*Haqiqatul Jam'ia*), without which the refinement of the soul was not possible (pp. 4-5). This clearly shows that Shah Waliullah was not inclined to favour the doctrine of the 'Unity of Being' if divorced from the law of the Prophet.

Shah Walliullah, like Junaid of Baghdad, had the extraordinary gift of reconciling divergent points of view. He has pointed out that both Ibnul 'Arabi and the *Mujaddid* maintain that real existence belongs to God alone and that He alone has actual independent being. The existence of the world is not real and yet it cannot be called imaginary either, being the idea of God. God is the only self-subsisting, eternal and necessary Being and all else is created and has a contingent existence. In different aspects God transcends and in dwells. His transendence and immanence are invited through their different functions in God's total Being in which all reality is included and all distinctions are annulled. According to him, to maintain that there is one Reality which manifests itself in an infinity of forms and pluralities, is the same as to hold that contingent beings are the reflection of the names and attributes of the

necessary Being. If at all there is any difference between the two positions it is insignificant and can be ignored. There would be no justification to build two opposite systems of thought on such a flimsy difference of interpretation. (*Faislatul Wahdatal Wujud Wash Shuhud*).[1]

In his letter addressed to 'Afandi Isma'il ibn 'Abdullah of Medina, generally known as the Medina letter, Shah Waliullah has justified the synthesis of the two doctrines. He says that *Wahdatul Wujud* and *Wahdatush Shuhud* are relative terms used on two different occasions as arguments about the existence of the Divine Being and his relation with man and the world. It is only a difference of approach to the same reality. Both are based on direct mystic experience and they do not contradict each other. The difference of interpretation is due to the metaphorical language which has been employed by the two parties. And yet on another occasion he has observed that in the mystic path the stage of 'apparentism' is higher than that of the 'Unity of Being.' (*Tafhimate-Ilahiya*).

Shah Waliullah was a copious writer on jurisprudence, the Traditions of the Prophet and mysticism. His works on mysticism are: (1) *Hamat* (2) *Fuyuzul Haramain* (3) *Altaful Quds* (4) *Anfasul 'Arifin* (5) *Tafhimat -i-Ilahia* and (6) *Faislatu Wahdatal Wujud Wash Shuhud.*

It is to be noted that just as Shah Waliullah effected a synthesis between the claims of Jurisprudence (fiqh and the Traditions (*Hadith*) and between the different schools of *fiqh*, he also attempted to reconcile the opposite doctrines of the *Shaikh-i-Akbar* and the *Mujaddid*, as fundamentally both of them maintained that the real Being belongs to God only and only He really exists. This is not pantheism, it is the very essence of Islam itself.

Shah Waliullah fully realized that Sufism is based on intense religious experience and its essentials cannot be presented in a logical form. Whenever there has been an attempt to systematize it, misunderstandings have been created. When Ibnul 'Arabi attempted to interpret the feeling of union with the Divine Being through a logical system, he had to give it a form of pantheism. But to maintain his position he made many compromises with the *Shari'at* which resulted in a great confusion of thought.

The latest attempt to justify Ibnul 'Arabi was made by the great mystic of the twentieth century, Maulvi Ashraf 'Ali Thanvi in his *Attanbihat Tarrabi fi tanzih Ibnul 'Arabi*." In this treatise the author has shown from the texts of the *Fusus* and the '*Futuhat*' that Ibnul 'Arabi upheld the law of the Prophet and the orthodox ritual of Islam, and that these texts neutralize his other utterances which should not be isolated to pronounce a judgment upon him.

1. For detailed study see Afifi's *The Mystical Philosophy of Muhiyuddin-Ibnul 'Arabi* and Burhan Ahmad Faruqi's *The Mujaddid's Conception of Tawhid.*

Khwaja Mir Dard was another great mystic of the Naqshbandi order and contemporary of Shah Waliullah who criticised the doctrine of *Wahdatul Wujud* in the light of his inner experience. Subjectively speaking he justified it as it helped to dissociate the mystic from the phenomenal existence which is other than God. In the last analysis both the doctrines of the 'Unity of Being' and 'apparentism' have one and the same object in view, in that both require the devotee to detach his heart from the affiliations of the phenomenal world. According to him the doctrine of *Wahdatul Wujud* is expounded by those who are in a state of ecstatic intoxication. It is highly injudicious for the masses of the people to give expression to such thoughts Khwaja Mir Dard further adds that those who maintain the doctrine of *wahdat ush Shuhud* are devoid of the knowledge of Reality. He has expounded his own mystic theory which he calls(*'Ilme Ilahi Muhammadi*) (knowledge of God based on the teachings of Muhammad). He draws inspiration for his esoteric ideas from the Qur'an. According to him those who follow this path will get self-realization as well as God-realization. These men should be called the genuine unitarians, as in spite of their divine vision they remain 'slaves of God.' It is slavery to God that results in nearness to Him which is the height of bliss. For a slave there can be no higher privilege than to witness his Master face to face. Even the Prophet called himself a slave (*'abd*) first and then a Prophet (*rasul*). The greatness of man lies in the fact that in spite of being a slave of God, his essence remains divine. Man's essence is the spirit of God. He is light (*nur*) created from the source of all light. Instead of the word *Wujud* (being) which has not been employed in the Qur'an in the sense in which it was used later, Khwaja Mir Dard gives preference to the word *nur* which he considers to be more comprehensive. To him *Wujud* (being) and *nur* (light) mean one and the same thing, and imply self-manifestation without the help of another (*'Ilmul Kitab*).

Evidently, Khwaja Mir Dard had taken his clue from the Quranic verse: "Allah is the light of the heavens and of the earth. His light is like a niche in which is a lamp—the lamp encased in a glass—the glass is, as it were, a shining star, lit from a blessed olive tree, neither of the east nor of the west, the oil where of almost gives light, though fire touched it not. Light upon light Allah guides to His light whom he pleases and Allah sets forth parables for men and Allah is cognizant of all things." (24:35)

The metaphor of light used in the Qur'an for the Being of God suggets both Absolutism and Omnipresence which covers both transcendentalism and all immanence of the Supreme Being. Khwaja Mir Dard devoted one whole chapter to this problem in his *'Ilmul Kitab,* which is full of poetic imagery and allusive metaphors.

The Khwaja, like Ibnul 'Arabi and 'Abdul Karim Jili, has also expatiated on the perfection of the ideal man. The belief in the realization of the divine self of man has been a dynamic principle in sufi theosophy. The ideal man is the manifestation of divine virtues and perfection.

He is the centre round which the whole universe revolves. His potentialities are infinite.

'Ilmul Kitab is the chief work of the Khwaja who was a copious writer. Being a high class poet in Persian and Urdu, he is fond of using metaphors and allegories which sometimes make the text obscure and involved. His other works on mysticism are: (1) *Waridat-i-Dard* (2) *Nalai Dard* (3) *Ahe Sard* (4) *Dard-e-Dil* and (5) *Sham'i Mahfil.*

The chief contribution of Khwaja Mir Dard to mystic theosophy is the synthesis which he effected between the elements of legalism and love. He considers himself to be both a slave and a lover of God. He resolved the conflict of law and love by subordinating the latter to the limits set by the Shari'at. It is to be noticed that in the controversy that raged regarding the validity of the doctrine of Ibnul 'Arabi,' the entire approach of both the parties was scholastic, and the chief motif of mystic theosophy–the love of God–was completely ignored. Khwaja Mir Dard conceives love as a movement towards the idea of a Perfect Beauty after which the soul hankers. He says in his inimitable style : I am not a Sufi that I may open a new chapter on *Tasawwuf*, nor am I a mullah that I may start discussion and disputation. I am a sincere adorer of Muhammad, and I am intoxicated with his pure wine. From one who is thus drunk, you should expect to hear the tale of the beloved only. Dard is like a nightingale from whom you may hear his plaint. It is through him that the plaint of the nightingale is made intelligible (Nalai *Dard*).

Again he says : "Love, being an eternal gift of God, refines and purifies the heart and detaches it from worldly impurities. It is through love that one reaches the stage of acquiescence and submission and nearness to the Divine Being. It detaches the heart from all that is other than God and establishes spiritual relationship with Him. It gives pain and also provides its remedy. In this state the traveller on the path (of Reality) becomes annihilated in the object of his pursuit and yet secures abiding life for himself. The sickness and pain of the heart becomes its own treatment.

In a quatrain he says.

Love which was given to us on the day of creation,
Cannot dwell in the heart without designing
a portrait of submission.
The pain becomes its own remedy,
And the heart may be likened to a blister,
broken on the side. (*Nalai Dard*)[1]

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1. Ishqi ke nasibe ma shud az roze azal, Dar sina baghair naqsh taslim na bast.
Ya'ni shuda dard 'aini darman mara, Dil ablai bud be pehlu be shikast.

In about all parts of the country the Sufis had established their hospices (*Khanqahs)* where spiritual congregations were held under the presidency of the mystic preceptor (*Pir*) who prescribed the mystic discipline for his followers. Music was generally patronized in the hospices of the Chishti and the Suhrawardy orders and the *qawwals* (singers) sang Persian songs, sometimes Hindi songs were also sung. References to such musical congregations where *qawwali* was recited are found in the '*Akhbarul Akhyar*', Badouni, Amali Sahib, *Haft Aqlim* and other works on medieval Indian history.

A mystic of Gujerat, Shaikh Muhiuddin Abu Yusuf Yahya, a contemporary of Aurangzeb, was fond of hearing vocal music. Mirza Baqar, the *Muhtasib*, in accordance with a royal order suppressed all such musical parties throughout Ahmadabad. The Shaikh defied the order in his congregation. The *Muhtasib*, as a last resort, decided to bring the singers out of the hospice by force, but the latter prepared to offer resistance. The *Muhtasib* was persuaded by an Arab Chief not to meddle in the Shaikh's affairs. The Shaikh then wrote to Aurangzeb in this connection. Aurangzeb, who had previously heard about the saintly life of the Shaikh, issued orders to the *Nazim* of Gujerat, the *Diwan* and the *Qadi*, requiring them to censure Mirza Baqar, the *Muhtasib*, and to bid him refrain from bothering the Shaikh (*Mir'at-i-Ahmedi*).

The mystic discipline through the hospices (*Khanqahs*) continued to progress till the end of the seventeenth century after which deterioration set in. But even in the eighteenth century some of these hospices were centres of spiritual culture. For instance, the *Khanqah* of Khwaja Mir Dard was one such centre. The Emperor Shah 'Alam used to go there very often. One day, the Emperor feeling ill at ease by sitting on the floor for quite a long time, stretched forward one of his legs to which Khwaja Mir Dard took strong exception. The Emperor had to ask forgiveness for his indiscretion.

The Sufis in India, as elsewhere, attached an esoteric significance to the teaching of the Qur'an. To them it had a deeper and more inward sense, but they did not claim any exclusive knowledge of the mysteries of existence. They, however, propounded a scheme of life within the limits set by the law of Islam (*Shari'at*) which they considered formed the true path (*tariqat*) to the ultimate goal of attaining nearness to God. They preached inward light as against the dogmatic formalism of the ecclesiastics and the legists, and their exalted idealism brought spiritual solace and comfort to many a heart tossed on the sea of uncertainty and doubt.

RICHARD BELL'S STUDY OF THE QUR'AN: (A CRITICAL ANALYSIS)†

S. VAHIDUDDIN*

"FEW Books", says Mr. Richard Bell, "have exercised a wider or deeper influence upon the spirit of man than the Qur'an." But the proper appreciation of the Qur'an bristles with singular difficulties. Both Muslim commentators as well as European scholars have erred in their own way and a false apprehension of the Qur'an has been so much hallowed by tradition and history that it looks nothing less than presumptuous on our part to ask for a new orientation in the study of this great book. European scholars at the very outset block all ways of true understanding by considering it as a 'book' among books and when they consider it as a book their criticism becomes scholastic and academic at its worst. Mr. Bell himself offers a typical example of such arid criticism. "Its arrangement," he complains, "is unsystematic and though it is written in, on the whole, intelligible Arabic, even in its language there are difficulties which scholars have not yet succeeded in explaining." Here Mr. Bell follows in the footsteps of his own great countryman, Thomas Carlyle. Carlyle, too, in spite of all his sympathies, completely missed the spirit of Islam and made most misleading statements about the Prophet and the Qur'an. Strangely enough in this wilderness only a great poet stands out as one who could echo the inner meaning of Islam and see the unique greatness of the Prophet, we mean Goethe. By an almost uncanny insight and vision he discerned in the Prophet a primordial force carrying Nature with him and the Qur'an offered him an ever deepening insight. It is true that the Qur'an calls itself the Book wherein lies no doubt. But the question is, what sort of a book is it? It is revealed and inspired and with this character it openly associates itself with the revealed books of the past and declares

† Richard Bell: *Introduction to the Qur'an.* (The University Press, Edinburgh 1953).

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itself to be a revealed book, though the last of them. Now we suddenly find ourselves transformed to a totally new plane of criticism and we are faced with some of the most tricky questions of metaphysics and psychology. Indeed, the genesis of religion itself is in question.

The evaluation of the Qur'an naturally depends on one's own assessment of the general scheme of things, on one's own outlook and philosophy in its general and broad significance. Foremost of the questions that are of immediate concern here are the existence of God and the possibility of divine revelation and of divine communication. It is possible to affirm the existence of God and deny the possibility of any revelation. The deists, indeed, believe this to be true. There is also another possibility. One may, however, affirm both the existence of God and revelation but deny it in a particular case. Generally the European scholars, who have undertaken a critical scrutiny of the Qur'an, seem to believe in God and in the possibility of divine communication but seem to deny it in the particular case of the Prophet of Islam. Their criticism then does not differ substantially in any way from that of sworn atheists and sceptics. They then try to understand the Qur'an by a psychological analysis of the Prophet's life, by the historical situation and social environment in which he grew. Mr. Bell, like others before and after him, is of this way of thinking. Scholars have laboured hard to trace the sources of the Qur'an, in other words to find out the debt that the Qur'an owes to other sources. But Mr. Bell himself seems to entertain grave doubts about these assumed sources: though a *priori*, of course, he would not rule out the possibility of strange foreign influences upon the Prophet. But when we come to a *priori* possibilities in history, we put ourselves unwittingly into a morass of fantastic presumptions. Indeed, a British scholar who tenaciously clings to the hard soil of facts should be the last to give vent to a *priori* reasoning.

When it comes to the appreciation of the personality of the Prophet, we find prejudices at work which few European writers of note have succeeded in overcoming. It is strange to observe how political power decides in the evaluation of Islam. At a time when Islam has again emerged as an effective force in world history and has belied the prophecy of Hegel that Islam had played out its role in culture we meet in the West a more liberal and sympathetic assessment of Islamic culture. Mr Bell admits, though grudgingly, that 'but for his (the Prophet's) adroit use of the influence which came to him and the military force which he built upon it, the Arabs would not have been united under the banner of Islam, and the history of the world would, at least, have been very different'. But to understand a personality is not an easy task, and to understand a personality of historical significance in the world is beset with the greatest possible difficulties. And further when we see that the personality in question is eminently religious, has initiated

a religious movement which has influenced countless generations of man and whose source of inspiration is anything but exhausted, we find ourselves faced with a problem of gigantic magnitude. Mr. Bell rightly conceives the personality of the Prophet as pre-eminently religious, though here again with unwarranted reservations. He says, "It is therefore as a religious personality that he is to be regarded. In fact it may be said that without a deep realisation of the religious fear which drove him forward and the religious conviction which gave him strength, it is impossible to understand the personality of Muhammad." Mr. Bell rightly thinks that the inspiration which the Prophet claimed calls for earnest examination, as it has affected the judgment of foreign scholars on the personality of the Prophet. Mr. Bell, of course, like all other orientalists, does not take pains to think any possibility of divine communication, but with the tacit assumption of an impossibility he goes on to explain psychologically and historically the Qur'anic inspiration. He thinks that at the outset the Prophet was 'modest' in his claims and it was only later, measuring himself against the ideas of the jews and the Christians, that he elaborated his claims. The earlier attempts of Western scholars to attribute to him some morbid condition of mind has been abandoned, and philosophical writers of great insight, like Karl Jaspers, completely reject the idea of deducing a morbid condition of mind of any historical person from merely circumstantial evidence as completely unwarranted and amateurish. That one should show a certain agitation at the time of inspiration rather confirms than denies the remarkable character of the inspiration and that is to be expected. Prophetic revelation, and in a much lesser degree the inspiration of the saint, is not an ordinary occurrence; a projection, as it were, from beyond the frontiers of every day existence cannot leave the personality concerned cold and unruffled.

Now to come to the revelation of the Prophet. Mr. Bell thinks that the angel Gabriel, whom tradition takes as the messenger of revelation, is only twice mentioned in the Qur'an and on this slender basis Mr. Bell 'suspects' that "it was a later interpretation of something which Muhammad had at first understood otherwise". Now according to Mr. Bell "the explanation adopted is that He (Allah) may speak by 'suggestion' or send a messenger to 'suggest'. We reach here a decisive point and the whole scheme of explanation adopted by Mr. Bell throws light not so much on the psychology of the Prophet but on the working of the mind of Mr. Bell and of most European writers. We give at some length the passage in which Mr. Bell argues that the Prophet's inspiration was only a kind of 'suggestion', an inner prompting of the Prophet's own mind. "The verb *awha* and the noun *wahy* have become the technical terms in Muslim theology for the communication of the revelation to Muhammad, and have come to imply the recitation of the words of the Qur'an to him by the angel Gabriel. In the Qur'an itself

they are indeed the words commonly used in that connection, are not confined to it. The word *awha* is used in XIX, 12 of Za who having become dumb signed (*awha*) to the people that the glorify God. Satans of jinn and men 'suggest' things to each c 121.) The recipient of *wahy*, even from Allah, is not always a or even a human being. Allah 'suggests' to the bee to take h herself in the hills and trees and the arbour' which men erect The earth gives up its dead because its Lord has 'suggested' to it XCIX 2). Allah 'suggested' to each of the seven heavens its function, (XLI, 11" P. 32). Again, "The fundamental sense of t as used in the Qur'an seems to be the communication of an idea quick suggestion or prompting by, as we might say, a flash of insp This agrees with what is given in the dictionaries (see *Lisan* S. V.) which implies that haste or quickness is part of the connot the root" (p. 33). Now the basis of the whole system of Mr explanation hinges on the translation of *wahy* by 'suggestion; th 'suggestion' even in modern psychology has not played a very hap All kinds of queer and otherwise inexplicable phenomena ha ascribed to the mysterious power of suggestion. Thus sugge assured such associations in the modern mind that it is difficult to eleminate them from one's own mind in thinking of it. That been used in different contexts and in different associations in the goes without saying. Even a thinker like Bergson, whose busi philosopher it is to be precise, has used 'intuition' with vari meanings. There are then, no doubt, some elements in comm haste or quickness is given as part of the root in Arabic dictiona can it be argued that *wahy* is only a 'flash' of ideas, an inner pr of the mind without any communication from the beyond? We of course, not challenging Mr. Bell's right or of anybody explain away the revelation psychologically and subjectively. B are limits to psychological explanations and even psychical rese brought to light many recesses of human existence that refu explained away thus.

Mr. Bell's argument rests on fantastic suppositions a psychological analysis. He imagines the Prophet "in the t composition" and he is certainly not the first to have discovere prophetic revelation an analogy to a poet's inspiration. The expressly refers to a similar state of mind of the Prophet's contem A little reflection shows the gulf that divides a poet's divination inspiration of a Prophet, or even of a mystic. What is commo the feeling of receptivity, of being worked upon as a medium by influence. But a poet's and a prophet's inspirations are world Religion and art encroach upon each other without completely ex one another. The Prophet is overpowered with the consciousnes beyond and communicates himself to the world with a purpo mission. But the poet is disinterested, he enjoys his own commu

and is unconcerned with the result. If the Qur'an attributes inspiration to the bee, it is because the bee has a deeper analogy to the prophetic inspiration than a poet's can have. It is subject to transcendental guidance in instinctive acts. But Mr. Bell goes on to attribute to the Prophet motives which he himself has invented and regards the revelation as deliberately fabricated. "In later life when events pressed upon him and decisions were imperative, and questions arose which he could not avoid answering, he did no doubt try to force the revelation, and acquired facility in getting the answer which he desired. Nor need we deny that he was capable of practising a certain amount of mystification regarding his communication from Allah. He surrounded them with some degree of awe and mystery." But thanks are due to Mr. Bell for generously admitting : "This does not detract from the sincerity of his own belief in them. *They were mysterious to himself, and if they were what he believed them to be, they are worthy of awe. He regarded them always as something separate and distinct.*" (*The Italics are ours*). It is a fact that is never to be lost sight of that the revelations came as revelations, as communications from God to the Prophet and as such they were mysterious and awe inspiring. The critic may judge in whatsoever way he likes, according to his own light, if he has any and according to his 'general' outlook on life. But to emphasise deliberate fabrication and impute motives of doubtful morality on fanciful hypotheses, Mr. Bell retains the old theory of deceit and duplicity which, according to his own admission, Carlyle laughed out of court. His admission that in the end it was not 'altogether' a pose shows to what extent he can allow his own good impulses a free hand. He writes : "of the essential sincerity of Muhammad there need be no question. We need not, however, go to the other extreme and picture him as a modern saint. The age was a rude one to our ideas, even in the most enlightened parts of the world, and Arabia, was not one of these." With all the experience of modern sainthood, we gladly admit that the Prophet was not 'modern' in any way and, with the bombing of Hiroshima still fresh in our memory, we wonder whether mankind has not gained merely in material strength only to lose in the moral and spiritual field.

In dealing with the origin of the Qur'an, Mr. Bell is more just and his criticism and evaluation of Casanowa, Hirschfeld and other writers about the authenticity of the Qur'an is sound. Though, as it is to be expected, he now and then gives way to doubts and suspicions, he accepts the authenticity of the Qur'an as a whole and does not think that any thing of importance has been lost. Nor has he any doubts about the sincerity of the first editors of the Qur'an. His observations about the form of the Qur'an are generally pertinent, except where he gives way to unnecessary doubts and suspicions. He has avoided the pitfall of European scholars in dealing with the mysterious letters that occur in the Qur'an. He rightly observes : " These letters always follow the Bismillah, and

we have seen reason to think that Bismillah belongs to the text and not to the editing. It seems probable, therefore, that these letters also belong to the composition of the text, and were not external marks added either in Muhammad's lifetime or by later compilers" (P. 57). Thus he agrees with the view of oriental scholars. Unfortunately he goes on to assert that they belong to a time "when Muhammad was consciously producing a revelation similar to the revelation in the hands of previous monotheists". Now he proceeds to build a hypothesis on sheer flight of imagination. "It is possible," he continues, "that he may have tried to imitate some of the writings in which these scriptures existed. In fact in some of these combinations of letters it seems possible to see words written in syriac or Hebrew, which have been afterwards read as Arabic". But he suddenly realises that what appeared 'possible' is impossible to work out. He admits: "that suggestion, however, like others, seems impossible to carry through. We end where we began; the letters are mysterious, and have so far baffled interpretation". It is a pity that famous Muslim commentators also have proposed interpretations which rather tend to confuse than clarify the situation. We should only admit them as mysterious whose significance only Allah knows but an inkling of whose meaning perhaps may be given to a few in experiences that cannot be communicated.

Now when it comes to the question of the identity of the speaker in the Qur'an, Mr. Bell is again led to "difficulties and suspicions". That Allah should swear by Himself is considered odd. Certainly, when we ignore the peculiar character of the Qur'an and the assumption on which it is held as revealed by the believers, every part of the Qur'an may appear suspicious, if not queer.

In dealing with the structure of style of the Qur'an, Mr. Bell makes many an unwarranted assertion. The words "which then of the benefits of your Lord will ye twain count false" (Surah LV) are judged as ineffectively used, though no one who has heard them recited in the early hours of the morning can doubt the uncanny effect which they wield on the hearer and which linger even in memory long after one has heard them. These words in fact do not constitute a refrain as such but they rather refer to the recurring *lei-tmotiv* of the transcendental experience which we call revelation. When Mr. Bell asserts that the Prophet had evidently no ear for poetry, we doubt whether the writer has any. But it is usual with Mr. Bell to disclaim one thing in one place and to endorse it all the more emphatically in another. Mr. Bell acknowledges the dramatic quality which, often unrecognised, is all the more effective. In the end we have this surprising confession: "Its artistic, dramatic, pictorial, imaginative qualities have often been lost sight of in theological treatment of the I'jaz and the inimitability of the Qur'an but they have always exercised a spell upon the Moslem worshipper." The fact is that the Qur'an is religion in its authenticity and source and cannot be judged by the

ordinary standard of poetry and art. But poetry ultimately tends towards religion and religion in its expression spontaneously assumes the form of art. Hence any judgment on the Qur'an, purely from artistic considerations will be irrelevant, however well meaning it may be, if it does not recognise that art has its significance here only as a 'moment' or element of religion.

In discussing the compilation of the Surahs Mr. Bell is as always led or misled by guesses and suspicions. But in spite of all his confusion in the conclusions which the bases on slight evidence, he is clear "that the Qur'an in its present form rests upon written documents which go back to Muhammad's life-time." But even on the most slender testimony he does not hesitate to impute motives to the Prophet. Thus he writes: "*But if we read between the lines of LXXXVII, 1-9, we may gather that he distrusted his memory, and suspect that he very early took to writing out his Qur'ans and memorising them before hand.*" (The italics are ours. p. 97). It is a thousand pities that an esteemed European scholar should pretend to get a glimpse into the inner mind of the Prophet on the ground of arbitrary analysis and with his mind prejudiced from the outset. No doubt with such preconceived notions he finds in the 'mind' of the Prophet nothing but objects of his own wilful imagination.

The chronological order of the Qur'an is an able survey of all that Western scholars, pre-eminently Nœldeke, have done in the field. But when Nœldeke speaks of the deterioration in style and from this assumed deterioration deduces conclusions about the chronology and when Mr. Bell pictures the Prophet discovering in Abraham a man after his own heart, and ascribes to this period Muhammad's claim to be a Prophet, we wonder what certain data these learned scholars are utilising and whether the supposed 'crisis' in the life of the Prophet is not only imaginary. It seems that only in Medinah the Prophet discovered that Judaism differed from Christianity and that Abraham, who was neither Jew nor Christian, would serve him excellently as a predecessor and the Prophet is here pictured as a shrewd strategist who works out his way by deliberate calculations. Anyone who has any feeling for the religious consciousness would seriously take the ill-founded assertions of Mr. Bell.

Mr. Bell's account of the 'sign' passages, the studies of punishment, his observations on the meaning of the Qur'an, the Book and Al-Furqan show scholarship of a high order and are illuminating. They deserve careful study. But always he assumes something and then rejects only what should have followed on the basis of the assumption. It does not make much sense to consider first the Book as logically planned, and then to reject the possibility created by one's own imagination and to assert on the basis of the possibility that is rejected that "the plan was continually broken in upon by the necessities of a community fighting for its life against external opposition and ever calling for legislation to regulate its internal affairs and govern its social life". (P. 135)

Again in discussing the origin of Al-Furqan, the writer gives free rein to his imagination. He recalls the period before Badr when the Prophet was breaking away from the Jews and the Christians and founding an independent religious community. "We can imagine", he says, "that they, exposed to the taunts of the Jews and Christians alike, who both claimed to have assurance of divine acceptance based on each case on a deliverance, were a little uneasy that they had no such assurance, on furqan" (P. 137). Now this imaginary situation gives Mr. Bell "a slight presumption that it was from the Christian sources that the word was derived, but Muhammad must have associated it with the Arabic root *faraqa*, to separate and taken it to imply the separation of an accepted religious community from the unbelievers" (P. 137). We doubt it very much whether any philologist of note would take seriously a theory worked out from such presumptions.

Our main interest lies in the last and concluding chapter in which Mr. Bell deals at length with the contents and the sources of the Qur'an and it is here, unfortunately, that we feel ourselves compelled to differ from him on every step of his inquiry. Western scholars have given 'naturally' much attention to the Biblical material found in the Qur'an and Mr. Bell like some of them contests the originality of the Prophet as a thinker. If it is ridiculous to judge the Qur'an from the norms of art, it is even more absurd to evaluate the Qur'an from the canons of discursive thought. Indeed, without any proper appreciation of religious consciousness it is vain to approach the Qur'an and the Prophet. The writer taunts the Prophet of having never 'understood' the doctrine of the Trinity. Indeed who has? Even the great St. Thomas Aquinas, who was so sure about the arguments for the existence of God, placed it beyond the pale of reason. Though rejecting the 'baldness' of the Qur'anic conception of God, Mr. Bell, however, admits that in the beliefs and practices of the Christians, with whom he came into contact, there was probably justification for his protest.

In his evaluation of the Quranic idea of Hell and Heaven, Mr. Bell, like others before and after him, speaks of many an interesting possibility in the way that the concept might have occurred to the Prophet. Christian literature and even Zoroastrianism have been resorted to. That the Zoroastrian conception of the virtues which a man has acquired in life bear him company in the life to come as angelic beings should have inspired the idea of the *huris* he doubts. But unlike many European writers he admits freely the presence of the spiritual element in the Qur'anic Heaven. "Forgiveness, peace and the satisfaction of the soul in God," do indeed make the very substance of Heaven. Mr. Bell, like others, wastes much energy in trying to show how much the Qur'an owes to Biblical sources in its narratives. Where borrowing seems out of question he resorts to 'the memories' of men and asserts that the Qur'anic material was communicated to the Prophet orally. It is

strange to find a scholar of his standing confusing *Dhul-Qarnain* with Alexander the Great and it is difficult to find the ground on which he accuses the Qur'an of confusing Mary, the mother of Jesus, with Miriam, the sister of Moses. Are we really justified in taking the word 'sister' in its literal acceptation?

The main characteristics of Qur'anic legislation are dealt with briefly and inadequately. The word *Salath* is considered Syriac; 'it probably belongs to the approximation to Christian practice' at that time. The word *Zakat* is also held to be Syriac 'and therefore Christian.' Mr Bell does not take into consideration the fact that the word transplanted on a new soil may lose its older significance and assume a new one almost contrary to the spirit of its origin. When prejudices against the Prophet and the Qur'an prevail, even a semblance of justice and fair dealing is laudable. Mr. Bell, indeed, has not shown himself completely unsusceptible to the spirit of the Qur'an and has shown marked appreciation of the Prophet's personality. He moves on the right lines when he regards the Prophet not as a 'hero' of history, which unfortunately many 'progressive' Muslims do, but as "essentially reserved and withdrawn, following the promptings which came to him in times of privacy and reflection" (P. 171). And he pertinently warns his readers not to forget that "the main source, after all, is the brooding mind of the Prophet himself, enlightened, as he believed, by the divine guidance which came to him through reflection and meditation." But he errs lamentably in regarding these promptings as suggestions and it seems difficult to see why he holds some of these 'suggestions' at least as deliberately called, if not to cast some reflections on the Prophet on merely imaginary and hypothetical grounds. The question of revelation, in other words, of communication with God is a great question of the philosophy of religion and metaphysics. There are aspects of reality no doubt of which no poet has ever dreamt and no thinker has dared to conceive. The literature of the Old Testament abounds in references to the spirit of God coming on man and the Prophet expressly associated himself with the Prophets of the Old Testament. Naturally the 'communication' may seem to one who is not informed with faith as queer and strange. They even came to the Prophet in the beginning as a surprise and shock. There is no question here of arguing with anybody on the revelation of the Qur'an. Only the facts surrounding this revelation call for attention and it is a wonder to see its incalculable effects in history. Here is a 'Book' produced in circumstances which were anything but normal, which still works and lives in the minds of the believers and which is a force to reckon with even to-day. It is the document that has made Islam what Hegel in his lucid moments called the Revolution of the Orient. It has inspired and continues to inspire poets, seers and leaders of mankind. Where can we find a parallel? The literature produced by psychic research is either slight or gives a striking illustration of some avenues of knowledge hitherto

unknown to science. But there is nothing in this immense literature gathered by indefatigable workers that can inspire a poet or assume a role, however insignificant it may be, in history.

The question about the sources of the Qur'an, though of undisputed academic value, does not help but rather comes seriously in the way of the true appreciation of the Qur'an. The philosophers of the Emergent and the Creative Evolution have shown that what we meet at a later stage of evolution cannot be mechaniclly explained by antecedent conditions. The sun of the spirit is always new, to quote Hegel again. Leaving aside for a moment the question of revelation or of supra—normal communication, it is to be observed that every work of genius, whether in religion or art or thought, is unique in its own way and cannot be understood by anything outside itself. Whatever Shakespeare may have borrowed from Boccaccio or other writers, the art of the great dramatist remains supreme in its own right. Lastly, if we judge the Prophet by our own standards we should also reflect for an instant whether the standards we apply are the ideal ones fulfilling all the required conditions, and on imputing motives to a great religious seer and teacher we should be considerate enough to reflect whether we are not reading too much of our own mind in his.

NEW BOOKS IN REVIEW

OUTLINES OF MUHAMMADAN LAW by Asaf A. A. Fyzee, 2nd Edition, Oxford University Press, London, 1955. pp. 445. Price Rs. 16.

THIS is a second and revised edition, with a number of additions enhancing the illustrative case value of the book. The work is mainly concerned with Islamic Law as administered in India but it covers a wider ground. One of the most interesting and useful parts of the book is the Introduction, which gives a brief account of the conditions, traditions and customs that existed in Pre-Islamic times in Arabia, formed the background and laid the foundation of Muslim Law. There is also a discussion of the subsequent developments under the heads of 'Shari'at' and 'Fiqh', the 'Sunnite Schools' and the great power and flexibility of the systems of 'Ijma' and 'Ijtihad' which enable Islamic Law to claim to be a law for all lands and all ages. A brief description of the Shi'ite notions of law is also added and the conclusion arrived at, that apart from the doctrine of 'Imamat' there is no basic difference between the Sunnite and the Shi'ite Schools.

Islamic Law has proved its mettle and there can be no doubt that most of the reforms that are being introduced, piece by piece, in the 'advanced' parts of the world today, owe their origin to the inspiration and the liberal vision obtained from Islamic ways of thought and life, as well as the Islamic Shari'at and the Sunnat. The following quotation from Count Leon Ostrorag's *The Angora Reforms*, is a reflection of the new trends in the West in relation to realistic Islam.

> "Considered from the point of view of its logical structure the system (Islamic Law) is one of rare perfection and to this day, it commands the admiration of the student."

Mr. Fyzee's work displays a scientific mode of treatment and in its short compass, forms a splendid text not only for the students of law but also for the lay reader. It may be strongly recommended, for close perusal, to students who wish to be free from any smug belief in the infallibility of particular codes and the assumed worthlessness of that of which most are ignorant. Enlightened conclusions could be drawn and simple practical guidance obtained from it in the complex legal set-up of the world of today, in matters such as marriage, divorce, maintenance, wills, gifts etc.

Mr Fyzee deserves warm commendation for this valuable work.

M. RAHIMUDDIN

SOME ASPECTS OF EDUCATION by Dr. Syed Hamid Hasan Bilgrami, M. A. Ph. D., Deputy Chief (Education), Planning Board, Government of Pakistan: Published by the Pakistan University Press, Karachi. Price: Rs. 2-8 0 pp 36.

THIS booklet is a collection of lectures delivered by the author on different occasions in 1953 and 1954. The topics dealt with are: Concept of Education in Islam; Islamic Bias in Education; Training in leadership in our Schools; Public School Education and Some Thoughts on Higher Education. The general theme is the relation of Islam to different aspects of education.

The author wants the present system of education in Pakistan to be replaced by a

system of education based on Islamic principles. But though he has explained what he means by a system of education based on Islamic principles, he has neither described what the present system of education in Pakistan is nor shown what concrete shape it would take if it were reconstructed on the basis of the Islamic concept of education. He has, however, dealt with the system of education which obtained in undivided India. Its main object, he says, was merely to train Indians for various services. This was no doubt the case for more than a hundred years, but in the second quarter of the twentieth century, and specially during the Second World War, many important changes were introduced to adapt the system of education to the needs of the country. Nor can one agree with the author when he says, "The system was not intended to improve character, it was, in fact, to ignore it and hamper its progress". Dissatisfaction with that system was due to other defects in it which Dr. Bilgrami does not mention. These were inadequately of the provision made for primary education and the lack of diversified courses of study in the secondary stage of education.

Even more unconvincing is Dr. Bilgrami's criticism of the system of education prevailing in Western countries. While discussing the three modern concepts of education analysed by Professor Washburn of Brooklyn College, New York, viz., security and learning, self-expression and discipline, and democracy, Dr. Bilgrami remarks, "It (a system of education based on Islamic principles) would include much more under the terms security, self-expression, discipline and would like to give that meaning to democracy where the whole would be governed by the best and the noblest persons selected from all the (sic.) parts of the world and presided over by the best and the noblest of them all." Here the author is thinking of world Government, which even today is a distant ideal, and the form of government which he has in mind is not democracy but aristocracy, which literally means 'Government by the best men'. As regards self-expression and discipline, he says," We have not to understand the meaning of self-expression and discipline as practised in the traditional schools in Muslim countries but have to apply the results of the scientific researches in education and relative fields to achieve the best results". This precisely what is being done in Western countries. How then is the meaning of self-expression and discipline wider according to the Islamic concept of education? He has, however, stated more clearly the difference, which according to him, exists between the Islamic and the Western concepts of education in regard to the meaning of 'Security.' "There may be," he says "some sense of security for the present life attached to the concept of learning in the Western way of thinking but the knowledge that provides for security here and also in (sic) the (sic) hereafter is completely missing in the Western concept of education". Yet elsewhere the author observes that the system of education current in Western countries still has Christianity as its central purpose. The harmonious development of body, mind and soul is as much the aim of the Western system as it is of the Islamic system recommended by Dr. Bilgrami

In his lecture on " Some Thoughts on Higher Education" Dr. Bilgrami has made some useful suggestions pleading for autonomy of the universities, stressing the need for making higher education more selective and for organizing research for the economic development of the country.

The main idea underlying all the lectures is that Islam should be accepted and proclaimed as the central purpose of education. There is general agreement among educationists that religion in the widest sense of the word should inspire education. Dr. Bilgrami has, however, advocated for Pakistan a system of education under which Islamic principles would not only be a source of inspiration but would be "normally expected to deal with various problems connected with our lives." He has not shown how such a system can be evolved for Pakistan without prejudice to the modern needs of the nation.

There is a great deal of generalisation in the booklet under review. Loosely constructed sentences and other errors of grammar and idiom further detract from its value. A few of these errors are mentioned below :—

P. 5. He seeks new ways of realising his potentialities at every stage,

and no doubt, requires guidance, but that guidance must be in terms of what he is at any given time, and then go forward from there.

Modern education not merely imparts the skill of reading and writing which is, of course, essential for physical security as well as to make the child at home in his environment but lays special emphasis on how this is to be taught and when it is to be taught.

P. 21. How this latent power of every soul is to be developed so that it does not merely believe but also acts; that it not only finds satisfaction in the expression of truth but also lends a helping hand to those helpless beings whose patience seems exhausted?

P. 27. A criticism of which the people are not merely conscious but are doing their best to eradicate these defects from these schools.

P. 29. In the exceedingly nice words of Mr. Spencer,

"The work may be well done". Great majority of public schools.

It was realised in 1935 that there must immediately be started such public schools in India, that may set up new values in education.

P. 31 It will be equally unfortunate if such persons are entrusted with this work who are unaware of the significance of Islam .

The Public School of Pakistan should perform two-fold purpose.

P. 35. Committees examining the financial position of higher education had been appointed in the past both in U. K. and U. S. A. and it will be most essential that such a committee is immediately appointed here.

There are also four or five misprints in the booklet, the most glaring of them being 'hypocracy' on page 25.

S. Ali Akbar

THE EAST INDIA COMPANY AND THE ECONOMY OF BENGAL by Sukumar Bhattacharya, Published by Luzac & Co. London, 1954 pp. 235.

THIS doctorate thesis of London University throws considerable light on the history of the first half of the eighteenth century which is rather important particularly for Bengal. The course of events from 1704-40 is traced in detail, revealing the activities of the English East India Company after the grant of Royal *Firman* of Farrukhiyar in 1717, and also describing the diverse forces that were operating on the economic and political life of Bengal, ultimately leading to the Battle of Plassey.

Although the English were rather late in coming to Bengal when compared with other Europeans, they were lucky in being in favourable circumstances which helped them to secure good sites for their factories, to obtain a royal *Firman* for carrying on trade, to get permission to fortify Calcutta following the revolt of Soba Singh, and to purchase the Zamindaris of Calcutta, Sutanati and Govandpur in 1698. They had their trials a decade later when they found themselves in opposition to the strong and masterful personality of Murshid Quli Khan, the new Diwan. The large scale misuse of permits, brought about a rift between the Diwan and the Company; and the desire of the English for the use of the Mint at Murshidabad for trade and currency purposes led to a bitter disappointment when the Diwan refused permission and proved adamant despite the offer of a large bribe by the Company. Only after the death of this able financier were the English able to interfere in the administration of Bengal with impunity.

The part played by the great banker, Fath Chand, during the days of Murshid Quli Khan is clearly brought out in the book. One can trace his ancestry as far back as the 11th century. This able banker inherited the glorious traditions of Amerdat, the jeweller of Shah Jahan, who was responsible for bringing this family over to Delhi and conferring the title of Rai on the senior member. Amerdat's son, Rai Uddha Chand, further strengthened the family

by marrying Dhan Bai, the daughter of Sait Manick Chand of Murshidabad, who being childless adopted Fath Chand, one of the three sons of his daughter. Fath Chand thus inherited all the properties of his grandfather and settled down in Murshidabad and was honoured by Muhammad Shah with the title of Jagat Sait. The fortunes of this family rose to a height in the days of Mir J'afar but received a sudden set-back when Mir Qasim succeeded Mir J'afar. Incidentally, we may add that Rajah Shive Pershad of Benares, was the great-grandson of the Jagat Sait.

The present work is divided into seven chapters and six appendices; beginning with a brief picture of Bengal at the turn of the century, it gives a detailed account of the growth of the Company in Bengal, the *Firman* of 1717, and Murshid Quli Khan and the working of the *Firman* during the years 1727-46. A brief account of other European traders, such as the Portuguese, the Dutch and the French etc., is given in Chapter III, followed in the next chapter by a critical survey of Mints and Currency and the role of the House of Jagat Sait. The last two chapters on Market and Trade and general economic conditions are very useful and are marked by originality and a critical and exhaustive scrutiny of all the available sources.

The appendices include a photo-stat copy of the Emperor's *Firman* of 1717 and a useful bibliography. The printing of the book deserves a word of commendation. The author deserves our sincere congratulations for this sound publication, which ably bridges the gap in the most neglected chapter of the first half of the eighteenth century in the History of India.

K. Sajun Lal

MATHNAWI SURUD-I-BI-KHUDI (Persian), by 'Ishrat Husain Anwar, Muslim University, Aligarh, 1954. pp. 120, Price Rs. 2.

DR. Ishrat Hussain Anwar is a young scholar of old ways. He seems to have wandered in the sufi way of life and to have moved much in the sufi circles of India. He explicitly affirms in his preface that his *Mathnawi* is written as a 'rejoinder' to Iqbal's philosophy of 'خودی', self-hood.

Dr. Anwar considers Iqbal's advocacy of *khudi* not sufficient in itself but that it needs a correction and thinks that the teachings of the Sufis, especially the life and teachings of the great Saint Khwaja Moinuddin Chishti provide right guidance. Unfortunately to-day the words *khudi* and *Bi-Khudi* have lost their precise connotation and even Iqbal's philosophy of *Khudi* has become merely slogan with many. If Dr. Anwar had given a fuller exposition of his own views and of the philosophy that he wishes to combat, we would have been in a position to form a right judgment. As it is, Dr. Anwar's *Mathnawi* is remarkable as an interesting revelation of his personal convictions.

S. Vahiduddin

LE KITAB AT-TARBI' WAT-TADWIR DE GAHIZ, par Charles Pellat, Professor a le'Ecole des languages Orientales, published by Institute Francais de Damas, 1955, (Arabic Text) pp. 218, (introduction, indexes etc. (French) pp. 46)

JAHIZ is not only considered among the top ranking prose writers of Arabic literature but he has also set a high standard of style in Arabic prose. His works have preserved vast treasures of Arabic literature and lexicography and have been edited by a number of scholars. Mr. A. Salam al-Harun of Egypt has recently re-edited many important works of Jahiz with valuable explanatory foot-notes, indices and glossary. This edition of *Kitab-al-Tarbi'* is also based on similar lines and it has been collated with the texts edited by Van Vloten, Sandubi (*Majmuat-al-Rasail*) and with the MSS. preserved in the Zahiriyya Library, the British Museum and the Berlin Library. The peculiarity of this edition is that it is furnished with an exhaustive glossary which is highly useful for clarifying the doubts that existed with regard to the meaning of rare words and obscure persons and things mentioned in this work of Jahiz. Although there is not much difference between the

text of the present and previous editions, yet the few additions made in this text are useful in making the sense more intelligible. In the footnotes not only are the variant readings given, but the words, and clauses drawn from the Qur'an are also indicated and the verses whose poets are not mentioned in the text have been identified. Another of the characteristics of this edition is that a list of words that have occurred frequently in the text has been added. The introduction, written in French, also throws considerable light on some new aspects of the life of the author, the importance of the book and its manuscripts. Prof. Charles Pellat deserves the thanks of all interested in the subject for producing a correct text with so many useful additions. The get-up and printing also leave nothing to be desired.

The editor, however, does not seem to have consulted *Majmu'at-al-Rasail* edited by Mohd Sasi al-Maghrabi, published in 1324 A.H. from Egypt. Some of the variant readings given in the text seem to be more appropriate than what Prof. C. Pellat has included in his text. Some of the following versions deserve reconsideration :

p. 34 para 57. ولو كنت افتل ذلك علما instead of ولو كنت اقبل ذلك علما

p. 52 para 95. والقضايا الجزيله " " والعطايا الجزيله

p. 52. para 95. ومحبة النفس " " ومحبة الناس

p. 91 para 175. واشبه الكواكب بطبيعة النار " " واشبه الكواكب لطبيعة الارض

p. 71 para 126 وان بعثت به خالصا " " ان بعثت به ممزوجا فكيف لو بعثت به خالصاً

In order to scan the following verse properly it ought to have been written as follows and not as it has been printed :—

ينام باحدى مقلتيه ويتقي ال   منايا باخرى فهو يقظان هاجع

(Page 96 para 187).

Otherwise the version of *thimar-al-Qulub* quoted in the footnote is correct.

It is hoped that these variants will receive due consideration of the professor when a second edition is made.

M. A. MU'ID KHAN

Select Articles From Learned Journals

Al Mu'allim al-Jadid, Baghdad Vol. XIX, No. 1, 1956

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Sufism in Somaliland : a study in tribal Islam - II —*by* I. M. Lewis

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Muhammad, Humanity's Greatest Benefactor —*by* DR. ALLAH BAKHSH

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Aramaic Documents of the Fifth Century B. C. —*by* Prof. Julius Lewy

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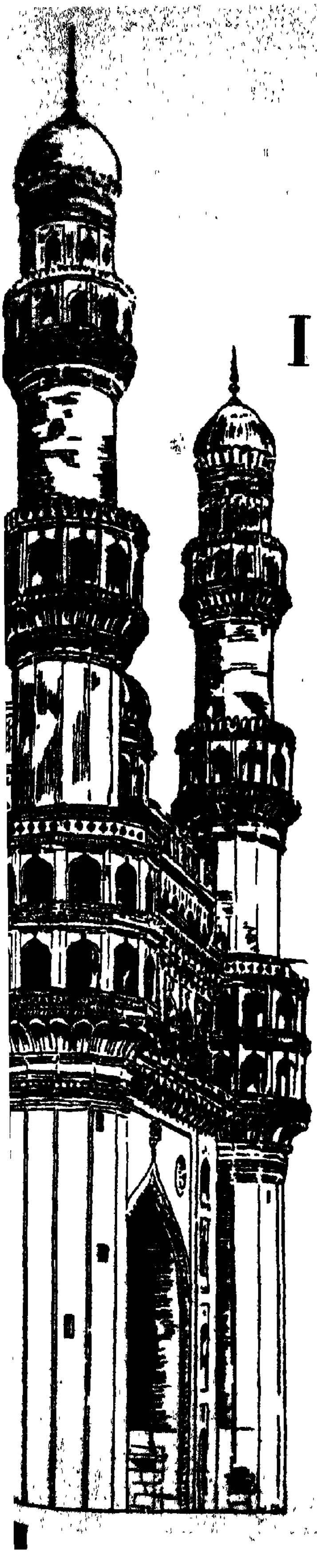
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[And say: My Lord! Increase me in Knowledge.—Qur'an]

ISLAMIC CULTURE

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CONTENTS

ISLAM AND MODERN KNOWLEDGE

L. E. Browne*

THE present age is dominated by Science. That does not merely mean that we are provided with machinery and inventions that would have seemed to our grandfathers like a fancy dream from *The Thousand and One Nights*. The science that has come upon us so suddenly is more than mechanical inventiveness. It is a manner of thinking. The strange thing is that this method of thinking was begun 2,300 years ago by the Greek philosopher Aristotle, but that, for reasons that we need not go into now, his ideas lay more or less dormant for all those centuries, and then produced the combination of thinking and experiment which ushered in the scientific era.

Now, because the root of the new movement was thinking and not manual dexterity, the movement has affected not only the instruments and machines we use but also all our intellectual pursuits. The sort of geography which the present writer was taught in school half a century ago was not very different in method from what teachers in Greece or India were giving 2000 years ago. To-day geography is a science worthy of being the subject for an honours degree at Cambridge. History began to develop much earlier. Once of course it was nothing more than a chronicle of events, generally a more or less official chronicle, and as often as not fabricated to suit the political needs of the moment. But there were great historians from Herodotus onwards who tried to give history a greater accuracy and a more human interest. Even so, the last hundred years have seen revolutionary changes in the writing and reading of history. The scientific method has stepped in. Ancient dates are checked by archaeological finds, some, with surprising accuracy, by determination of the proportion of radio-active carbon in substances like wood or bone which were once part of living creatures. Inscribed tablets have brought to our knowledge even the existence of peoples whose very names had been forgotten; the routes followed in ancient times by international commerce are shown by ornaments or weapons which passed from one country to another, for instance, the similarity of

* Dr. L. E. Browne, D. D., Emeritus Professor of the University of Leeds.

some of the jewellery and ornaments found in the Indus River basin with objects made by the pre-historic inhabitants of Babylonia. Migrations of tribes may sometimes now be accounted for by climatic changes the evidence for which can be read by geologists in the earth's surface. Even psychology comes in to show how mass movements of thought, and new ideologies, have urged nations to enterprises which have shaped history.

In such ways as these—and the whole catalogue of them would embrace almost all our thinking and a great deal of our doing—science has entered our life, and in many ways this has been mainly an experience of the twentieth century.

Under these circumstances it is not surprising that religion has not escaped the influence of science. For while religion itself is a matter solely of the spirit, the expression of religion in theology and in conduct has an intellectual and a practical content. In England, as everyone knows, this impact of science came like a sudden typhoon soon after the middle of the nineteenth century, and was particularly connected with Darwin's theory about the origin of species. The controversy that followed was mainly concerned with the way in which the living creatures of the world were created. Most of the Christian religious leaders of the time felt that they were bound by their religion to accept literally the story of creation with which the Bible begins. This story describes creation as having occupied six days. The order in which the living creatures appeared, for instance all plants appearing before any animals, and indeed before the creation of the sun, moon and stars, is not compatible with modern knowledge. But the present writer is inclined to think that what really shocked the great mass of ordinary westerners was to be told that the world, which they had always regarded as a beautiful and more or less peaceful society of kindly disposed creatures, was really the scene of a grim struggle for existence, not only between tigers, scorpions and their victims, but even amongst sheep and doves and the flowers of the field.

What was the result? As always in such controversies, there were individuals on both sides who were determined not to budge from their position, those on the one side being ready (if the need arose, which of course it didnot) to die as martyrs for religion, and those on the other side to stake everything on the truths of science as they saw them. Fortunately the great mass of educated Westerners at the time were convinced of the truth of religion, and also could not believe that all scientists were fools. There must be, they felt, some way of reconciling the truths on both sides; the apparent opposition must be accounted for by the limitations of knowledge of the leaders of religion and science; the leaders on the religious side must be claiming territory which did not belong to them, and the scientists were just like young men with a new invention, imagining that their new invention could do anything and could not go wrong.

That was the position in the West some fifty years ago. Now one looks back with some curiosity at the old controversy. The modern Christian wonders how his grandparents could get any intelligent idea of God's creation without a knowledge of evolution. As for the scientists —it would probably be true to say that as many University Professors of Science are church worshippers as Professors of Classics or English Literature. In England, if not in America, the old Darwinian controversy is a thing of the past.

Let us now turn to the position of science and religion as it now is in the world of Islam. There are large numbers of Muslims who are studying science in schools and universities, and taking advanced degrees in Science. Others are pursuing studies in history, archaeology and literature according to the accepted scientific methods of the present day. Yet we do not hear either of an acute controversy in Islamic quarters between science and religion, or of any fresh presentation of the tenets of Islam as a result of the scientific impact.

It may be true of course that the particular problem raised by Darwin and his followers in the West does not need to arise in the Muslim world. The Holy Qur'an says of creation "God said Be, and it was," without defining the manner in which the created world first appeared. The evolutionary account of how it happened might just as well be true as any other. But, even if the question of the manner of creation can be set aside, other questions remain. It used to be said by the Muslim philosophers that a man does not light a fire. He may apply a torch to the wood, but God creates the fire at the same moment. Similarly they said that a man does not cut a loaf of bread in two. The man may apply the knife, but it is God who at that very moment causes the loaf to be divided. It is hardly conceivable that a Muslim physicist or chemist, accustomed to use the generalised laws of science, in which cause and effect are inexorably linked together, could agree with these opinions of the old philosophers. It is to be hoped that the Muslim scientist will not fall into the pit of Materialism and deny (as many thoughtless people in the West do) any activity of God whatever. But can he escape the necessity of stating afresh the way in which God sustains His universe? It may of course be contended that the philosophy of Islam is only a human attempt to understand and explain the bearing of revealed truth on our external experiences, and therefore that, while the revelation remains unchanged, the philosophy can and must change as new generations bring new experiences into the debate. If that is so, the world would benefit if Muslim philosophers would apply themselves to such new problems as these.

It may be thought that it is possible for a man to keep his ideas in two separate compartments of his mind, with one part to accept loyally the truths of his religion as they have been handed down for many generations; and with the other part to accept the new knowledge and

the new outlook which modern science has brought. A man may indeed be so humble about his own intellectual powers that he feels bound to say, 'These problems are too difficult for me. I must leave them to others who are more competent.' That is a reasonable position so long as there are others who are tackling the problem. For we must be assured that all truths are compatible with one another. Just as there is one God, and there cannot be another, so there must be one body of truth, consistent within itself. We dare not hold to any statement as being true unless it is true in God's sight, for that would mean that we are holding something to be true which God knows to be a lie. Just as we must strive for absolute goodness, which is the course of action which God in His goodness commands, so we must strive for the absolute truth which He desires us to know, because it corresponds to reality as He knows it.

The question has been much discussed whether it is incumbent on Muslims of the present day to bring modern methods to bear upon their historical works, and particularly upon the *Hadith,* on which so much of our knowledge of the life and character of the Prophet depends. As is well known, there were in existence a vast number of traditions, which the great collectors of *Hadith* sifted. Their method was a meticulous study of the chain of witnesses to each tradition. Modern historians who are faced with a mass of ancient material do not restrict themselves to one method in choosing what they believe to be reliable. For example, one of their methods is to look for a certain amount of consistency in the words and character of the man concerned. An absolute consistency is not to be expected, since even the greatest of men change their ideas or emphasis with years, or say different things to suit different occasions. Yet the greater the personality of the man is, the more one expects to gain a general impression of his character, which is supported by the incidents of his life and by the majority of his recorded words. In such studies, the subjective element cannot be wholly eliminated, but the scientific historian should try to soak himself so much in the material of his study that his general impressions are formed by his material rather than by his personal views or those of his contemporaries. As an example one might refer to the Islamic studies of the late Ignaz Goldziher. Although he obviously wrote as an "outsider," the present writer does not remember finding anything in his works to show whether he personally was a Jew, a Christian or an atheist. All that is really necessary for such a study, apart from intellectual ability, is that the scholar should approach his subject with sympathetic understanding, and with a determination to see and describe the truth.

How far Islamic origins are a proper subject for such scientific historical study, is, of course, for Muslims themselves to decide. But it is certain that the fruits of such study would be of immense value to Islam. The modern Muslim, armed with the established results of scientific

study, would feel that he was in possession of historical facts about his religion which could stand up against any hostile criticism.

A further point that would probably follow from this new spirit of scientific enquiry would be on the lines of what we now call the Comparative Study of Religions. It is generally accepted by Muslims that the revelation that was vouchsafed to the Prophet of Mecca and Medina was the same as had been given to all previous Prophets, some of whom are mentioned by name in the Qur'an. In the last half century or so a great deal of attention has been paid to this very question. In the comparative study of religions the aim (as the name itself implies) is to find out not only what the ancient sages of China, Israel, Greece and India believed and taught as the word which had been revealed to them, but also how the contents of their messages compared with one another. The differences between the various religions are found to be as remarkable as the similarities. For instance, while Judaism, Christianity and Islam look forward to a future in which the individual personality will be enhanced, Hinduism and Buddhism set their eyes on a goal in which the individual personality will be absorbed into what might be called the universal spirit of the universe. Many modern Christians have undertaken this comparative study, which requires a sympathy towards people of other faiths. That they should have done so is the more remarkable because in past times Christians have often appeared bigoted in their assertion that no truth was to be found in other religions. For Muslims, who have been taught from the beginning that God had given revelations to previous prophets, it ought to be easier to approach the scientifically historical study of other religions with the expectation of finding at least some measure of truth everywhere.

One of the results of such work as has already been carried out in the West has been to show an unexpected amount of borrowing by one race or religion from another. It has of course never been doubted that Christianity in its inception was deeply indebted to Judaism, and in its early years to the wisdom of the Greeks. How much it was also influenced in its early days by the various Asiatic religions, which were pressing into the Roman Empire at that time, is still a subject of debate. The important point that begins to emerge is that, if revelation has not been restricted to a single prophet, or to a single race of men, there is nothing to be ashamed of in borrowing truth from any quarter.

The application of this result to the history of Islam is again a matter for Muslims themselves to consider. Outside observers believe that the authors of the religious and philosophical systems which developed in the first three centuries after the Hijra, when Muslims were in close cultural contact with Christians and Jews, and through them with the cultural inheritance of the Greeks, were enabled to bring outside ideas to their understanding of what they found written in the Qur'an.

No doubt it would be difficult for a Muslim of to-day to take the initial step of imagining the possibility that there had been a development of doctrine in Islam, still less of imagining that the orthodox doctors of Islam were in any way indebted to non-Muslim sources. But the old cry that the Muslim mind is for ever closed is no longer true, if it ever was. In the twentieth century no minds can remain closed, and the one tendency which we must all applaud is that opening of mind which is bringing all the peoples of the world towards a greater sympathy and mutual understanding. The modern Muslim, like all other moderns, is studying chemistry, physics, biology, history, political economy and sociology. All these new studies must eventually go towards the make-up of his mental life. He does not stop and say, 'This idea is unacceptable because it comes from America' or 'because it comes from Japan'. It would seem a strange thing if there was not at the same time a sharing of the various strands of human thought about the things of eternal reality, which are the subjects dealt with by theology and philosophy. On these most serious things of life there is likely to be difference of opinion for many years to come, but we can at least take the first steps towards the final unification of the human spirit by a willingness to study and understand the ideals in which the other half of the world finds life.

AN EARLY MUSLIM JUDGE, SHURAYH

K. A. FARIQ*

SHURAYH is an estimable non-political personality of the first century of the Hijrah. Although his life-picture is unfortunately not quite clear, one cannot but honour him from the depth of one's heart and acknowledge his greatness. He acted as a judge for about sixty years or longer as some of the authorities maintain. It is a long tenure even in normal conditions but in the tumultuous political, social and religious conditions of the first century in which he lived and with which he was closely associated, it is perhaps exceptional. We pay him homage and recognize his greatness because he was a God-fearing man in the true sense, the sense which, transcending the limited objectives of the prayers, the Hajj, the Zakat and the fast, encompasses all our deeds.

Shurayh was appointed a Qadi in A.H. 18 and resigned in A.H. 79, most probably owing to old age. These dates have been advanced by At-Tabari in his great history.[1] According to one school of opinion he lived to the age of one hundred and eighty, according to another one hundred years. From the sources available to me I have been able to glean the following accounts of his life before his appointment as Qadi.

His father was a Persian who had settled in Al-Yaman some twenty years before the birth of the Prophet.[2] It is said that he was among the troops sent by the persian Emperor Anushirwan to help a local prince, Sayf b. Dhi-Yazan, to expel the ruling Abbysinians from Al-Yaman.

Before being appointed as Qadi, Shurayh seems to have been a trader as is indicated by the following laconic statement of Ibnu-Sirin (d. A.H. 110): 'Shurayh was a trader and *kausaj*' (beardless).[3] As to the time of his conversion to Islam nothing very definite can be said. A tradition emanating from his son holds that he (Shurayh) came to the Prophet, accepted Islam and said : 'I have numerous kinsfolk in

1. Tab. = *Al-Tabari*, 4/225, 7/283, Cairo.
2. Agh. = *Al-Aghani*, 16/35. Cairo.
3. Tahdhib, 4/226.

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Al-Yaman', and the Prophet bade him fetch them and he fetched them accordingly.'[1] Another tradition in support of the above-noted one is that he had received knowledge (i.e. of the Qur'an and Islam) from Mu'adh b. Jabal, the young judicially proficient Sahabi (d-18) whom the Prophet had appointed Qadi and preceptor of al-Janad, a district of Al-Yaman. This appointment most probably occurred in the year 10 A.H. and the coming of Shurayh under Mu'adh's teaching influence suggests his conversion before hand. It is quite likely that he had embraced Islam in A.H. 10 (at al-Madinah) the year in which the Yamani delegations had started visiting the Prophet and a number of Yamani tribes had embraced the new faith.

It is also said that the reason for his emigration to al-Madinah was that his mother had married another husband after his father's death and that he could not reconcile himself to this change.[2]

According to an unnamed authority of *Al-Isabah,* 2/146, Shurayh was 40 years old at the time of his appointment in A.H. 18. From this it can be inferred that he was about 22 years old at the time of the Hijrah and about 32 at the time of his conversion. Thenceforth, till his appointment (after 8 years), his life is shrouded in mystery except for the general assumption that he led a commercial life which he had pursued from early days.

Shurayh seems to have learnt the Qur'an by heart, as is suggested by a tradition that 'Ali had entrusted him with the leading of the Ramadan *Tarawih* prayers.[3] The author of *Al-Isti'ab* writes: "Shurayh had a unique judicial faculty, was very quick-witted and well-informed, besides being a fine poet some of whose elegant poetry is still extant. He was a *kausaj* (beardless) without a single hair on his chin."[4] According to Ibn-Khallikan,[5] Shurayh was one of the four beardless notables of the first century, the other three being Ibnz-Zubayr (d. 73), Qays (b. Sa'd (b. 'Ubadah d.60) and al-Ahnaf (b. Qays d.71).[6] The statement of Ibn-Abdi'l-Barr that Shurayh had no single hair on his chin is challenged by the following remark of one of the latter's contemporaries cited by Ibn-Sa'd (d.230). 'I saw Shurayh's beard white.'[7] *Mazzah* (humorous) is another epithet which is frequently applied to him in his notices and to illustrate which a number of humorous anecdotes have been attributed

1. *Tahdhib*, 4/226. the same Ibn-Hajar in another book, of his, *Al-Isabah* quotes this very tradition without, however, mentioning the words "and he accepted Islam! he also changed the last words of the tradition "and he fetched them to the prophet", into the prophet had already died when he brought his family. *Isabah*, 2/146-Cairo.
2. *Agh*, 16/35.
3. IS=*Tabaqat* of Ibn-Sa 'd, Leyden 7/96.
4. IAB = *Isti 'ab* of Ibn-Abdi 'l-Barr, margin of *Al Isabah*, Cairo, 2/144.
5. IKh=*Wafayatu 'l-A 'yan* of Ibn-Khallikan, Cairo. 1/124.
6. IQ=*Kitabu 'l-Ma' arif* of Ibn- Qutaybah, Cairo, *al-Muhabbar* of Ibn-Habib, Hyderabad, p. 1/305.
7. IS =7/96.

to the great judge.

But the quality which enabled him to discharge his duties as a judge very successfully was, apart from his *Taqwa*, a faultless common sense and a sound deductive faculty, a faculty which was deficient among the Arabs, who relied upon tradition and precedent more than deduction and whose decisions were very often influenced by environments and personal and family considerations.

The Judge.

As mentioned before, Shurayh became judge in A. H. 10 or 18, that is to say about 5 years after the accession of 'Umar to the caliphate. (13-23). In A. H. 14 and 15 the military colonies of al-Basrah and al-Kufah respectively had been founded on the border of al-'Iraq. An important portion of the Iranian kingdom along with the whole of al-'Iraq had been conquered by the Arab warriors (*Muqatilah*). To supervise the conquered lands and subdue the unconquered ones, some Arab tribes from the Arabian Peninsula had settled down in the new cities. Their number in 'Umar's caliphate exceeded 100,000 and in another ten years rose to over 200,000. The two sister cities were the capitals of al-'Iraq and controlled the whole of Persia, including the Indian frontier. They constituted the largest military, tribal and fiscal centres of Islam and were destined soon to be the greatest centres of political and tribal disorder too. Disorderly tendencies among the military population of al-Kufah had been noticeable as early as the caliphate of 'Umar himself as is evident from the dismissals of Sa'd b. Abi-Waqqas (d. 55), a close associate of the Prophet in A. H. 20, or 21 and Ammar b. Yasir (d. 37), another Companion, in 22. The complaint against Sa'd was that he did not do well as leader of the public prayers, the one against 'Ammar was that he lacked efficient handling of state affairs. In fact, tendencies towards indiscipline were the real cause.

Before the year 18 Abu-Maryam al-Hanafi and Abu-Qurrah (also called Abu-Farwah) were respectively the judges at al-Basrah and al-Kufah. Neither of the two seems to have had the privilege of the Prophet's company.[1]

It seems that from A.H. 14 till 17 when Abu-Maryam was appointed Qadi at al-Basrah, the governor, over and above his political and administrative duties, also administered justice. This view finds support from several letters of 'Umar addressed to Abu-Musa al-Ash'ari (d. 50) who took over the governorship of al-Basrah in 17, about the principles and methods of justice. Abu-Musa would be quite often

1. I find on page 354 of *Futuhu l-Buldan* of al-Baladhuri, Cairo edition that the first man to act as judge in the reed mosque of al-Basrah just after its foundation was al-Aswad b. Sari 'at-Tamimi. The word Qadi used here must be a printing or transcription mistake for Qass (preacher) as all books on Rijal agree that al-Aswad was a religious preacher and not a judge.

away from the capital on military expeditions (in Faris and Khuzistan) and it is quite probable that he had on his own initiative entrusted the administration of justice to Abu-Maryam. The appointment of Abu-Qurrah (a non-Arab), his counterpart at al-Kufah in A.H. 15, also seems to have been made by the governor Sa'd himself.

It is reasonable to presume that 'Umar was not satisfied with the existing judicial administration at the great capitals of the eastern caliphate and was on the look-out for capable judges.

In the year 18, he discovered two persons with the necessary qualification, namely, Ka'b b. Sur al-Azdi (d.36) and Shurayh b. al-Harith al-Kindi. Ka'b was a convert from Christianity[1] who had not enjoyed the company (*suhbat*) of the Prophet at all or for any length of time. He was a pious man, possessed of common sense. 'Umar had acted as Qadi of al-Madinah under Abu-Bakr and on becoming Caliph, he still heard cases now and again. One day, a woman came to him and said: " My husband keeps busy with his prayers all night and with his fast all day," hinting thereby at his conjugal indifference to her. But the Caliph did not catch her meaning. On the other hand, he expressed his appreciation of the husband and the woman went away grieved. Ka'b was present on this occasion and had perceived the meaning of the equivocal words of the woman. He explained her mind to the Caliph who at once sent for her and said: " There is no harm in your telling the truth, he (Ka'b) says that you complain of the conjugal indifference of your husband." She confirmed this. Summoning her husband the Caliph asked Ka'b to deliver a suitable judgment on the issue. But Ka'b hesitated in view of the much greater competence of the Commander of the Faithful to judge. 'Umar's polite insistence, however, overcame his shyness and he observed : "Men (according to the Qur'an) are allowed four wives at a time and if he devotes one day to her company out of every four, then to my mind justice has been done to her." The Caliph was much impressed by this decision and appointed Ka'b Qadi of al-Basrah.[2]

The appointment of Shurayh, too, had a parallel background. 'Umar negotiated the purchase of a horse and in order to test it rode it (or made somebody else ride it, according to the version of *al-Aghani*).[3] During the trial, the horse died and 'Umar returned it to the seller who refused to take it back. Arbitration was decided upon by both and the seller brought Shurayh for the purpose. He said. "Commander of the Faithful, either take possession of the object you intend to buy or return it as you had taken it." Struck by the ingeniousness of Shurayh the Caliph exclaimed ; 'Could there be a more just arbitration than this.' 'Go to al-Kufah, I appoint you its Judge.[4] After mentioning this tradition, the author of *Tabaqat* says that this was the first occasion when 'Umar met Shurayh.

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1. Tab. 4/225
2. IB. 3/303 and 304
3. *Agh.* 16/35,
4. IS, 7/91.

Before Shurayh left to take charge of his post, the Caliph, according to one version, is said to have given him the following directions: 'Don't consult anyone about the verdict (*Qada*) you find in the Book of Allah, but if you do not find it there, refer to the *Sunnah* and in case you do not find it there also, act according to your own judgment (*Ijtihad*)." According to another, he enjoined him 'not to be ill-disposed, not to be quarrelsome, not to be bitter, not to sell or buy while in the court of justice and not to decide between two men in an angry mood.'[1]

We have unfortunately only meagre accounts of the long tenure of office of Shurayh (18 A.H. to 79 A.H.) before us. A coherent and comprehensive treatment of his life and administration of justice, despite its unquestioned value, has, as far as I know, never been attempted. In the numerous historical and literary sources that I have consulted, I find, his accounts haphazard and extremely brief and the details of the accounts in most cases are common and inter-dependent. Yet, when all the threads of information about him are placed together, we have before us a tolerably well-defined picture of the character of Shurayh in its individual, judicial and political bearings.

After A.H. 18, we meet Shurayh during the caliphate of 'Ali. In A.H. 23, 'Uthman succeeded 'Umar and was himself succeeded by 'Ali in A.H. 36. This span of thirteen years was marked by such upheavals as have, perhaps, never occurred in the history of Islam. The wave of agitation let loose against 'Uthman since A.H. 29, had its greatest centre at al-Kufah where Shurayh was a judge. In A.H. 21, 'Umar had sent Ibn-Mas'ud (d.32) there to supervise the public treasury and acquaint the Kufans with the Qur'an and Islam. Ibn-Mas'ud was one of the closest and ablest companions of the Prophet, and seems to have had a sound grasp of the Qur'an. Under his guidance there grew a class of religious tribal leaders famous in history as *Qurra'* (Qur'an-readers). Soon they became a very potent factor in the religious and intellectual life of the city. They issued *Fatawa* religions and controlled the entire legal activity of the people.

To meet the dying wish of 'Umar, 'Uthman had appointed Sa'd b. Abi-Waqqas, to the governorship of al-Kufah. But after only one year, he replaced him by one of his near relatives (stepbrother) a young man, al-Walid b.'Uqbah with whose family the Prophet had been displeased. The Arabs always disliked being ruled over by young men and al-Walid, besides being young, had neither standing nor any distinguished service to Islam to his credit. The *Qurra'* and the veterans of al-Qadisiyyah and Jalula' who had had only the senior companions as their rulers and governors, were much offended by this appointment. This sense of insult continued to grow and in a few years it assumed the form of positive antagonism.[2]

1. According to ash-Sha'bi quoted by Ibn-Asakir (*History of Damascus* 6/305), Umar fixed 100 dirhams (roughly Rs 56/-) as his monthly salary.
2. *Al-Bayan wa't Tabyin* by al-Jahiz, Cairo, 2/123, and *Agh.* 16/36.

On assuming the governorship, al-Walid took a loan from the public treasury which was under the charge of Ibn-Mas'ud. When the return of the loan was due, Ibn-Mas'ud asked for it but al-Walid was evidently not in a position to pay. Ibn-Mas'ud persisted, and probably with harshness, in his demand for the return of the loan. Al-Walid complained to 'Uthman of Ibn-Mas'ud's overbearing attitude and sought for his intervention. The Caliph wrote to Ibn-Mas'ud : 'You are only the custodian of our treasury and need not, therefore, be hard with al-Walid in respect of the loan he has taken."[1]

Much excited by this intervention, Ibn-Mas'ud threw down the keys of the treasury in contempt and said : 'I thought that I was the treasurer of the Muslims, but if you think that I am your treasurer, then certainly I don't want to be a treasurer. A ruler who deviates from the right path has his prosperity destroyed by God and is exposed to His displeasure. I think your Caliph has changed and has given up the right conduct. What an enormity it is that a Companion of the calibre of Sa'd b. Abi-Waqqas is replaced by a junior like al-Walid :" Al-Walid reported to 'Uthman that Ibn-Mas'ud had criticised him and instigated the people against him. The Caliph immediately recalled Ibn-Mas'ud and he had to go back to al-Madinah very reluctantly.

Both these events inflamed the feelings of the *Qurra'* and the veterans of the early conquests (*Ashraf*) and caused in their circles an atmosphere of ill-will against 'Uthman and his officials.

In A.H. 30, a conspiracy against al-Walid resulted in his dismissal. He was succeeded in the governorship by another relative of 'Uthman, Sa'id b. Al-'As. Like al-Walid he had neither standing nor was he a distinguished *Mujahid*, though he was a good ruler. His governorship was marked by a sincere effort to win over the disgruntled *Qurra'* and the veterans. But he failed to satisfy them and soon incurred their hostility. The ill-will against the caliph and the officials who were his relations was aggravated by the inciting correspondence of a number of prominent companions who aspired to the caliphate or coveted the lucrative posts which had been given to much less deserving persons, as they thought, than themselves.

Further, a new class of *Mujahids* had come into prominence during the second phase of the Iranian campaigns from A.H. 19 or 20 onwards and was getting strong financially as well as numerically and aspiring to dominate the old class of *Mujahids* which had started losing ground. On assuming the governorship, Sa'id after consultation with the Caliph at al-Madinah, took some measures affecting immovable property (estates principally) and restored the stability and prestige of the old *Mujahids*. This was construed by the new rising class as a blow against them and they became ill-disposed towards the government. And when in A.H. 33, 'Uthman, acting upon the advice of Sa'id ordered the exile of ten *Qurra'* and *Mujahid* ringleaders, who had planned to destroy the peace of

1. *Ansabu l-Ashraf* 5/30 by Baladhuri, Jerusalem.

al-Kufah by overthrowing the government, a crisis of the first magnitude arose. The old and the new class of *Mujahids* joined hands in an agitation against 'Uthman. It was a religious-tribal leader of al-Kufah and a war veteran, Al-Ashtar, who led a band of 200 hostiles to al-Madinah in order to depose or kill the Caliph. The air of al-Kufah became infested with the germs of disorder and revolt.

At other important military capitals also the storm was gathering fast. Al-Madinah, Egypt and al-Basrah were in a hostile mood. Both companions and non-companions helped the crisis to flourish. But al-Kufah led and eclipsed all. The hostility at al-Madinah and in Egypt quieted down with the assassination of 'Uthman, but at al-Basrah, and particularly at al-Kufah, rebellious tendencies continued to grow and found frequent outlet in revolts and bloodshed. To rebel and violate the peace had become a tradition at al-Kufah.

In A. H. 36, al-Kufah became the capital of 'Ali. His presence there far from destroying the germs of rebellion, further multiplied them. The arrogance, recalcitrance and disobedience of the religious tribal leaders proved to be the rock on which the ship of his caliphate foundered. After about five years of very troubled rule, he fell to the sword of a fanatic. And it was by the *Qurra'* of al-Kufah that the first *Tahkim* slogan was raised, a slogan which soon became the signal of a rebellious ideology and continued throughout the first century to ravage peaceful life and shed precious blood. In A. H.53, an effort by Hujr, a Shi'i leader of al-Kufah, and his supporters to rebel against the government was nipped in the bud. In A.H. 60, on Mu'awiyah's death, a serious subversive movement to overthrow the existing regime and install that of the Ahlu-'l Bayt was launched; in A. H. 65, the Tawwabun Shi'is disturbed the peace of the city and the next year, al-Mukhtar b. Abi-'Ubayd, the diplomatic genius, taking advantage of the factions at al-Kufah, established a rival government there, but soon he was faced with a formidable rebellion of the non-Shi'is. In A.H. 75, Al-Hajjaj was appointed governor of the two Iraqs (al-Basrah and al-Kufah) and a number of revolts occurred during his twenty-year tenure of which the one led by his relative Ibn l-Ash'ath (a religious tribal leader whose revolt lasted from A.H. 81 to 85) was the most outstanding. A very leading part in it was played by the *Qurra'* and the *Mujahids* of al-Kufah, among whom Ash-Sh'abi (d. 103), Sa'id b. Jubayr (d.94) Ibn-Abi-Layla (d. 83) and Abu l-Bukhtari Al-Ta'ii d. are some famous names.

These revolts though planned and executed with great zeal never succeeded in their objectives. Hundreds and thousands died fighting, women and Children in hundreds became widows and orphans. Family integrity was seriously disturbed leading to the kinds of evils that result from the loss of the family guardian or supporter. The dying father, brother or uncle cast on the shoulders of his relatives the duty of revenge, so characteristic of the Arabs, which would assume the form of a new disorder of breach of the peace some day later.

It is a very remarkable aspect of Shurayh's long tenure of office as a judge that though he was closely associated on the one hand, with the ruling government and on the other, with the leaders of religious tribes who usually piloted the anti-government activities, he never encouraged or participated in any revolt or associated himself, as far as is known, with any of the wars waged amongst the Arabs or the non-Arabs. Ka'b b. Sur, his counterpart at al-Basrah, it may be noted, had yielded to the pressure of 'A' ishah, one of the leaders of the anti-'Alid front, and was killed fighting by the side of her camel in A.H. 36. The people of al-Madinah, of whom the majority were the Companions, plotted a revolt against Yazid in 63 and, equipping themselves with the money he had given them as a present and a token of his regard, fought against him and died in large numbers in the battle of al-Harrah.

Now, in such a subversive atmosphere,when the most sober individuals and parties would be swept away by various temptations, the total detachment of Shurayh from it seems very surprising. The reason for it, as far as I have been able to judge, lies in his sound consciousness of *Taqwa* He was a peace-loving man who regarded peaceful conduct as an indispensable adjunct of the fear of God. He distinguished between the absolute (*'Am*) and restricted *(Khass)* parts of the Qur'an. "Follow the best of what has been sent to you from your Lord" (Qur'an) was his motto. His clear mind could very well perceive the causes which stimulated strife, revolt and bloodshed. The causes would assume the form of unlawful appropriation of the public money (*Isti'thar bi l-Mal*), neglect of the divine law (*Ta'tilu l-Hudud*), exclusive right of the Ahlul-Bayt to the caliphate, tyranny and despotism, but in fact passion (*Hawa*) would be the guiding force. *Hawa* sometimes would take the form of a desire for self-influence or self-prosperity, family influence and family prosperity, tribal influence and tribal prosperity, sometimes it would manifest itself in the desire for the recognition of one's religious or spiritual or family greatness and the acquisition of worldly or political influence through that recognition. Sometimes, this *Hawa* would take the shape of a feeling for revenge, revenge of blood or loss of insult, sometimes, it would be a mere passion of jealousy at the wealth and influence of a rival individual, family or tribe. Shurayh thought that *Hawa* and all its manifestations were a negation of *Taqwa*. "Do not follow *Hawa* because it will lead you astray from the right course", and "we shall bless those who neither seek self glory nor commit acts disruptive of peace on the earth—(Qur'an); his mind always resounded with these warnings. Though he recognized the truth of the verse: "The recompense of evil can be evil like it" (Qur'an), yet the conduct which seemed to him nearer the spirit of Islam and all the revealed religions was the one endorsed in these verses: "He who forgives and sets right (a broken bond of friendship), will be amply rewarded by God" and "he who endures (anything unpleasant) and forgives (the wrong-doer) does, indeed, an act of high calibre," and "those who repay good for evil will certainly

be entitled to the bliss of the hereafter."

After noticing this background of the career of Shurayh and of his ideological attitude, I now revert to the Caliphate of 'Ali. The commentator of *Nahju l-Balaghah*, Ibn-Abi'l-Hadid writes: " 'Ali confirmed Shurayh in the post of judge at al-Kufah and did not dismiss him, though he differed from the latter on many legal issues which have been mentioned in the law-books''.[1] A tradition in *Al-Isabah* reads: There are ample accounts of Shurayh relating to the Caliphates of 'Umar, 'Uthman and 'Ali.[2] "These many legal issues and ample accounts to which Ibn-Abi'l-Hadid and *Al-Isabah* refer are not mentioned in the available books of law and literary sources or we should have been more fully acquainted with the life of the judge.

The caliphate of 'Ali provides us with three important events, which are anecdotal and which clearly show both Shurayh's competence as a judge and his disregard of personalities in the discharge of his duties, and also demonstrate on the one hand the short temper of 'Ali and on the other his sense of justice. The first event refers to the pre-Siffin days. 'Ali had somewhere lost his coat of mail. One day finding it in the possession of a Jew, he claimed it back. The Jew refused to return it showing his readiness however, to appear before the Qadi. Accordingly, he and 'Ali approached Shurayh who, on seeing the commander of the Faithful, rose to his feet. When everyone had sat down, 'Ali reiterated his claim to the coat of mail mentioning the circumstances of its loss. The judge asked the Jew what he had to say about the matter and he asserted that the coat of mail was his property. Turning to 'Ali, the judge said: "Commander of the Faithful, you may be right in claiming this coat, but it is necessary that you should produce two witnesses in support of your claim." 'Ali called his Mawla, Qunbar and his son, al-Hasan to give evidence. But Shurayh refused to accept al-Hasan's evidence. 'Ali had invalidated the evidence of a son in favour of his father and the refusal of Shurayh was due to this ruling.[3] Much infuriated with the apparent impertinence of Shurayh, 'Ali exclaimed: 'The Prophet of Allah has declared that al-Hasan and al-Husayn are the leaders of the youths of Paradise and you refuse to accept the evidence of one of them. Go away to Baniqyah the Jewish colony and act as their judge for forty days."

The Caliph, however, left the coat of mail with the Jew who, in deep appreciation of the impartiality of the Muslim judge and the regard 'Ali had paid to his judgment, said: "Commander of the Faithful, you accompanied me to the court of your judge and when he decided against you, you submitted to his judgement. You are right in claiming this coat of mail; it had fallen on such and such a day from the ash-

1. IAH—*Sharhu-Nahji 'l-Balaghah* by Ibn-Abi'l-Hadid, Iran, 14/160.
2. *Isabah—al Isabah fi Tamyiz-Sahabah by* Ibn-Hajar, Cairo, 2/146.
3. I 'Asakir—*Tarikh-Dimashq* by Ibn-'Asakir, Cairo, 6/307.

coloured camel you were riding. I had picked it up. I embrace Islam." 'Ali far from taking back the coat of mail, offered a horse as present to the Jew and recruited him as a soldier on 900 dirhams per annum. The new convert did not live long and was killed in the battle of Siffin (A. H. 37) fighting with his patron.[1]

The second event has been noted by Ibnu-Abi l-Hadid the commentator of *Nahju l-Balaghah*. Shurayh purchased a house for 80 dinars (1 dinar represented roughly Rs. 5/8/ then, now it is equal to more than Rs.13/1). Disapproving the purchase, 'Ali summoned the judge and said: "I understand that you have bought a house for 80 dinars and have drawn up a document of purchase on which you have also registered the evidence of witnesses. "Shurayh admitted that it was so. 'Ali resumed with angry looks. 'Don't you think, Shurayh, that a person might come to you who will neither look at your document nor inquire about your witnesses, but will take you away from the house and land you in the grave from where you will never come back. Shurayh, consider whether you have not purchased this house with money other than yours or with money acquired unlawfully. If you have purchased the house with ill-gotten money then certainly you will be a great loser in this world and the next. If you had approached me at the time of the purchase, I would have written the following document for you so that you would never have thought of buying the house for a dirham : This is a house which a contemptible (or humble) slave has purchased from one afraid of (lit. disquieted by) death; this house is the abode of deception, and is situated in the quarter of those who are doomed to perish. It has four sides: the first side is adjacent to the Dawa'i (causes) of misfortunes, the second to those of calamities, the third to the destructive passions of the heart, and the fourth to the temptations of the devil and towards this side opens the door of the house. One beguiled by hope has bought this house from one afraid of death, casting away the honour of contentment and entering the vileness of desire [2]......... .. .."

The third incident has been recorded by Ibn-Khallikan[3] and Ibnu-Hajar (in his *Tahdhibu t-Tahdhib*),[4] but the text of the latter's version is confusing and seems to be corrupt. According to Ibn-Khallikan's version 'Ali called a meeting (evidently some days before his death which occurred in Ramadan 40) of the religious Tribal leaders of the city including Shurayh, and said that he was about to leave them and that he wanted to know where they stood in the legal and judicial knowledge of Islam and to rectify their mistakes if any (such seems to be the tenor of the report). He put to everyone of them legal queries and after the test was over, said to Shurayh "Go, you are the most competent man (or Arab), the most competent Arab judge" (according to *Tahdhib*).

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1. *Agh.* 15/32.
2. IAH 16/160.
3. Ikh, 1/224.
4. *Tahdhibu't Tahdhib by* Ibn Hajar, 4-226.

After 'Ali we get a few glimpses of Shurayh during Ziyads' governorship of al-Basrah and al-Kufah (50-53). This Ziyad was of slave descent. His mother was unanimously held to be a slave-woman but with regard to his father two opinions prevailed, viz., (1) that he was a slave of the name of 'Ubayd, (2) that he was Abu-Sufyan, the father of Mu 'awiyah. Starting his career as an army clerk in A. H. 14, Ziyad made rapid progress and was soon given the post of the Director of Finance of the protectorate of al-Basrah, and in A.H. 38 was appointed by 'Ali as governor of Faris, where rebellion had broken out. Struck by his outstanding administrative and political skill, and relying upon some weighty evidence, Mu'awiyah publicly adopted him in A.H. 44 as his brother and in A.H. 45 commissioned him to the very important post of the governorship of al-Basrah and its vast dependencies. On the death of al-Mughirah in A. H. 50, al-Kufah along with its dependencies, was also put under his able charge. The Caliph 'Umar had more than once put Ziyad's administrative and legal competence to oral and written test and had been so highly satisfied with both that he had recommended to the elders of al-Basrah to seek and follow his advice.[1]

On getting the governorship of the whole of the eastern caliphate, Ziyad would pass six months at al-Kufah and six at al-Basrah. He was very happy to find a judge of the calibre of Shurayh at al-Kufah, his summer capital. He was not fortunate in his judges at al-Basrah where since his governorship in A.H. 45 several had been replaced. The population of al-Basrah exceeded that of the sister capital and a very capable judge to deal with the complex judicial problems there was needed. However, it was not possible to remove Shurayh permanently from al-Kufah. Ziyad therefore, borrowed his services for one year and took him to his winter capital, filling the gap by a meritorious *Tabi'i* (legist), Masruq b. al-Ajda' (d. 63).

The author of *al-'Iqdu 'l-Farid* reports that Ziyad, seating Shurayh by his side, would personally decide cases. He had, however told the judge to intervene if he thought the dictates of justice so demanded. But Shurayh did not find it necessary to intervene. One day, an Arab came and said: "I came to al-Basrah when the plots allotted by the government for building houses were available and so intended to build a house for myself on one of the plots. My cousins (uncle's sons) had already built houses and settled down. They did not like my living away and asked me to build a house on their land and settle down. So I built one and got married. Later, Satan set us at variance and they asked me to quit." Turning to the defendants Ziyad observed: "You have no right to evict him. When vacant plots were available, you prevented him from building for himself a house; you had surplus land which you gave him; now that plots are no longer available you want to evict him and

1. *'Asakir*, 5/407

do him harm. He shall not vacate his house."[1] This decision gave Shurayh the first occasion, so it appears from the tenor of the report, to intervene, and he said to the plaintiff:— "*Ya Musta'ira l-Qidri 'Urdud'-ha* (O borrower of the kettle, give it back) treating the plot on a par with a borrowed kettle which the borrower is under obligation to return. But, Ziyad declined to accept this argument, probably regarding the analogy as fallacious. The two judgments were discussed by other contemporary legists of al-Basrah and we are fortunate to have on record the opinion of the famous Ibn-Sirin (d-110) 'Shurayh's judgment is sound, but Ziyad's is also good" i. e. more conforming to the dictates of justice. [2]

The wording of the above anecdote in *Al'Iqd* suggests that Ziyad would as a routine administer justice under the auspices of Shurayh, but the more probable interpretation seems to be that he did so casually and that the above anecdote referred to a particular occasion when the governor wished to act as a judge. This interpretation is supported by the following tradition, quoted by Ibn-Sa'd and Ibn-Hajar on the authority of different sets of transmitters: "Ziyad brought Shurayh to al-Basrah and he administered justice among us in a manner unapproached by any judge before or after him."[3] This usually recognized tradition is countered by another emanating from Ibn l-Madini which raises the period of Shurayh's administration of justice at al-Basrah from 1 year to 7. But neither direct nor circumstantial evidence tends to endorse this view.

Ziyad met his death in A.H. 53 at his summer capital al-Kufah. A virulent boil had formed on one of his fingers and the physicians fearing that the infection might spread to other parts of the body, advised him to get rid of it. But Ziyad's mind wavered between cutting off the finger and retaining it. He perhaps wanted a legal or spiritual verdict on the matter and so called Shurayh and sought his advice. The judge said: "I fear that the amputation of the finger may have a deadly effect on your heart, and your end having come, you may die and meet God without a finger which you had cut off to avoid Him, or if the time of your death be far off and you survive the amputation, your sons will be taunted as Banu l-Ajdham (sons of the fingerless"). This sincere advice set Ziyad's heart at rest and he gave up the idea of amputation. When Shurayh left the palace, some enemies of the governor reproached him for his advice. They wished that he had advised Ziyad to submit to amputation so that he could live on and die a natural death and be deprived of the status of a martyr by succumbing to the eruption. The judge's cryptic reply to his critics was a saying of the Prophet *Al-Mustasharu-Mu'taminun* i. e. the advice-giver is trusted by the advice-seeker and so it is

1. *'Iqd — 'Iqdu'l-Farid by* Ibn-'Abdi-Rabbihi, cairo, 3/236.
2. *'Iqd*. 3/237.
3. *IS*. 7/95 and *Isabah* 2/146

not proper for him to betray the trust.[4]

In A. H. 60, we catch another glimpse of Shurayh. On the accession of Yazid to the caliphate in A. H. 60, al-Kufah was in the grip of an intense campaign for the caliphate of al-Husayn. The delegates of the Shi'is started visiting him at al-Madinah and he received so many letters of inducement and professions of loyalty that two bags were full with them.[2] Al-Husayn had not forgotten their treachery and disobedience to his father and brother. So he wanted to make a test of their loyalty and for this purpose sent his cousin Muslim b. 'Aqil to al-Kufah. Muslim alighted at the house of the famous diplomat, al-Mukhtar b. Abi-'Ubayd (d.67) and set about taking the *Bay'at* (allegiance) for al-Husayn. Soon twelve thousand Shi'is took the oath of allegiance. Coming to know of these subversive activities at al-Kufah and the inability of its governor, an-Nu'man b. Bashir al-Ansari to arrest them, Yazid replaced him by 'Ubaydullah b. Ziyad, the governor of al-Basrah who was, thenceforth, to have charge of both the capitals. Brought up under the discipline of his father, 'Ubaydullah was an able and energetic ruler. He rushed on post-horses to al-Kufah and set about the task of uprooting the impending rebellion.

'Ubaydullah held in high regard two Arab chiefs, Hani b. 'Urwah and Sharik b. A'war. Sharik had accompanied him from al-Basrah and though he pretended to be friendly to the governor he disliked him as he was a shi'i at heart.

On reaching al-Kufah, he lodged at the house of Hani where Muslim had already shifted on grounds of security from al-Mukhtar's house. Sharik fell ill and 'Ubaydullah sent a message that he would pay him a visit. Sharik welcomed this opportunity and persuaded Muslim to lie in wait and attack the governor on his (Sharik's) demanding a cup of water to drink. 'Ubaydullah came and while he was busy inquiring about Sharik's health, the latter gave the signal for the attack but Muslim did not respond to it owing to certain scruples. The signal was repeated two or three times but to no effect. 'Ubaydullah's bodyguard suspecting mischief hinted to his master to retire and he did. The plot miscarried. The governor had already appointed a spy who, acting as a staunch Shi'i, had become acquainted with the whole affair—Muslim's haven, Sharik's plot, and purchase of arms. Sharik died very soon after.

'Ubaydullah was greatly annoyed by the treachery of Hani. He called him to an interview and though the latter tried much to avoid it he was ultimately persuaded to go to the palace where Shurayh also was present. As Hani took his seat in the assembly of the governor, the latter said : "You know that my father on assuming the governorship of al-Kufah, had killed all the Shi'i ringleaders save you and Hujr b. 'Adi. The fate Hujr met is well known to you. After his impalement,

1. Tab. 6/162.
2. *At — Al Akhbaru l-Tiwal* by ad-Dinawari, Leyden, p. 243.

my father continued to honour and favour you so much so that he wrote (from al-Basrah) to his deputy at al-Kufah (sense not clear). And now you have repaid this favour of my father with sheltering a man in your house that he may kill me." Hani interrupted to contradict the last words of 'Ubaydullah who at once called the spy. On seeing him, Hani was greatly upset; he, nevertheless, tried to apologize to the governor and convince him that he had most unwillingly sheltered Muslim. Soon their talk became heated and Hani became so overbearing in his anger that 'Ubaydullah in a fit of rage struck Hani's face with his stick, seriously wounding his nose and forehead. He was ordered to be removed to a room of the palace and guarded.

In a few minutes rumour was afloat in Hani's tribe, Madhhij, that their leader had been killed and an angry host of the tribesmen flocked to the palace with hostile designs. 'Ubaydullah could hardly find a better man to deal with the new situation than Shurayh who was universally trusted and honoured. Deputing some guards to watch the judge, he ordered him to see Hani and let his tribesmen know that he was alive. Shurayh saw the injuries of Hani who implored him to tell his tribesmen that if they turned away, 'Ubaydullah would kill him. He came back to 'Ubaydullah and said, "I have found him alive but his wounds are serious." Not relishing this veiled protest, 'Ubaydullah said with a frown: "Do you object to the ruler's punishing his subjects? Go and inform the people as I have told you." Shurayh acquitted himself of this delicate mission without letting a single false syllable escape his mouth: "O people, give up this ugly panic, your leader is alive, the governor has chastised him with a beating from which he has not died. So go away and do not expose yourself and your leader to injury." [1] The Madhhijis turned away on hearing this announcement.

On Yazid's death in A.H. 64, 'Ubaydullah (the governor of the two Iraqs) was at al-Basrah. At Makkah Ibn Z-Zubayr (d.73) had declared himself as Caliph and at Damascus Yazid's son Mu'awiyah had succeeded him on his death. It was a *Fitnah*, (crisis) in which the Muslim nation's political unity had been disrupted. The people of al-Basrah elected, until the restoration of the unity, 'Ubaydullah as their head by a formal *Bay'at*. But soon they broke it and hostility against him assumed such alarming proportions that he had to fly to Damascus. Immediately after his *Bay'at* at al-Basrah, he had sent a delegation to the people of al-Kufah to persuade them to do *Bay'at* to him as the sister city had done for the interim period. But the influential leadership of the religious tribal leaders there not only rejected the proposal but also expelled 'Ubaydullah's acting deputy and elected 'Amir b. Mas'ud as their congregational leader until the arrival of accredited representative of the caliphate. [2]

In the prevailing political uncertainty and the absence of a properly constituted Government in the capital from which the administration of

1. Tab. 6/202, 203.
2. Tab. 7/33

justice derived its executive power, Shurayh gave up his office and remained idle for about two years,(64-65).

In A.H. 66, he reappears temporarily on the judicial horizon of al-Kufah, where at this time al-Mukhtar b. Abi-'Ubayd was absolute sovereign. Posing as representative of 'Ali's son, Ibn l-Hanafiyyah (d.81), and a deliverer of the down-trodden (the slaves and *Mawali*) he had, by means of remarkable tact, raised an army of the Kufans and defeated and expelled with their help the governor of Ibnu Z-Zubayr. Parts of al-Iraq and eastern Iran were under his sway. In the early days of his supremacy he would himself dispense justice every morning and evening but as his political preoccupations increased, he had to give this up. Shurayh was approached and prevailed upon, probably against his will, to take charge of the administration of justice. He must have had scruples in the bigoted atmosphere which the first victory of Shi'ism had brought about. Soon he ran the gauntlet of the Shi'is. Four specific charges were levelled against him: (a) that he was an 'Uthmani (pro-Umayyad), (b) that he had given evidence against Hujr (as Qadi of Ziyad in A.H. 53; Hujr had been planning the overthrow of the government) (c) that he had not conveyed Hani's message to his tribesmen (vide p. 17), (d) that 'Ali had dismissed him (this is probably a reference to his exile of 40 days at 'Ali's order to Baniqya). Shurayh's scruples were now justified and he shut himself up in his house on the pretext of illness. His vacancy was filled by 'Abdullah, the grandson of Ibn-Mas'ud.[1]

His detachment from public life ended in A.H. 68 after two years according to At-Tabari who is our only chronological guide in Shurayh's career as a judge. These two years or so are spread over the eighteen-month sovereignty of al-Mukhtar, and six months of Mus'ab b. Az-Zubayr's governorship of al-Kufah. He had defeated al-Mukhtar in Ramadan A.H. 67.

From A.H. 68 to 79, when shurayh formally tendered his resignation to Al-Hajjaj, the governor of the two 'Iraqs (al-Basrah and al-Kufah), he seems to have enjoyed an unbroken tenure of office. A rough calculation of the years during which he was idle, according to At-Tabari (let me here point out that At-Tabari does not concern himself with any detail of Shurayh's career except citing the years in which he was or was not judge) that is, from A.H. 64 to 65 for the first time and from 66 (less an unidentified but short period during al-Mukhtar's sovereignty) to part of 68 for the second, amounts to about four years of idleness. Apart from this rough calculation based on At-Tabari, there are two definite opinions regarding his idleness. According to the one (of which the chief adherents are Ibn-Qutaybah, Ibn-Khallikan and Ibn-Abi l-Hadid), it lasted for three years and this approximates to the rough calculation derived from At-Tabari. According to the other opinion (which emanates from an

1. Tab. 7/115.

authority of Ibn-Sa'd), it lasted for nine years. The actual words of the authority in *Tabaqat* are: "Shurayh was idle for nine years during the *Fitnah* when he neither informed nor received information from anyone."[1] The word *Fitnah* here stands for the period of conflict for the caliphate (64-73) between the Umayyad rulers and Ibn-Z-Zubayr. This opinion, though supported by circumstantial evidence, is so isolated that unless supplemented by direct and adequate testimony, can hardly be recognized. More controversial than the period of his idleness is the matter of the tenure of his office, the span of his life and the year of his death. The author of *Al-Isti'ab* declares the tenure to be 60 years, that *Kitabu l-Ma'arif* and *'Uyunul-Akhbar* (1/61, Cairo, 1925) put it at 75, Ibn-Khallikan and Ibn-Hibban in *Tahdhib* at 73, others at 57. The calculation based on the dates of At-Tabari goes in favour of the last view.

The span of his life has been variously fixed at 180, 120 and 110 years (according to *Kitabu l-Ma'arif* p. 91, Adh-Dhahabi's *Tadhkiratu l-Huffaz* 1/56, *Al-Aghani*, 16/35 and *Tahdhib*, 4/226), 168 years, according to Ibn-Abi'l-Hadid, (16/160), 108 years (according to one authority of Ibn-Sa'd, 7/97) 121 years (according to one authority of *Al-Isabah*, 2/126) 100 years (according to *Al-Isti'ab*, margin of *Al-Isabah*, 2/149).

About the year of his death views are much more divergent and in some cases contradictory:—

A. H. 80 or 79 (according to Ash-Sha'bi quoted by *Al-Aghani*, 16/35 and *Ma'arif* p. 91) 79 or 78 (according to the same Ash-Sha'bi, quoted by Ibn-Sa'd, 7/79), 78 (according to *Al-Isabah* 2/146 and Adh-Dhahabi, 1/56), 76 (according to a different authority of *Al-Aghani* and also Ibn-Sa'd), A. H. 87 (according to *Al-Isti'ab*, margin of *Al-Isabah* 2144 and Ibn-Abi l-Hadid, 16/160) A, H. 80 (according to Al-Khalifah quoted by *Al-Isabah* 2/146) 82 (according to Al-Mada'ini quoted by *Al-Isabah*, 2/146) A. H. 99 (according to an unnamed authority in *Al Isabah* 2/146 and *Tahdhib* 4/226) A. H. 96 or 97 (according to Ibnu l-Athir (*History*) 5/8) and A. H. 79 (according to Ibn-Sa'd in *Tahdhib*, 4/226). Relying on the historical evidence, I am inclined to regard the year 80 as the most probable date of his death.

Having dealt with the chronological part of Shurayh's life I shall now refer to such of his accounts as cannot be assigned because of the lack of evidence to a particular governorship but are, nevertheless, of real importance as they reveal many a hidden corner of his personality.

I am indebted for almost all that follows to the great author of *Tabaqat* [2] (Ibn-Sa'd). Here I present what he says in an arranged form:—

Shurayh did not attend the court of justice on rainy days and heard cases at home. If he were hungry or angry, he would discontinue his work. As he proceeded to the court, he would murmur to himself: "The

1. IS. 7/97.
2. IS. 7/91-97.

wrong-doer will soon have to acknowledge the right of the wronged; indeed the wrong-doer awaits punishment and the wronged victory."

He would not be content with the evidence of the witnesses alone but would also demand a statement on oath from the plaintiff. This strictness was most probably due to the fact that in the prevailing tribal set-up, alive with a very strong clan or family spirit, evidence could easily be furnished, men paying scant regard to the Qur'anic injunction: "when you say something be veracious even though this may go against your kin." He would say to witnesses of doubtful honesty: "Slaves of Allah, give up guess and conjecture in favour of facts; By God, you will not feel the loss of a thing you give up for the sake of God."

Testimony of the following was not acceptable to him: the enemy or opponent or partner of the plaintiff; a man of doubtful veracity; a man indebted to the plaintiff, or a slave or servant of the plaintiff.

He would not give his opinion on controversial legal issues. When a man once requested him to give his opinion on a point a legal judgement of law, he said: "I don't deliver a *Fatwa*, I administer justice." He would not act as a witness. This is indicated by these words of his addressed to Ash-Sha'bi: "I don't like to be a judge and a witness.' To ensure the order and dignity of the court, he would not allow people to witness the legal proceedings.

If he suspected the honesty of witnesses, he would say to them: "I have not summoned you and if you go away, I shall not detain you. To decide against this person (defendant) is an injustice. I fear you are incurring the punishment of God, so beware of His punishment". If they still persisted in giving evidence, he would say to the person winning the case: "I decide in your favour, I know you are the wrong-doer and yet I cannot act according to my knowledge for I have to rely upon evidence. However, I should like to emphasize that my decision cannot make lawful to you any thing that God has rendered unlawful. Keep this in mind and go away."

He is said to have been the first judge who cross-examined witnesses to ascertain their honesty. Some one objected to it: "Abu Umayyah (his *Kunyah* i. e. patronymic), you are doing something quite unprecedented." He said humorously: "Since people have begun doing new things (i. e. have given up veracity) I am compelled to do likewise.

A man lodged with him a complaint against one of his (Shurayh's) relatives. He decided against the latter and ordered that he should be tied to one of the pillars (of the mosque where he heard cases). As he was leaving the court, the relative implored him to set him free. Unmoved, he went away saying: "It is justice that has punished you, not I."

One of his sons once had a financial or property dispute with some people. Putting his case before the father for consideration, he said: If the decision is likely to be in my favour, I shall sue otherwise not." On hearing the facts, Shurayh bade him sue. When the case came up before him, he decided against his son who was greatly shocked. Meeting

his father at home, sullen and perplexed, he said; "By God, had I not made the case known to you beforehand, you would never have had the chance to decide it against me; Now you have indeed disgraced me.", "My boy," proceeded the father calmly, you are dearer to me than the whole world but the pleasure of God *(Rida)* is dearer to me than everything else. When you mentioned the facts of your case to me, I feared that if I disclosed that the decision would be against you, you might, perhaps, have patched up your differences with your opponents by concluding a settlement disadvantageous to them."

Another son of his had stood surety for an accused person and secured his release from prison. On getting out, the delinquent fled away and could not be recaptured. The son was arrested at the father's orders and thrown into prison.

The guard of his court whipped a certain person without fault. The judge, coming to know of the high-handed-ness, asked the wronged person to inflict an equal number of whiplashes upon the guard.

Some instances of his reported humour

A man [1] came to him and said : Listen to my case.

The judge : 'Go on I am listening.'

The new-comer : 'I am a native of Syria.'

The judge : 'That is a far-flung country.'

The new-comer : 'I have married in your city.'

The judge : 'May the couple live in peace and have sons (an Arab proverb).'

The new-comer : 'I want to take my wife to Syria.'

The judge : 'Men have such rights over their wives.'

The new-comer : 'But the condition of the marriage was that she would not leave her city.'

The judge : 'Conditions are binding.'

The new-Comer : 'You decide our case.'

The judge : 'I have decided.'

The new-comer : 'Against whom is your decision.'

The judge : 'Against the son of your mother.'

The new-comer : 'On the evidence of whom?'

The judge : 'On the evidence of the son of your aunt's [2] sister."

1. His name was 'Adi' b. Artat according to UA='*Uyunu'l-Akhbar* by Ibn-Qutaybah Cairo, 3/317.
2. Ikh. 1/224.

A woman came to him and as she complained of her wrong-doer, she wept and sighed. But this did not move him in any way. A man, surprised at his indifference, said. "It is strange that you, O judge, are not moved by the sighs of the woman." This touched the humorous vein in him and he recited the following Qur'anic verse: '*Wa ja'a Ikhwatu-Yusufa Aba hum 'Isha'an Yabkun* and the brothers of Yusuf came forth weeping to their father in the evening. (i.e. a delinquent usually resorts to weeping to hide his guilt).

A man requested him to recommend his case to the governor of al-Kufah, 'Ubaydullah b. Ziyad. He said that with 'Ubaydullah no recommendation carried weight. Just then a bird flashed past him in the air and pointing to it, he humorously observed: "This bird can carry more weight with 'Ubaydullah than I."

DRESS AND SIGNET

His most usual court dress consisted of a gown of Satin (*Mutrafu-Khazz*). Occasionally, he also wore a mantle (*Burnus*). I find several transmissions in *Tabaqat* confirming that his official dress was a *Mutraf* of *Khazz*.

Opinions differ with regard to the inscription of his signet. According to one tradition, quoted by *Tabaqat*, it bore the impress of two lions interposed by a tree; according to another, quoted by the same source, it bore the following inscription: The signet is better than conjecture.[1] In contrast to these two is the tradition of *Al-Aghani* (16/35) which says that the signet bore the words, Shurayh b. al-Harith.

The above anecdotal gleams of information can well serve as a pointer to the general trends of his life, These, supplemented below by further details about his private life make the over-all picture of his life more distinct.

I shall first refer to his marriage the details of which, apart from disclosing some hidden yet important aspects of his character, also show us some of the marriage conventions of the time. Our authority for these details is Ash-Sha'bi who says that Shurayh once strongly recommended to him the women of the tribe, Tamim, for matrimonial relationship. On being asked the reason for this recommendation, Shurayh said, "One day, while I was returning about noon from a burial service, I chanced to pass through the quarter of Banu-Tamim. I saw in the portico of a house a woman seated on a cushion and on another in front of her was a girl with plaits of hair falling down her back. I went to the woman and begged of her for something to drink. She asked me what drink I should prefer—date, wine, milk or water. I said that any of the drinks mentioned, if available easily, would do. Thereupon she ordered

1. UA. 3/306.

'Give him milk for he seems to be an Arab.' After drinking it, I directed my looks towards the girl who appealed to me. On my inquiry, the woman informed me that she was her daughter, that she was unmarried and belonged to Banu-Tamim. I asked her whether I could get her hand in marriage. She said, : 'Yes, provided you are her equal.' She directed me to negotiate with her uncle (her father must have been dead) in the matter. I came home and sent for my friends from amongst the Qurra' and the nobility Masruq b. al-Ajda' (d. 63), Sulayman b. Surad (d. 65), Khalid b. 'Urfutah (d. 60), 'Urwah b. al-Mughirah (d.?) and Abu-Burdah al-Ash'ari (d. 103) and accompanied them to the mosque for the afternoon prayers. There we found that the uncle of the girl had come already and he asked me to tell him my need. I said: 'I understand that your niece is unmarried.' He said, 'Yes, she will be a good match for you", He married her to me there and then and my friends praying to God for the happiness of our marriage departed."

"I had hardly reached home when a feeling of repentance seized my mind. I was constantly worried by the thought that I had married among the most rude and obdurate of the Arabs. I thought of divorce but the more reasonable course seemed to me to give her a trial.

"A few days later, her women-folk brought her to my house. On her being seated, I touched her forehead and prayed for God's blessings. When we were left alone, I said: 'According to the Prophets' custom, the husband and wife meeting for the first time after their marriage should offer prayers and invoke His blessings for a happy night." So saying I rose for prayers and as I prayed, I found (to my satisfaction) that she also did the same behind me. On my finishing the prayers, I found she had already gone to bed. I stretched out my hand towards her but not welcoming this, she said. 'Wait, I am an Arab woman and you are new to me. I am not aware of your temperament and your likes and dislikes. So let me know first what you like and what you do not, so that I may adapt myself accordingly.' I said: 'You have come to a good place and are among people whose men are led by your husband and whose women will be led by you. I like such things and dislike such. She asked: 'How would you take the visits of my relations to your house ? I said : "I am a judge and in view of the responsibilities of my Office, I shall not like their frequent visits to me." After this talk, we passed a good night. On the fourth day of her arrival, I attended the court and thenceforth every new day of our conjugal life was better than the foregoing.

"On returning from the court one day, at the end of a year, I found an old woman in the house advising Zaynab (the name of his wife). On my inquiry she told me that the old woman was her mother. I saluted her and she inquired about my health and also about the conduct of Zaynab in her new home. I spoke of it in complimentary terms. As if unrelishing the praise, she said: 'Abu-Umayyah, you will not find a woman in a more ugly disposition than when she becomes a favourite

of her husband or gives birth to a son, so if you ever notice a deterioration in her conduct, beat her with a whip; for there could be no greater evil in the house of a husband than a clumsy, insolent wife." I said: 'I assure you that your daughters's merits have saved me from the trouble of beating her. She is a well-behaved woman". The mother of Zaynab would pay a visit to our house every year and repeating what has been just described go away."

"Only once was I angry with Zaynab and then too unjustly. I was the prayer-leader of my kinsfolk. One morning, as I finished the pre-congregational prayers, I heard the second call for the public prayers. Just then, I saw a scorpion and being in a great hurry (for the prayers were ready) I simply covered it with a vessel and hastened to the Mosque, bidding Zaynab not to tamper with the vessel. In order to forestall me in killing the scorpion, she lifted the vessel and the scorpion stung her finger. On return, I found her writhing in agony. If you had seen my fury, O Sha'bi, at that time, you would have been surprised, and yet I was applying salt lotion to her finger and chanting the *Mu'awwidhatan* and *Fatiha* verses (read to mitigate pain or expel evil spirits). I had a neighbour who would now and again beat his wife. I composed the following verse in this context;

> I see that some men beat their wives,
> May my right hand become paralysed the day I beat Zaynab.
> I would wish, O Sha'bi, to share her miserable lot.[1]

Having presented a rather free translation of the above illuminating marriage story, I now turn to a few other available particulars regarding certain aspect's of his private life.

Before dying, he had enjoined that the public should not be informed of his death, that no wailing women be allowed to accompany his funeral, that his grave shall not be covered with any cloth, and that his body should be taken to the grave with despatch and buried.[2]

On all occasions he would be the first to salute a person. One of his contemporaries says: "I could never have the opportunity of saluting Shurayh first. As both of us would approach each other on the road, I would make up my mind to salute him first. He would come on as if ignoring me and as he got close, he would raise his head and salute.[3]

His consideration of other people was such that he would never allow the drains of his house to flow into the house or over the land of his neighbours. He would be careful not even to bury his domestic cat anywhere save in his own house.[4]

1. *Agh.* 16/36 - 38.
2. Ibid. 7/97.
3. Ibid. 7/ 7.
4. Ibid. 7/97.

Whenever he would decline a present (evidently from parties involved in law suits), he would send therewith another of the same value.[1]

If we set all those aspects of his life which are known to us from history and literature against the back ground of contemporary political, social and religious disorders, (a sketch of which has been given above) two factors seem to emerge as the cause of his upright conduct, his peaceful long life, his unimpeachable record of nearly 60 years of judgeship and his well earned popularity: *Taqwa* (fear of God) and a mind in sound grasp of the concept of *Taqwa*.

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1. Ibid. 7/97.

LITERARY AND SCIENTIFIC DEVELOPMENT AND THE GROWTH OF RATIONALISM IN THE TIME OF AL-MAMUN

(Continued from April 1956 issue P. 77–94)

S. B. Samadi*

V. Translation from Hebrew, Latin and Coptic Languages

THERE is no direct proof of any such translation except that *Taurat* was translated into Arabic about 330 A.H. (941-42 A.D.) by Sa'id al-Fayumi,[1] but it is presumed that several books of Hebrew were translated into Arabic as references to them are met with in works of a later period while those translations themselves are extinct now.

It is asserted that some of the 'Abbasid translators were well acquainted with Latin, for example it is said about Yahya b. al-Bitriq that he did not know any other language except Latin and he had translated many books from Latin.

So far as the Coptic language was concerned, no evidence is available as to any translations directly from Coptic into Arabic, but through the medium of Greek several Coptic books were rendered into Arabic. Books on ancient alchemy are specially mentioned under this heading. It is a well-known fact that this science was particularly developed by the Egyptians. Several translations of these books were made by the order of Khalid b. Yazid, the famous Umayyad prince.[2]

It may not be out of place to mention here in greater detail the work done by some eminent scholars of Arabic.

First let us describe in full Jurjis Bakhtishu's lineage and his family. He was a veteran physician who was called by al-Mansur from Jundeshapur.[3] He was of Syriac origin and had written several books on medicine. His son Jibril, who followed him later, was also a profound scholar. When Jurjis, cured al-Mansur, he was rewarded with several

1. *Al-Fihrist*, cit. above p. 23; Jurji Zaidan *Islamic Civilization* cit. above p. 162.
2. *Al-Fihrist*, cit above p. 242; Rifa'i, *'Asr al-Mamun* pp. 393-94; Jurji Zaidan, *Islamic Civilization* cit. above pp. 162-63.
3. Jurji Zaidan, *Islamic Civilisation* pp. 139, 144-45.

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beautiful slave-girls; but being an orthodox Christian, he refused to accept them as he could have only one wife. This pleased the Caliph very much and he allowed him the privilege of entering the *Harem* to prescribe for the Caliph's wives.[1] He translated a book on medicine for the Caliph.[2]

After Jurjis his son Jibril also became a celebrated physician. He enjoyed the patronage of Harun al-Rashid who used to declare that he would not refuse anything to him. In 817 A.D. Jibril cured Hasan b. Sahl and the latter recommended him to al-Mamun, but Michael, son-in-law of Jibril, was already the Caliph's chief physician. Jibril died in 828 A.D. and was succeeded by his son, and his family continued to flourish in Baghdad till the second half of the eleventh century.[3]

The works of Jibril are :

(i) A treatise on food and drink dedicated to al-Mamun

(ii) An introduction to logic;

(iii) Extracts from medical pandects and

(iv) A book on fumigatories [4]

It is said that Jibril b. Jurjis Bakhtishu' had amassed a fortune of 88,800,000 dirhems [5] which proves how paying this profession had become. He used to receive 100,000 dirhems a year for bleeding the Caliph Harun al-Rashid twice annually, and an equal sum for administering a biannual purgative draught. [6] Once he successfully treated a favourite slave of Harun al-Rashid for hysterical paralysis by threatening to disrobe her in public and was appointed the Caliph's private physician in 805 A. C. [7]

Yuhanna b. Masawaih (777-857 A. D.), a competent physician, [8] was senior to Hunain b. Ishaq in age. He was a pupil of Jibril b. Bakhtishu.' [9] He wrote the oldest systematic treatise on opthalmology extant in Arabic.[10] He was a teacher of Hunain b. Ishaq as we shall see and the latter also wrote a book entitled *al-'Ashr Maqalat fi al-'Ain* (the ten treatises on the eye)- which has recently been published with an

1. *Tabaqat al-Atibba* V.I p. 124.
2. See George Sarton–*Introduction to the History of Sciences*, Carnegie Institute Publication, Washington (Baltimore-1927) p. 537.
3. Hitti, *History of the Arabs* p. 364; cf. *Tabaqat al-Atibba* V. I p. 124; Jurji Zaidan, *Islamic Civilization* cit. above pp. 139-40.
4. Arbuthnot, *Arabic authors* (London-1890) p. 74; cf. George Sarton, *Introduction to the History of Sciences* cit. above p. 573.
5. Hitti, *History of the Arabs* cit. above p. 364; Qifti p. 143.
6. Hitti, *Hist* cit. above. p. 364.
7. Ibn al-'Ibri pp. 226-27; Qifti, pp. 134-35.
8. See p. 82.
9. As Islam did not encourage human subjects for dissection he had recourse to apes, one of which came from Nubia in 836 A. D. as a present to al-Mu'tasim cf. Ibn Abi 'Usaibiy'ah p. 178 Ref. Hitti, *Hist. Cit.* above, p. 363.
10. *Daghl al-'Ain* (the disorders of the eye) MS. One copy is in Taimur Pasha's Library, (Cairo), another in Leningrad, Hitti, *Hist.* cit. above, p. 364.

English translation [1] as earliest existing text books of ophthalmology. Ibn Masawaih is also credited with having translated several manuscripts for Harun al-Rashid[2] and also served under his successors.[3]

Next to Ibn Masawaih comes his pupil Hunain b. Ishaq[4] who was more famous as a translator rather than an original writer.' When Al-Mamun wanted to have books on Greek philosophy translated into Arabic, people recommended the name of Hunain b. Ishaq as a great philosopher and physician suitable to undertake such a difficult task.[5] It is said he was paid in gold equal in weight to the books translated.[6] Before entering the service of the Caliph, he was employed by Banu Musa [7] to collect Greek manuscripts and translate them into Arabic. The translations done before Hunain were quite unsatisfactory. He was one of the greatest scholars and took great pains to improve the then existing versions. He carefully compared all the versions and prepared new accurate translations. His intellectual honesty was such that he very severely criticised the early translations made by himself. He was a prodigious worker and his scientific ideals became more exacting as his experience increased.[8] Hitti remarks about this greatest of translators that as a youth he acted as a dispenser to the physician Ibn Masawaih. He took to heart the chiding remark of his master that the people of al-Hira never knew any medicine.[9] He was tempted to learn the science and excelled in it so much that he was reckoned the foremost translator of medical works. He travelled far and wide through Syria and Palestine on his way to Alexandria to learn all that the ancient world knew of medicine and to gain a better working knowledge of Greek. He also entered the service of Jibril b. Bakhtishu', physician in ordinary to al-Mamun and was subsequently appointed by the Caliph as the Superintendent of his Library Academy and in that capacity Hunain had charge of all the scientific translation work, in which he enjoyed the collaboration of his son Ishaq,[10] and his nephew Hubaish b. Hasan

1. By Mex Meyerhof (Cairo-19).
2. Ibn al-'Ibri p. 227, Ibn Abi 'Usaibiy'ah vol. I, p. 175, et seq. Qifti.
3. Cf. George Sarton-*Introduction* etc. cit. above. vol. I, p. 574.
4. His name was Abu Zaid Hunain b. Ishaq al 'Ibadi (in Latin called Joannitius was born at Hirah in 194 A H (809-10 A. C.) he flourished at Baghdad, commenced his work at Jundeshapur and started the work as early as 826 A. D.
5. Sarton Cit. above p. 611) and lasted till 873 A. D. Hitti, *Hist. cit.* above, p. 312. Jurji Zaidan. *Isl. Civ.* tr. Jairajpuri pp. 145-46; cf. Sarton cit. above. p. 61 where it is given that the school for translation was established by Mutawakkil also, see Ibn Abi 'Usaibiy'ah vol. I p. 187 Hitti, cit. above p.
6. Jurji Zaidan *Islamic Civilization* tr. Jairajpuri, p. 146.
7. Who were carrying on independent research work. Hitti, *Hist. cit.* above. p. 312.
8. George Sarton, cit. above. p. 611.
9. Ibn al-'Ibri p. 227; Ibn Abi 'Usaibiy'ah, vol. I, pp. 175 et seq.; Qifti, p 380; also Cf. Jurji Zaidan, *Islamic Civilization*, tr. Jairajpuri, pp. 172-73.
10. Ibn Khallikan *Wafiyat al-'Ayan* V.I p. 116 equal to De Slane Tr. of the original V. I pp. 187-88.

known, as al-A'sam, because of a lame hand.[1] The disciples of Hunain numbered about 90.[2]

He was very honest and no threat or temptation could move him from the right path and once he suffered imprisonment rather than prescribe poison for an enemy of the Caliph.[3]

We know from a letter of his, published recently, that he translated practically the whole immense corpus of Galenic writings. This amounted to a hundred Syriac, and thirty-nine Arabic versions of Galen's medical and philosophical books. Together with his disciples, Ishaq and Hubaish, he produced about thirteen Syriac and sixty Arabic translations. It was Hunain who gave Galen his supreme position in the middle ages in the Orient and indirectly also in the Occident. Of the works of Hippocrates, Hunain translated his *Aphorisms*, and other works were completed by his disciples. Hunain often revised these versions and corrected them, and himself rendered into Syriac and Arabic almost all the commentaries that Galen had written on Hippocrates. He also rendered many other services to science and literature the details of all of which are too long to give here.[4] But we may mention a few of them; for example, works of Dioscorids (fl. ca. 50 A-D.) as well as of Plato (Republic : *Siyasah*),[5] Aristotle (categories : *Maqalat*),[6] (Physics : *Tap'iyat*) and (Magna Moralia : *Khulqiyat*).[7]

Seven books of Galen on anatomy translated by Hunain have luckily been preserved in Arabic.[8] Many of Hunain's translations are still extant in manuscript, particularly in the library of Constantinople. The exhibit a free and sure mastery of the language and easy adaptation of the Greek originals and a striking exactness of expression without verbosity.[9]

His own compositions are nearly as numerous as his translations. Some of them are questions on medicine, a manual in the form of queries and answers, ten treatises on the eye.

1. Ibn Abi 'Usaibi'ah V. I pp. 187,203; *Al Fihrist* cit. above p. 297; Ibn al-'Ibri p. 252; Hitti, *Hist.* p. 312.
2. Sarton *Introduction* cit. above pp. 611-12 (?).
3. Hitti, *Hist.* cit above pp. 312-14.
4. Ibid pp. 312-13.
5. *Al-Fihrist* cit. above p. 298; Qifti p. 80.
6. *Al-Fihrist* cit. above p. 248.
7. Qifti pp. 38, 42; Ptolemy's – *Quadripartitum* was also translated by him.
8. Bearing the title *Kitab Jalinus fi al-Sina'ah al-Saghirah*, a copy of this manuscript, mostly done in 572 A.H. (1176-77 A.D.) is preserved in Princeton University Library.
9. Hunain and his school laid the foundation of that Muslim Canon of knowledge which dominated medical thought, almost to modern times. Ref. Sarton cit. above p. 611.

Hunain and his contemporaries[1] devoted themselves to all branches of knowledge and translated astronomical, physical, mathematical, philosophical and medical works and also contributed hundreds of their own compositions.[2] He died in 260 or 262/ A. H. (873-74 or 875-76 A. D.)[3] or according to Sarton in October 877 A. D.[4]

His son Ishaq b. Hunain was a better Arabist than he.[5] He mostly worked in conjunction with his father and at last became the greatest translator of Aristotle's works.[6] He was interested in philosophy too.[7] He died in 298 A. H. (910-11 A. D.)[8]

Hubaish al-A'sam was a cousin of Ishaq b. Hunain and a nephew (sister's son) of Hunain b. Ishaq. He was a very distinguished scholar and it was fortunate for Hunain to have had such a disciple. Hubaish attributed to Hunain all the books which he translated. Some say that the word Hubaish (حبيش) was misspelt as Hunain (حنين) and so some of the books of the former were attributed to Hunain.[9] He was quite as famous as his uncle in the second half of the 9th century A. D. He collaborated with Hunain in the translation of Greek works into Syriac and Arabic. He translated three Galenic works into Syriac and Arabic and three Galenic works into Syriac and thirty-five into Arabic. Many translations were made by him directly from Greek into Arabic. He completed a medical treatise" *Questionaires Medical* of Hunain. His fame, however, was somewhat eclipsed by that of his uncle.[10] He died in 300 A. H. (912-13 A. D.)[11]

Just as Hunain stood at the head of the Nestorian group of translators, so Thabit b. Qurrah (ca-836-901 A. D.) led another group, recruited from among the heathen Sabians[12] of Harran (ancient Carrhae). These worshipped stars and naturally felt inclined towards astronomy and mathematics. His full name was Abu Husain Thabit b. Qurrah b. Marwan al-Harrani (i. e. from Harran-Mesopotamia). Born in 826-27 or 835-36 he flourished in Baghdad. The people of Harran were deeply attached to Greek culture, especially to the neo-Platonic Philosophy.[13]

1. Thabit b. Qurrah (825-90 A. D.), Qusta b. Luqa (constantine son of Luke), and others.
2. Sarton cit. above pp. 315-18.
3. Rifa'i, *'Asr al-Mamun* cit. above p. 379.
4. Sarton cit. above p 611.
5. *Al-Fihrist* cit. above p. 298 Qifti p. 80.
6. Hitti, *Hist.* cit. above p. 313.
7. Jurji Zaidan *Isl. Civ.* Tr Jairajpuri p. 146.
8. Sarton cit. above p. 600.
9. Abu al-Faraj (?) p. 253; Sarton cit. above p. 613.
10. Ibid.; Abu al-Faraj p. 253; Jurji Zaidan *Isl. Civ.* tr. Jairajpuri p. 146.
11. Rifa'i cit. above p. 379.
12. In reality Pseudo-Savians-see Hitti, *Hist.* p. 385 for details of this sect; cf. Nicholson *Lit. Hist.* cit. above p. 359.
13. Sarton cit. above p. 599.

Thabit and his disciples were credited with having translated the the Greek mathematical and astronomical works, including th Archimedes (212 B. C.) and of Appollonius of Perga (b. ca 262 B. They also improved on the earlier translations. The translat Euclid by Hunain was revised by Thabit[2] and in this task he was and succeeded by his two sons Ibrahim and Sinan (943 A. D.). H grandsons Thabit (973 A. D.)[3] and Ibrahim (946 A. D.)[4] and his grandson Abu al-Faraj.[5] distinguished themselves as scientists.[6]

Thabit b. Qurrah founded a school where works of Archi Appollonius (books 5-7) Euclid, Theodosius, Ptolemy (Geogr Galen, and Eutocius were translated by him or under his directi translations made by others (for example by Ishaq b. Hunain) we vised by him. He published solar observations explaining his me To the eight Ptolemic spheres he added a ninth one (Primum M to account for the imaginary trapidation of the equinoxes.[7]

His mensuration of parabolas and parabolides are remarkabl improved the theory of amicable numbers (if $p=3.\ 2^{n-1}$; $q=3.\ 2^{n-}$ if pqr prime together, 2n pq and 2nr are amicable numbers).[8]

Thabit's sympathies had always been with the Arabs, so mu that he was expelled from his own sect.

Next to him comes his contemporary Qusta b. Luqa (ca 923 A He was a Christian of Ba'labakk (or Heliopolis-Syria). He tran mathematical and philosophical works.[9] He was a very note scholar of Greek, Syriac and Arabic and could write very fine A He wrote books on medicine, history, philosophy, astronomy (P. system), algebra, geometry etc., and his treatises numbered abo but in *al-Fihrist* only 34 are mentioned.[10] He died in Armenia the end of the 3rd Century A.H. (c.912 A.D.) [11] while Rifa'i gi exact year of his death as 288 A.H. (900–01) A.D.[12]

He made translations of Diophantus, Theodosius, Autolycus, sicles, Aristarchus. Heron and revised them and they were made his direction. He wrote commentaries on Euclid and a treatise

1. *Al-Fihrist* p. 265 Hitti, *Hist.* cit. above p, 314; Jurji Zaidan *Isl. Civ* Tr puri p 146.
2. Ibn Khallikan tr. De Slane V. I, p. 288.
3. Ibn Abi Usaibi'ah V. I, pp. 224-26.
4. Ibid p 226; Qifti pp. 57-59; *al-Fihrist* cit. above p. 272.
5. Qifti p. 428.
6. Hitti, *Hist.* cit. above p. 314.
7. He is chiefly responsible for the introduction of this erroneous theory.
8. Sarton cit. above p. 599.
9. Hitti, *Hist. cit.* above p. 315.
10. Jurji Zaidan *Islamic Civilization* tr. Jairajpuri pp. 146-47; *al-Fihrist* cit p. 295; Qifti pp. 262-63; Hitti, *Hist.* cit. above p. 315.
11. Sarton cit. above p.602.
12. Rifa'i cit. above p. 379.

spherical astrolabe.[1]

Another scholar was al Bitriq (796-806 A.D.) one of the translators employed by al-Mansur. He translated into Arabic some of the works of Hippocrates and Galen, and Ptolemy's *Quadripartitum*.[2] According to Zaidan [3] he did not know good Arabic or Greek but was well versed in Latin and belonged to the school of Hasan b. Sahl [4]

Hajjaj b. Matar (between 786 and 833 A.D.) is generally credited with making the first translation of Euclids' Elements and one of the first of Ptolemy's *al-Magest* in 829-30 A.D. Of the former work he evidently prepared two versions, one for Harun al-Rashid and the other for al-Mamun[5] before Hunain prepared his.

Zaidan says that he was among the translators of al-Mamun and Thabit b. Qurrah corrected the version of *al-Magest* and Euclid done by him [6].

The Banu Musa were the three sons of Musa b. Shakir, called the three brothers and were named Mohammad, Ahmad and Hasan. [7] They lived in the reign of al-Mamun and were mathematicians, astronomers and great patrons of the sciences. They were employed in the "house of wisdom" or they used to visit this house to consult books or for the sake of copying, or translation or compilation. They were, according to another version, installed by al-Mamun there, with Yahya b. Abi Mansur, and other scientists among whom were some of the conspicuous workers there and elsewhere including persons like Qusta b. Luqa, Hunain b. Ishaq, Thabit b.Qurrah, al-Kindi, al-Farabi, al-Sanobari, al-Halabi and Fadl Naubakht.

According to Huart these three brothers-Muhammad, Ahmad and Hasan, who wrote a great many technical treatises and to whom many mathematical, mechanical and astronomical writings are ascribed [8] drew translators from distant countries by the offer of ample rewards [9] and this laid open the marvels of science. They turned their attention to geometry, engineering, the movements of the heavenly bodies, music and astronomy in particular.[10]

They devoted the greater part of their wealth to the acquisition and translation of Greek manuscripts. They employed Hunain b. Ishaq and

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1. Sarton cit. above p. 602.
2. Sarton cit. above p. 520, 537.
3. Jurji Zaidan tr. Jairajpuri p. 148; *Tabaqat al-Atibba* V. I, p. 205.
4. Of the family of Naubakht.
5. *Al-Firhrist* cit. above p. 265; Hitti, *Hist.* cit. above pp. 314-15.
6. Jurji Zaidan tr. Jairajpuri pp. 141, 147, 156.
7. Called also Banu Shakir-Rifa'i cit. above pp. 375-77. (*) Huart, *Hist. of Arabic Lit* p. 292.
8. Sarton cit. above p. 560.
9. The translators employed by them were paid at the rate of about 500 dinars a month; *Al-Fihrist* cit. above p. 33.
10. *Al-Fihrist* cit. above p. 271; Ibn Khallikan tr. De Slane V. III, p. 315.

Thabit b. Qurrah for this purpose. They prepared books on the balance, the measurement of the sphere, the trisection of the angle and the determination of two mean proportionals between two given quantities and so on. They had, in addition to the Mamuni observatory, one of their own.[1]

It is difficult to distinguish the work done by each individual brother; Muhammad (d. 872-73 A.D.) was however, a student of Euclid and *al-Magest*, and was a logician; Ahmad was specially interested in mechanics and Hasan in geometry.[2]

Ibn al Muqaffa', who translated various books from Pahlawi into Arabic, especially, the Persian annals and the tales of *Kalilah wa Dimnah* and also Aristotle's philosophical works, flourished at Basra before the time of al-Mamun and was executed there in 143 A.H. (757-58 A.D.) [3]

Naubakht (d. 776-77 A.D.) was a Persian astronomer and engineer and helped Masha Allah[4] in the construction of Baghdad—but his son Fadl, (d. 815-16 A.D.) was the chief librarian to Harun al-Rashid. He made translations from Persian into Arabic and also wrote various astrological treatises. His nephews, Hasan b. Sahl b. Naubakht.[5] and 'Abdullah b. Sahl b. Naubakht, flourished after him in Baghdad.[6]

'Isa b. Yahya b. Ibrahim, a close disciple of Hunain, translated various Galenic works, one into Syriac and twenty-four into Arabic. He also translated Oribasios and some medical works are attributed to him as well. Similarly Istifan b. Basil was another pupil of Hunain to whom Hunain ascribed the translation into Arabic of nine Galenic works. [7]

It would be well to deal with the natural sciences first. The father of Arab alchemy was Jabir b. Hayyan whose views commanded universal homage throughout the middle ages, and through his work the value of chemistry was recognised in everyday life. The methods of melting and dissolution, as also the process of converting fluids into hard substances, the art of filtering, distilling, sublimating, also known as cupellation, were discovered. Vitriol, alum, saltpetre, salt-ammoniac, al-Kali, made of tar and wood-ashes, soda etc , and certain mineral acids were also discovered.

In fact, pharmacology was cultivated by Muslim physicians with great zeal. They established dispensaries, wrote medical encyclopaedias

1. Hitti, *Hist.* cit. above p 376.
2. Sarton cit. above pp. 560-61.
3. See for details Sarton cit. above pp. 523, 540.
4. His real name was probably Manasseh (Arabic Misha) died in 815 or 820 A D., one of the earliest astronomers and astrologers-Sarton cit. above p. 31. Abu al-Faraj has called him 'The Phoenix of his time! He wrote several valuable treatises on the astrolabe and the armillary sphere, and the nature and movements of celestial bodies. (Ameer Ali *Spirit of Islam* cit. above p. 550)
5. Some say he was his son and was in charge of the House of wisdom.
6. Sarton cit. above p. 531.
7. Ibid p. 613; cf. Jurji Zaidan tr. Jairajpuri cit. above p. 147.

and made compilations. The theories of poison and its antidotes greatly exercised their interest.

They were also adepts in botany, mineralogy and zoology. They made observations, collected data and wrote on the peculiarities of plants, minerals and animals. Nature-study among Muslims owes a great deal to al-Asma'i (d. 831 A.D.). He wrote a treatise on almost every domestic animal and on human anatomy.[1]

Early in the 9th Century the first regular astronomical observations (*Rasad*) were made with fairly accurate instruments. Al-Mamun had erected at Baghdad, near the Shammasiyah Gate, an astronomical observatory under the directorship of Sind b. Abi and Yahya b. Abi Mansur (830-31 A. D).[2] To this observatory al-Mamun soon added another at Qasiyun outside Damascus.[3]

Here not only systematic observations of the celestial movements were made but these were also verified with fundamental elements of *al-Magest*. Some most delicate geodetic operations were conducted, such as the measurement of the length of a terrestrial degree to determine the size of the earth and its circumference, the obliquity of the ecliptic, the precession of the equinoxes and the length of the solar year etc.[4] Such operations were carried out on the plains of Shinar north of the Euphrates where wonderfully accurate astronomical Tables were drawn.[5] Further, he got constructed on the plain of Palmyra (Tadmor) an observatory in which the inclination of the ecliptic was measured and formed to equal to 230/33' and the tables of the planetary motion were constructed. He also ordered two degree measurements to be made to determine the size of the earth, one being near Tadmor (a degree—56/⅔ miles, hence the circumference of the earth = 20,000 miles. diameter-6500 miles). A large map of the world was also drawn for him and Mas'udi writes that he saw that map.[6] Besides this, another observatory was erected at Qasiyun to determine the inclination of the ecliptic[7] Among those who took part in these operations was the noted astronomer and mathematician al-Khwarizmi.[8]

1. Sarton cit. above p. 534 cf. Bakhsh *Studies Indian and Islamic* London 1927 pp. 175-76 also pp. 177-78 f. nn.
2. *Al-Fihrist* cit. above p. 275 cf. Arnold, *legacy of Islam* (London 1931) p. 381.
3. Ibn al-'Ibri p 237.
4. *Ency. of Islam* article on astronomy by Nallino, C.A. cf. Ibn Sa'ad *Tabaqat* pp. 50-51.
5. *Ency. Brit* Vol. V. XIV, p. 758.
6. *Al-Fihrist* cit. above pp 116, 243 and passim, Gustav Weil-*Gesch. der Chalifen* V II, pp. 198-294, J. T. Reinaud *Geographie Abu al-Fida* V. I, pp. 269 et seq; Hist. of the planetary system, Dreyer pp. 245-49, 278; Nicholson *Lit. Hist.* p. 361; T. I; pp. 40-45, 53; Sarton cit above p. 558.
7. *Ency Brit.* V. XIV, p. 758.
8. Hitti, *Hist. cit.* above pp. 373-75. The equipment in those days consisted of quadrant, *astrolabe* (Fazari-ea 777- first Muslim to construct one and a treatise on it was written by 'Ali b. 'Isa al-Usturlabi before 830 A. C. *al-Fihrist* cit. above p. 273) dial and globe and with the help of these al-Mamun's astronomers performed all sorts of experiments.

Now we shall deal in detail with Jabir b. Hayyan, who is considered to be the father of Muslim alchemy. The relation between alchemy and chemistry was almost the same as that between astrology and astronomy and every astronomer was also an astrologer, however incidentally it may be.[1] So every student of alchemy was a chemist as well as an astronomer and a philosopher combined.

Jabir was the son of a druggist. He had a good experimental knowledge of a number of chemical facts; his book, the *Great Book of Properties* is an ample proof of his ability. He defines Chemistry as that branch of natural science which investigates the properties and generation of minerals and of substances obtained from animals and plants.[2] He was an able theoretician,[3] and according to Holmyard "Jabir's view on the nature of metals represents a distinct advance upon Greek theory and upon the incomprehensible mysticism of the Alexandrian School.[4]

He also wrote a book on the astrolabe but his fame chiefly rests on his alchemical writings preserved in Arabic. We find in them remarkably sound views on the methods of chemical research; a theory on the geologic formation of metals, the so-called sulphur mercury theory of metals—preparation of various substances, (for example basic lead carbonate, arsenic and antimony for their sulphites). He also deals with various applications, for example, refinement of metals, preparation of steel dyeing of cloth and leather, varnishes to water-proof cloth and protect iron, use of manganese dioxide in glass metal, use of iron pyrities for writing in gold, distillation of vinegar to concentrate citric acid etc., etc.[5] He also describes the preparation of many chemical substances, e. g. cinnabar (sulphide of mercury) arsenious oxide etc. He knew how to obtain nearly pure vitriols, alums, *al Kali,* sal ammoniac, and saltpetre etc., how to produce so called 'liver' and 'milk' of sulphur by heating sulphur with an alkali and so on. He prepared a fairly pure mercury oxide and sublimate, as well as acetates of lead and other metals,[6] some times crystallised. He understood the preparation of crude sulphric and nitric acids as well as a mixture of them.[7] His discovery of the three elements—sulphur, mercury and arsenic of which metals are composed, was of paramount importance as those who could separate these elements and

1. Sarton cit. above p. 546. (*) Another reading is plain of Sinjar cf. Hitti. *Hist.* cit. above p. 375.
2. Bukhsh —*Studies Indian and Islamic*, cit. above. pp. 174-75.
3. Sarton cit. above. p. 520.
4. Bukhsh, *Studies Indian* etc. above. p. 174 Cf. Holmyard pp. 18-20.
5. Sarton, cit. above. pp. 532-33; cf. Bukhsh —*Studies* etc. cit. above. pp. 175-76.
6. Arnold—*Legacy of Islam*, cit. above p. 328.
7. Ibid. Its mixture called aqua regia was so produced as gold and silver could be dissolved in it.

mix them again could produce any metal at will.[1] The action of gases was also known to him, as he speaks of spirits which are combined with matter and which escape under the influence of fire. The acids of these spirits according to him could transform the substance. Sometimes he found that both the spirit and substance vanished.[2] He described as well in a scientific way, the two principal operations of chemistry-calcination and reduction. He improved on the methods for evaporation, sublimation, melting and crystallization.

In general, he modified the Aristotelian theory of the constituents of metals in a way that survived, with slight alterations, until the beginning of modern chemistry in the 18th century.[3]

In this connection it may well be added that in the curative use of drugs the 'Arabs made remarkable progress, established apothecary shops, founded schools of pharmacy, which were the earliest, of course, and produced the first pharmacopoeia. Jabir b. Hayyan also helped this cause by composing pharmacological treatises.

In the days of al-Mamun pharmacists had to pass some kind of examination.[4] Like druggists, physicians were also required to submit to a test. Sometimes a surprise test was held by the order of the caliph and an *Ijazah* or certificate of practice was awarded only to bonafide physicians who were successful in the test.[5] Once about 806 men passed the test in Baghdad and this is a very small number.[6]

Such efforts clearly point out to an intelligent interest in public hygiene quite unknown to the other parts of the world in that age.

A sort of mobile hospital and other hospitals, about 34 in number, with separate female wards and dispensaries, were the chief feature of the time. Some hospitals had medical libraries, too, and the big hospital,

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1. The fundamental idea of alchemy which gave new impetus to researches.
2. Bukhsh, *Studies Indian and Islamic*, cit above pp. 176-77. He also dealt with various poisons and wrote a book on them (See Arnold, *Legacy*, cit. above p. 315). He also introduced many terms still current in European languages through the Latin medium e. g. real gar (sulphite of arsenic) Tutia (Zinc Oxide or (Copper Sulphate), al-Kali(القلى), antimony (Ar. Ithmid- اثمد), alembic (for the upper) and aludal (for the lower part of a distillation vessel). A new substance unknown to Greeks was salammoniac discovered by Jabir. Some of his works still require publication e. g. *Book of Seventy*, containing 70 discourses. REF. Arnold-*Legacy*; cit. above. p 328.
3. Hitti. *Hist.* cit. above. pp. 380-81 for more details see Arnold, *Legacy* cit. above pp. 326-29. One of his books is still extant in English-the book of composition of alchemy translated by Robert of Chester in 1144 A. C. (Arnold-*Legacy* cit, above. p. 328.) f. nn. of p. 24.
4. Qifti, pp. 188-89.
5. It happened in 931 A. H. (1524 A. D.) and al-Muqtadir was asked to do so.
6. Ibn Abi Usaybi'ah cit. above p. 222; Qifti p. 191.

Bimaristan by name,[1] founded by Harun al-Rashid in the 9th Century A.D., following the Persian model, represented a unique type.

Many physicians, including Jabir, composed pharmacological and texicological treatises. Paper Industry, introduced from China in the Islamic world in 794 A.D. and developed as an Islamic Paper Manufactory, was established in Baghdad.[2]

Next is the name of al-Kindi who was born at Basra [3] at the beginning of the 9th Century A D. and flourished under al-Mamun. His full name was Abu Yusuf Ya'qub b. Ishaq b. al-Sabbah al-Kindi. He was called the "Philosopher of the Arabs".[4] His knowledge of Greek science and philosophy was considerable. He made a deep study of Aristotle from the neo-Platonic point of view. He wrote on mathematics, astrology, physics, music, medicine, pharmacy and geography.[5]

Books ascribed to him on the use of Indian numerals are still extant. He was the first and last example of an Aristotelian student in the Eastern caliphate who sprang from Arabian stock. He tried to combine the views of Plato and Aristotle and regarded the neo-Pythagorean mathematics as the basis of all sciences. No less than 265 works are ascribed to him.[6] The optics of Euclid in Theon's recension was the origin of his geometrical and physiological optics. His treatises on the theory of music are the earliest extant works in Arabic and he describes rhythm (*Iqa'*) as the constituent part of Arabic music. More of his writings have survived in Latin than in the Arabic originals.[7] He also wrote several treatises on numerals, precious stones, iron, steel and poison,[8] and composed books on rains and winds. He also endeavoured to ascertain the laws that govern the fall of a body.[9] It is stated that al Kindi wrote several works on physics and philosophy, fifteen on meteorology, several on specific weights, on tides, optics and notably on the reflection of light and eight on music [10] The bulk of his scientific output is lost while his optics, preserved in a Latin translation, influenced Roger Bacon and other Western scientists.[11]

1. Having a Persian root.
2. Arnold *Legacy*, cit. above. p. 322.
3. Hitti, *Hist* cit. above. p. 370-points out that he was born at Kufa in the middle of the 9th century A. C.
4. Nicholson, Lit Hist. cit. above. p. 360.
5. Hitti, *Hist* cit. above. p. 370.
6. Hitti, *Hist.* cit. above. pp. 370-71, cf. Jurji Zaidan *Isl. Civ. tr.* Jairajpuri, p. 177.
7. Hitti, *Hist* cit. above. pp. 370-71; cf. Sarton, cit. above. pp. 559-60.
8. Arnold, *Legacy of Islam* cit. above p. 322.
9. Ibid. p. 394. He, thus, was a forerunner of Newton (1642-1727 A. C.)
10. cf Jurji Zaidan, *Isl. civ.* tr. Jairajpuri. p. 177 where a list of books attributed to him is given according to subject head: Fi al-Fal fa, 22 books; *al-Hisab* 11 books; al-Nujum, 19 books; al-Hindsa 23 books; al-Falakiyat 16 books; al-Tibb, 22 books; al-Jadal, 17 books; al-Siyasat, 12; al-Ahdath, 14; al-Tabi'at, 33; al-Kuryat 8; al-Mantiq, 9; al-Musiqi, 7; al-Ahkam, 10; al-Nafs, 5; al-Ab'ad 8; taqdimat al-Ma'rifah, 5.
11. Sarton, cit. above. p. 320.

Abu al-'Abbas Ahmad b. Muhammad b. Kathir al-Farghani in Latin al-fraganus born in Farghanah (Transoxiana), flourished under al-Mamun and was still living in 861 A.D.

Al-Farghani's Latin translations were studied in Europe in the Middle Ages. He was one of the greatest astronomers employed by al-Mamun and his successors. He wrote a book on the elements of astronomy, entitled *Kitab fi Harakat al-Samawiyya-wa-Jawami' 'Ilm al-Nujum* (Book on celestial motions and the complete science of the stars). It was translated into Latin in the 12th Century A. D. and exerted a great influence upon European astronomy before Regio Montanus. He accepted Ptolemy's theory and value of the precession, but thought that it affected not simply the stars, but also the planets, the diameter of the earth (6,500 miles) and the determination of the greatest distances and of the diameters of the planets. In 861 A.D. he experimented with the erection of a Nilometer at Fustat.[1]

Khwarizmi:—Among the exponents of the exact sciences, and particularly of abtruse ones, the name of Abu 'Abdullah Muhammad Ibn Musa surnamed Khwarizmi (780-850 A.D.), who flourished under the patronage of al-Mamun, was the first of a long line of mathematicians. He was one of the greatest scientific minds among Muslims and he influenced mathematical thought to a greater extent than any other medieval writer.[2]

The word algorism is derived from the name of Khwarizmi,[3] and some writers erroneously suppose that logarithm is also derived from his name.[4] Besides an important treatise on astronomy [5], he also wrote a book on the Indian method of calculation and another on algebra which is lucid and well arranged. Certain Arabic numerals, introduced by him, were called algorisms after him [6].

Hitti points out in this connection that he composed the oldest work on arithmetic, known only in a translation and the oldest work on algebra. The last, named *Hisab al-Jabr w al-Muqabalah* (the calculation of integration and equation),[7] presented through over 800 examples, was his chief work, but was lost in Arabic. This work of Khwarizmi, translated in Europe, was used until the 16th Century A.D. as the principal

1. Ibid. p. 567, also Bukhsh, *Studies* cit. above. p. 169 and Ibn Abi Usaiybi'ah, Vol. I, p. 207.
2. Hitti, *Hist* cit. above. p. 379.
3. Sarton, cit. above. p. 563.
4. Arnold, *Legacy of Islam*, cit. above. p. 381.
5. The oldest astronomical tables—consult *al-Fihrist*, cit. above p. 274, copied by Qifti, p. 286; cf. Ibn al-'Ibri, p. 237.
6. "Angrim", "Angrym" in Chaucer-treatise on the astrolabe, pt. I, 7 and 8.
7. Edited with English introduction and translation by F. Rosen, London, 1831. It was preserved by a translation done in the 12th century A.D. in Latin by Gerard of Cremona.

text-book of mathematics in European universities.[1]

Under al-Mamun's order he also prepared an abridged edition of the Indian astronomical tables *(Sidhanta)* which were formerly translated by Fazari.[2] Thus we find that in this science, as well as in medicine the influence of Indian civilization upon Muslim knowledge is evident.[3]

Khwarizmi was al-Mamun's court astronomer and superintendent of observatories.[4] Al-Mamun ordered a revision of the astronomical tables of Ptolemy and the revised tables were based upon observations made simultaneously at Damascus and Baghdad. The measurement of one degree of meridian was also carried out. The tables of Ptolemy were corrected; the changes in the apogee of the sun were ascertained; obliquity of the ecliptic was determined to be 23, 35, 55, and careful observations of the equinoxes enabled them to fix with exactness the length of the year Eclipses, comets, and other heavenly phenomena were observed. They even detected the spots of the sun.[5]

Arithmetic and algebra also flourished alongside with astronomy between 220 A.H. (835-36 A.D.) and 230 A H. (844-45 A.D.) in the days of the celebrated Khwarizmi. His book on the Indian method of calculation was translated into Latin by Adelard of Bath[6] and by this the Arabs and Europeans became acquainted with the Hindu system of numeration.

In his algebra[7] he dealt with equations of the second degree[8] but later the Arabs learnt to solve the problems of 4th degree also—nay they advanced even to binominal equations of the fifth and the sixth degree.

In any event it is a high distinction for the Arabs to have invented a very ingenious system of algebrical formulae long before they were

1. For details of the contents see *Legacy of Islam* by Arnold, pp. 382-84; Sarton, p. 563 also see Hitti, *Hist. cit.* above. p. 379 and Bukhsh, *Studies*, cit. above. p. 167 to find how this thing introduced Khwarizmi's name into Europe along with the science of Algebra.
2. Bukhsh, *Studies* etc. cit. above. p. 168.
3. Nicholson, *Lit Hist*, cit. above, p. 361.
4. *al-Fihrist*, cit. above, p. 275
5. Bukhsh, *Studies* etc, cit. above, p 169; Ref, Sedillot, *Proleg Des tables astronomiques de'oloy*—Beg, Paris 1847, T. 8, p. 13.
6. for details about Indian numerals see Arnold-*Legacy* etc cit. above, pp. 384-86, Sarton, pp, 563-64.
7. The word Jabr, (the apparent root of algebra) which means restitution is actually adding something to a given quantity or multiplying it so that it becomes exactly equal to another. This term seems to have originally meant the two simplest operations of algebra, $a+x=b$ and $ax=b$, and its application was extended later and it came to mean the whole subject. It is also found to that descent which means to diminish a number by subtraction or division so that it becomes equal to a given quantity $a-x=b$; $ax=b$; Arnold *Legacy*, cit. above 381.

thought of in Europe.[1] They also used algebra in solving geometrical theorems.[2]

No less credit is due to them for their cultivation of geometry, particularly the development of trignometry.[3]

This concludes our discussion on scholars and scientists and on literature and the sciences, which owed a good deal in one way or another to the great patron of culture and learning, al-Mamun.

Rationalism and its growth

Side by side with the advance of reason and science, theology also developed and assumed a new and progressive form. But this progress was not without cost to orthodox Islam which, after absorbing almost all the main features of both Hellenic and Persian cultures, lost some of its original character, as it was now considered essential that the religious texts should conform to the judgment of reason.[4]

This trend at one time directed the policy of the government, and the authority of the caliphate was used to enforce a liberal standard of orthodoxy and to establish Mu'tazilite rationalism as the state religion. This was in the age of al-Mamun, when Islam entered upon an era of enlightenment due to Greek and other foreign works rendered into Arabic and it may be well compared to the period of the European renaissance. It is said that to maintain and propagate such ultra modern views, justification was sought in Greek and other ancient studies which were assiduously encouraged.[5]

This new doctrine, which endeavoured to reconcile faith with reason and religion with philosophy, was termed the Mu'tazila-doctrine or the doctrine of freewill whereby the idea of predestination was stamped out.[6]

To trace the origin of the term Mu'tazilah we should go as far back as the days of the famous ascetic and divine, Hasan of Basra (728 A.D.). It so happened that one day he was consulted in a matter regarding which the Murjites[7] and the Kharijites[8] held opposite views. It was

1. *Woepoke 'Umar al-Khayyam* p. 88- *Journal Asiat*, October, 1853 p. 323 October November 1854. p. 351.
2. Sedillot, *Maleriaur pour servir a l'histoire des sciences mathmatiques*, p. 367, also his *Histoire des Arabes* V. II, pp, 259 et sqq, Ref. *Studies Indian and Islamic* pp 167-68.
3. Bukhsh cit above p 168.
4. Hitti, *Hist.* cit. above p. 310.
5. Jurji Zaidan, *Islamic Civ.* cit. above pp. 141-42, 167.
6. Ameer Ali, *Hist.* cit. above p. 471.
7. Nicholson *Lit. Hist.* p. 221. No one according to them was liable to be declared an infidel (Kafir) however grave a sinner, unless God Himself gives His judgment about him. See Von Volten - Irdja *Z.D.M.G.V.* 45 p. 161 sqq. The reader may also consult Shahrastani's Harbrucker's translation Part I pp. 156 sqq; Goldziher *Muhammedamsiche Studien*, part .II pp. 89 sqq; Von Volten, La *Domination Arabe* p. 31 seq.
8. That is one who leaves his home for God's sake - see Nicholson pp. 208-09 et seq.

whether the perpetrater of a sin could be left within the fold of Isl: was to be regarded as an unbeliever.[1] While Hasan was consid this question one of his pupils Wasil b. 'Ata (or 'Umar b. 'Ul passed a verdict[2] with which Hasan did not agree. He said that a p who might have committed some great sin would continue to be a M in spite of his sin, or rather would be held between Islam and apos Upon the master disagreeing, Wasil turned aside and began to ex the ground of his assertion to a group of people who listened to Hasan on this said, "He has separated himself from us" (اعتزل عنا

on this account the followers of Wasil were termed 'Mu'tazilite Schismatics. Though believing Hasan to be a great moralist an having faith in free will, Wasil agreed with this view but in the matter of faith he differed from Hasan as seen above. In other this was a form of heresy opposed to the affirmed doctrine of prede tion i.e. man is not free to do what he wants to do,[4] rather he is forc do what he is accused of doing.

The whole theory of the Mu'tazilah doctrine centred round one question ; all other definitions and appurtenances were mere circum tion or saying the same thing in a different way. The chief probler to resolve whether the Qur'an is created or uncreated and eternal in other words, is it the work of God or the word of God.[5]

Arnold remarks that with the development of such notions philos really came into its own. The followers of this philosophy of rel believed in the creation of the Qur'an and considered it to be sim book like any other except that it contained divine inspiration and d injunctions revealed to mankind. This was in contrast to the orth belief according to which the Qur'an was uncreated and had co-ex with God Himself, being in its present form merely a transcript of heavenly archetype.[6]

Predestination and freewill, offshoots of such discussions, be the burning questions of the day. The great service which Mu'tazilites rendered to the civilized world was their demand that e thing in religion should be reasonable and that theology should be su

1. Nicholson, *Lit. Hist.* p. 223. f. nn. of p. 28.
2. They had ever been free to express their independent opinion and this fact a led to dissensions Ref. Jurji Zaidan, Jairajpuri Vol. III, 141.
3. Muir, Rise, Decline and fall cit. above p. 506, it is described there that this fourth tenet of the doctrine of the Mu'tazilites.
4. Nicholson, *Lit. Hist.* cit. above p. 223; Huart, *Arabic Literature* cit. above pp. and 263; Bukhsh, Studies cit. above p. 147.
5. Nicholson, *Lit. Hist.* cit. above p. 368 also see Steiner and Kelein on Mu'ta doctrine. Ref. *Dictionary of Islam.*
6. Nicholson, *Lit. Hist.* pp. 163 f.n. 368 that the archetype of the Qur'an and c other revelations is written on the "Guarded Table" (لوح محفوظ) in Heaven

to investigation by the mind.[1]

Muir has summed up their principal doctrines as follows :—

(i) Freewill, in contrast to the orthodox tenet that good works are from God and evil ones from men ; they were called Qadariyyah as opposed to Jabriyyah.

(ii) The Qur'an is not uncreated, as a belief contrary to this will mean that there is a sacred eternal besides God.

(iii) God will not be visible to the mortal eye on the day of resurrection, [2] and Muslims guilty of deadly sins are to be counted as neither Muslims nor non-Muslims, but as occupying an intermediate position.

This school of thought is supposed to have come into existence due to a spontaneous growth within Islam, or as a result of Greek philosophy or on account of the teachings of John of Damascus.[3]

It is asserted that they did not believe in those attributes of God which ascribed any form to Him.[4] According to them, God did not possess any such attributes as hands, face, eyes etc. and they said that wherever any such things (or qualities) were attributed to God, they were in a figurative way and by His "long arms" His being extremely munificent was meant.[5]

Huart maintains that this school of thought directed its enquiries specially to the existence and attributes of the Deity and they were influenced by the dialectics of the Greeks in these theories.[6] They sought to strip the divine conception of all anthropomorphous colourings and to treat it abstractedly as the essence of goodness, as no evil could ever be committed by Him. They were considered to be more enlightened and cultured on this account. They led the world in spiritual movements and became champions of unbending moral principles and they did not believe in fatalism, as it was a doctrine of pessimism devoid of all healthy growth.

These new teachings stirred Muslim society to its depths. The orthodox element of various shades of opinion fought these ideas with fierce bitterness. They, to some extent, accepted the Muʿtazilah concept of God but attacked their doctrine of free will and this led to many theologo-philosophical controversies, provoked a keen intellectual contest wherein many questions relating to polemical literature were involved. [7]

1. Arnold, *Legacy of Islam* pp. 262-64 also for details pp. 263-4 and Nicholson, *Lit. Hist.* p. 368.
2. Cf. Sarton, *Intr. to Hist. of Sciences* p. 557 ; also x ch. The Heresy of Pope John XXII
3. Muir, *Rise etc.* p. 506.
4. As referred to in the third tenet of the Mu'tazilites as quoted above.
5. Cf. Shahrastani, Vol. I, p. 48. Ref. Bukhsh, *Studies* etc.
6. Huart, *Arabic Lit.* p. 263 ; cf. Bukhsh, *Studies* etc. p. 147.
7. Bukhsh, *Studies* etc. pp. 146-47.

Al-Mamun, as we have already said, became a zealot in this respect as soon as he was converted to this doctrine, which of course he did not inherit from his forefathers who were strictly orthodox. He did so under Persian influence, particularly under that of Qadi ibn Abu Duwad,[1] or his own tutor Yahya b. al-Mubarak[2] or Shaikh Abu Hudhail 'Allaf and Shaikh Ibrahim b. Yasar[3] whom he called to Baghdad to propagate this doctrine.

Thus forming a deep attachment to this theory, he like a true Persian and being no ordinary man, threw himself heart and soul into theological speculations.[4]

He surrounded himself with theologians and divines of all schools,[5] and as Browne says, like Akbar of India,[6] he used to take immense delight in religious and philosophical controversies and speculations.[7]

The points raised in these discussions were about such subtle and abstract doctrines as man's relation to the Deity and the nature of the Godhead in particular. At last he avowed his conversion to certain such tenets of free thought which were fundamentally opposed to the orthodox faith.[8]

In his fanatical zeal to support this new ideology al-Mamun went so far as to use the authority of the caliphate to encourage such thought. He helped the cause of the Mu'tazilah doctrine by rendering foreign sciences accessible to the Arabs, as seen already, and being a person of philosophical interest and proclivities, he raised the new creed to a state religion He showered honours on those who accepted this view and punished others who rejected it.[9]

In 827 A.D. he officially declared the Qur'an to be created and commanded that all those who opposed this doctrine should be persecuted.[10] He wrote to this effect to his deputy at Baghdad, Ishaq b. Ibrahim, while he himself was engaged in war with the Byzantines.[11]

He, however, issued a momentous proclamation after entering into detailed correspondence with Ishaq b. Ibrahim and also inviting the

1. Hitti, *Hist.* cit above. p. 429.
2. Jurji Zaidan *Isl. Civ* tr. Jairajpuri, p. 130; *Ency. Islam*, vo. III, p. 221 *Ency. Britanica*, Vol. 4, p. 607 ; Refa'i, *'Asr al-Mamun*, cit. above. p. 397.
3. Jurji Zaidan *Isl Civ.* tr. Jairajpuri, p. 142; Rafa'i, *'Asr al-Mamun*, p. 397.
4. Nicholson, *Lit. Hist.* p. 368; cf. Hitti. *Hist.* p. 429.
5. Muir, *Rise* etc , p. 507.
6. Who followed later (1556-1605 A.D.)
7. Browne, *Lit. Hist. of Persia*, Vol. V, p. 166.
8. For details see Muir, pp. 507 et seq that he believed in Qadr (power) as opposed to Jabr (compulsion) and that the Qur'an was not eternal but created and was inclined towards Shi'a faith.
9. Nicholson, *Lit. Hist.* p. 368; Hitti, *Hist.* cit above, p. 429; Browne *Lit. Hist.* p. 165
10. Huart, *Arabic Lit.* p. 263 ; cf. Hitti, *Hist.* p 429, ch. Jurji Zaidan, tr. Jairajpuri, pp. 141-43. for the development of these ideas in al-Mamun.
11. Jurji Zaidan, tr. Jairajpuri, p. 142 ; Abul Fida, *Futuhul Buldan*, p. 33.

following seven noteworthy scholars viz., Muhammad b. Sa'd who was *Katib* of al-Waqidi, Abu Muslim Mustamli Yazid b. Harun, Yahya b. Mu'in- Zubair b. Harab Abu Khaithamah, Isma'il b. Daud, Ismai'l b. Abu Mas'ud, and Ahmad b. al-Dauraqi to his presence and questioning them whether they thought the Mu'tazilah principles were correct. These persons, who were prominent theologians of the age, accepted the view that the Qur'an was created, whether of their own accord or under threat is not certain.[1]

According to Suyuti, al-Mamun's idea was to confirm from the learned doctors, having tested them on that vital doctrine, the justification of his beliefs. Suyuti adds that at first these scholars did not agree with his views but later on pretended to believe as he did.[2]

He did not hesitate to spread this view even by threat and violence. He issued an edict to Ishaq b. Ibrahim, to test all judges, traditionists and jurists on this question; and those who did not subscribe to this view should not be allowed to continue in their office or be appointed in any other such capacity,[3] rather they should be treated harshly[4] and put to torture so as to convince them of their approaching death, in case they proved to be non-believers in this doctrine.

For this purpose he instituted an inquisitional tribunal for the trial of those who denied this dogma, and people were compelled to renounce the belief that the Qur'an was the uncreated word of God.[5] And thus during the latter years of his reign there was evolved a rare combination of free thought and intolerance.[6]

But this was not the first time that persecution was made the rule by royal verdict on matters of religion, as we find that the Umayyad caliph Hisham (724-43 A.D) had ordered the execution of Ja'd b. Dirham for holding the view that the Qur'an was created,[7] and had put to death Ghailan al-Dimashqi for maintaining the doctrine of free will.[8]

As in the past so now it was an age of upheaval but fortunately or unfortunately the authority sided with the upholders of the doctrine of free thought and though this was a brilliant triumph, yet it had a reaction very soon, as we shall see.

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1. Tabari, pp. 1112-31 for the text of the correspondence, mandate and other details.
2. Muir, *Rise, Decline* etc., p. 507, Suyuti, *Tarikh al-Khulafa*, Egyptian Ed. 1305., p. 123.
3. Tabari, Vol. 3, pp. 1112-16 where copies of his orders are preserved as of the said proclamation and the correspondence. Browne, *Lit. Hist* p. 283 also *Ency. Britannica*, Vol. IV, p. 607.
4. Abu al-Fida. *Tarikh*, pp. 29-31. cf. Huart cit. above p. 263; Hitti, *Hist. cit.* above, p. 429.
5. *Ency. Britannica*, Vol. IV, p. 607.
6. Muir, *Rise* etc. p. 506.
7. Ibn al-Athir, Vol. 5, pp. 196-97 for more details about this incident see Jurji Zaidan, *Umayyads and Abbasids*, p. 130; Rifa'i, *'Asr al-Mamun*, pp. 395 et seq.
8. Ibn al-Athir, p. 197 Tabari, Vol. 2, p. 1733.

The leading victim of this systematic inquisition, which was the first of its kind was Ahmad b. Hanbal,[1] the founder of the Hanbali school of thought,[2] whose bold and stubborn championship of the cause of conservative orthodoxy constitutes one of the glorious pages in its history.[3]

Tabari and other historians, giving minute details of these incidents, state that al-Mamun, besides Ahmad b. Hanbal, Sajjadah, al-Qawariri and Muhammad b. Nuh al-Madrub, who did not subscribe to his view, also placed before an inquisitional court some other prominent persons, among whom were Bishr b. Walid al-Kindi, Abu al-Hasad al-Ziyadi, al-Dhayyal b. al-Haitham and many more. Some of them readily accepted the dogma and believed in the Qur'an being created, while others gave evasive replies such as "It is the word of God" or that "The Qur'an is the word of God and God is the creator of all things". Some said it is not Makhluq (مخلوق) but *Maj'ul* (مجعول), and those who did not agree at first offered apologies later on, when they came to know that severe steps were to be taken against them.[4]

To quote from Muir, "most (of them) quailed under the process and confessed, while some stood firm" [5]. But Ahmad b. Hanbal and his companions were not afraid, though they were convinced of dire consequences. It was feared that al-Mamun would have them executed on account of his extreme fanaticism.[6] Apparently he was very strict in this respect as revealed by his stern address to his deputies about this matter. This happened in the year 217 A.H. (832-833 A.D.).[7]

Ahmad b. Hanbal and others, who refused to accept this view, were put in chains, imprisoned and beaten;[8] and after being questioned again and again about this were sent towards Tarsus where the Caliph was. Although they were put to much humiliation, they escaped further tortures as when they reached Raqqah it was learnt that al-Mamun had breathed his last.[9] Thus these honourable persons got rid of unwelcome inquisitions and oppression.

Shortly after this there followed a period of sharp reaction and in 851 A.D., or even earlier in 848 A.D. al-Mutawakkil (847-861 A.D.), soon after his accession, put an end to all this persecution and, seeking the support of the orthodox party for political reasons, upset the fragile

1. Tabari, Vol. 3, p. 1131; cf. *Fakhri*, p. 260.
2. Rifa'i *'Asr al-Mamun*, p. 397.
3. Hitti, *Hist.* cit. above. pp. 429-30.
4. *Abu al-Fida*, p. 31
5. Muir, *Rise* etc. p. 507.
6. Abu al-Fida, p. 31;
7. *Kitab Duwal al-Islam* by Hafiz Shamsuddin, p. 94; *Tarikh Dawal al-Islam* by Rizq Allah Manqaryus, p. 108.
8. Abu al-Fida, p. 31.
9. Ibn al-Athir, Vol. 6, p. 143-44, cf. Tabari p. 1131.

edifice erected by al-Mamun, and placed the secular arm at the disposal of the foes of the Mu'tazilites and this helped to create an upheaval in religious circles.[1] Qadi Ibn Abi Duwad, under whose influence[2] al-Mamun had issued mandates in favour of the Mu'tazilah doctrine, and Ibn Abi Duwad's son were thrown into prison and their property was confiscated.[3]

For some time, however, under al-Mamun's two immediate successors al-Mu'tasim and al-Wathiq,[4] the persecution of the orthodox continued, but after the old dogma was restored by al-Mutawakkil, it was never assailed again[5] and the orthodox belief was restored.

1. Huart, *Arabic Literature* pp. 263-64 ; cf. Ameer 'Ali, Hist. pp. 289 et seq.
2. Hitti, *Hist. cit.* above. p. 429.
3. Ameer *Ali Hist.* p. 289.
4. Hitti, *Hist. cit.* above, p. 429.
5. *Ency. Britannica*, Vol. IV, p. 607.

'IMAM-UD-DIN HUSAIN RIADI, THE GRAND! OF NADIR-UL-'ASR USTAD AHMAD, THI ARCHITECT OF THE TAJ MAHAL, AND HIS *TADHKIRA-I-BAGHISTAN.*

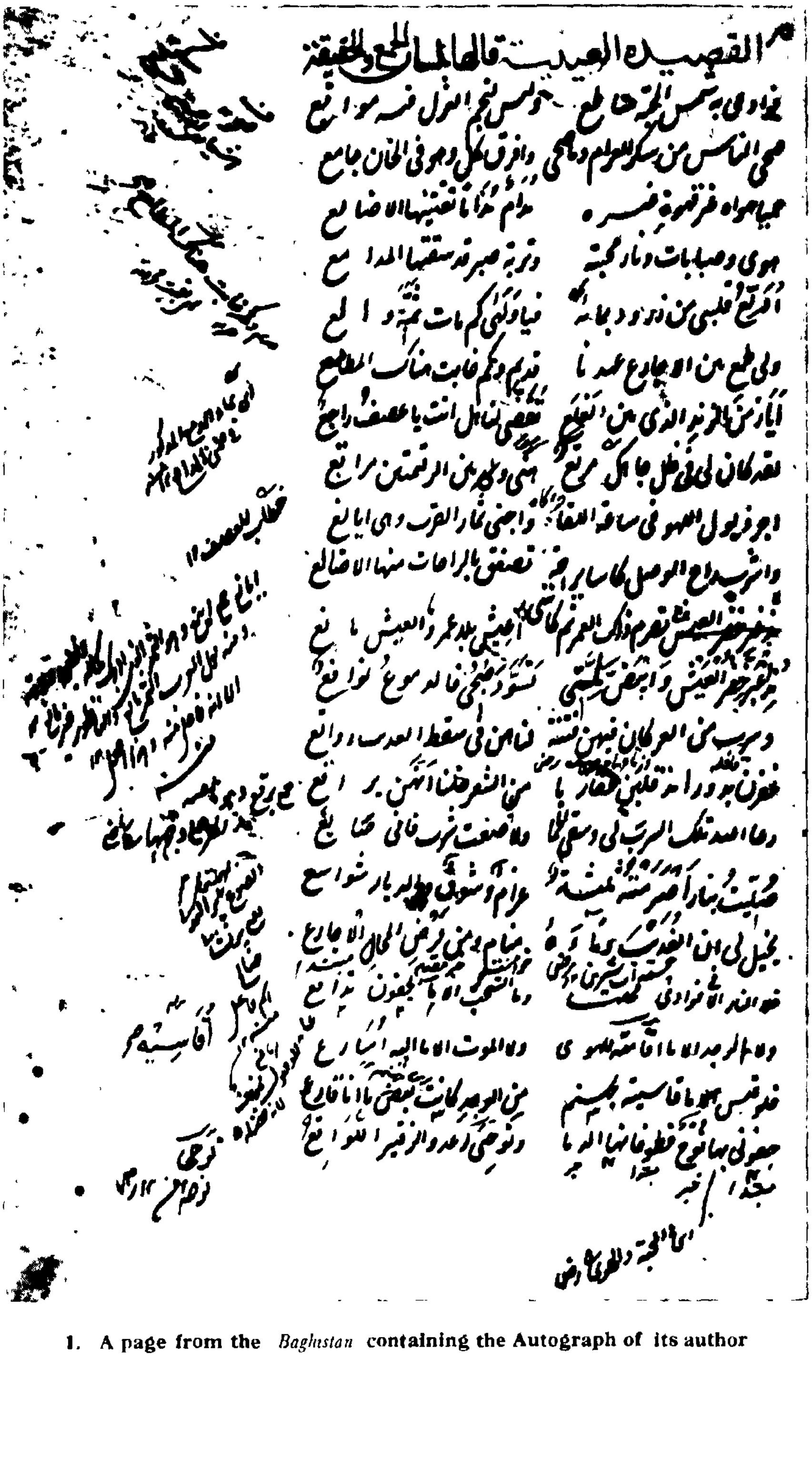
NAZIR AHMAD *

THE Taj Mahal at Agra, the pride of India, is a maste of architectural design. But it is unfortunate that so far it ha a matter of speculation for Indian and foreign scholars, as t was its real architect. Some historians hold that it was 'Ali M Khan, a Persian refugee, who built this mausoleum ; while ‹ challenging the view, claim that it was designed and built by a F architect ; some scholars maintain that an Italian architect bui splendid architectural monument ; and lastly some attribute it ı skill of one, Ustad 'Isa. But due to untiring research and the sı investigation, the architect of the Rauda-i-Taj Ganj has been ascert Qadi Mahmud of Bangalore discovered a small collection of Muh poems-*Diwan-i-Muhandis*—which he sent to the late Maulana ! Sulaiman Nadwi, who after some years' investigation succeeded i blishing the theory that it was Ustad Ahmad, the father of Mul who built this marvel of the world. The *Diwan-i-Muhandis* sı ample proof to this effect. It contained a short *Mathnawi*[1] in wh author, while introducing his father and other members of his ı mentions that the Red Fort at Delhi and the Taj Mahal at Agı

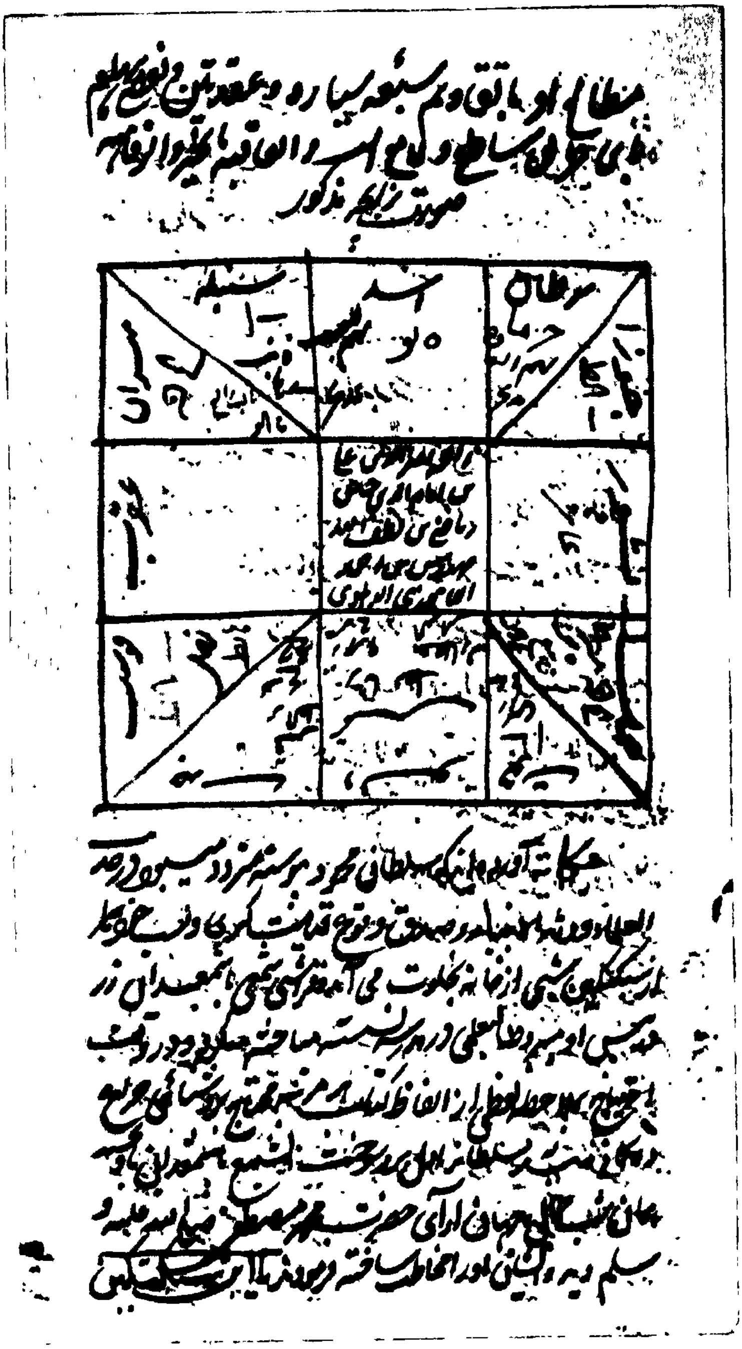
1. It contains 33 lines which are quoted in the *Ma'arif* (Azamgarh) Vol. 258-260 The poem opens thus:

شاه جهان داور گیتی ستان   روشنی دودهٔ صاحبقران

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القصيدة العينية قالها لسان الحق والحقيقة

1. A page from the *Baghstan* containing the Autograph of its author



2. A page from the *Baghistan* containing the horoscope of Amir-ud-Din 'Ali, the son of its author

By Courtesy of the authorities of the Lucknow University (Tagore) Library, Lucknow

built by Ustad Ahmad. Maulana Sulaiman Nadwi submitted a learned paper to the Idara-i-Ma'arif-i-Islamia at Lahore and introduced for the first time the greatest architect of Shahjahan's reign. This article [1] removed all doubts and solved all mysteries shrouding the personality of this expert of the building craft. Both Maulana Nadwi and Dr. 'Abdullah Chughtai, a scholar of Lahore whose thesis for his doctorate was the history of the Taj, hold that besides the Taj Mahal, most of the buildings at Delhi, Lahore, Kashmir and Aurangabad were built by various members of the illustrious family of Ustad Ahmad. Further, Mr. Abdur Rahman Chughtai [2] says that Kifayatullah Muhandis, the architect of the Asaf-ud Daula Imambara at Lucknow also belonged to the same family.

My interest in the subject was aroused by the discovery of the *Tadhkira-i-Baghistan* [3] which, being the work of Riadi, the son of Muhandis and the grandson of the architect of the Taj, adds immensely to the stock of our knowledge about Ustad Ahmad's family. Accordingly an attempt has been made here to give a coherent account of the life and work of the author of *Baghistan* and add here and there information gleaned from the book about the other members of his family and lastly to introduce this important book which supplies authentic and useful information on several contemporary events.

Nadir-ul-'Asr Ustad Ahmad. i.e., Riadi's grandfather

The contemporary historians introduced Ustad Ahmad as a skilled architect of the reign of Shahjahan who was well versed in all the branches of the building craft. His son, Muhandis adds that he held the title of "Nadir-ul-'Asr" or the 'Wonder of the Age'. In Riadi's *Baghistan* we do not find much information about the Nadir-ul-'Asr. Riadi only informs us, on the authority of his father's *Tadhkira-i-Muhandisi* that Ustad Ahmad was on friendly terms with Maulana Murshid of Shiraz, entitled Makramat [4] Khan, who was the teacher of Ustad Ahmad's eldest son, 'Ataullah Rashidi. To quote him [5] in the original:

مولانا مرشد شیرازی......یکی از علمای شیعه امامیه است - درشیراز و دیگر
بلادآن قطر تحصیل کرده پیش برادرکلان خود مولانا روز بهان شیرازی و دیگر افاضل
روزکار تا آنکه ماهر شد درفنون حکمی بتخصیص آسه 2 (کذا) و هندسه و نجوم و حساب -
بعده عزیمت هند کردو شرف ملازمت صاحبقران ثانی مشرف گشت و عزامتیاز یافت - مدتی
خانسامان پادشاه بود و باوجود این مشغله درس می گفت و علوم حکمی وفنون ریاضی

1. It was subsequently published in the *Ma'arif* in its February, March and April, 1936 issues.
2. He has published an article on the same topic in the *Mah-i-Nau* August, September and October, 1953, issues (vide, Sept. issue, p. 23).
3. It is in the Lucknow University (Tagore) Library.
4. He was also a poet and in the *Baghistan* 15 lines from his *Saqi Nama* are quoted (fol. 772 a).
5. *Baghistan*, fol 681 a.

درس می فرمود - از جمله تلامذۂ او مرزا روح الله برادر زاده اوست - پسر روزبهان شیرازی و برادر کلان فقیر عطاء الله رشیدی - درشاهجهان آباد از عالم فانی بجهان باقی شتاخت واز فرزندان اوست مرزا عبداللطیف ، مرزامفتخر ، مرزامشرف ...... والد فقیرلطف الله یعنی احمد که جدامجداین احقراست (غفرالله لهم) اورا باخان مغفور مناظرات ومباحثات واقع شدی واکثر اوقات حق بطرف والد ادن حقیر بود بالاخر در مجلس اجلاس خطای طرف مقابل ظاهر می شد - چنانچه این معنی اباعن جد باین عبد رسیده واز اطراف و جوانب نیز شنیده -

'Maulana Murshid of Shiraz is one of the Shi'a divines who studied in Shiraz and other educational centres (in Iran) under his brother Maulana Ruz Bihan of Shiraz and other scholars of the time, and became well versed in philosophical sciences, specially in geometry, astronomy and arithmetic. Thereafter he migrated to India and had the honour of joining the service of Sahib-i-Qiran II (Shahjahan) and was his household-steward for a long time. Despite this he used to teach the philosophical sciences and mathematics. One of his pupils is his nephew (Maulana Ruz Bihan's son), Mirza Ruhullah and the elder brother of Muhandis, viz., 'Ataullah Rashidi. He died in Shahjahanabad (A.H. 1059) and left three sons, Mirza 'Abdul Latif, Mirza Muftakhar and Mirza Musharraf. The father of Lutfullah (i.e. the grandfather of Riadi, viz, (Ustad) Ahmad (May God forgive his sins) held debates and discussions with him (Maulana Murshid) and most often the former proved to be right and ultimately the mistakes of the other party were known (to the persons) in the assembly. Riadi heard this from his father who was, in his turn, told about it by his (Riadi's) grandfather and this was also confirmed from other sources'.

This statement adequately proves Ustad Ahmad's accomplishment in learning. The defeat of a scholar like Makramat Khan in discussion with the Ustad fully testifies to the abilities which the latter possessed in mathematics, astronomy and other allied sciences. It was a strange coincidence that these two scholars died the same year.[1] It should also be noted that despite their discussions and debates they were sincere friends and on this account Ustad Ahmad chose the Khan to teach his son, Rashidi

Of the two chronograms[2] on the death of Ustad Ahmad, the second with a slight difference,[3] is quoted in *Baghistan*.

1. *Baghistan*, fol. 681 a.
2. The first runs thus :-

در زمان سعد شاه جهان　　　ساه عالم یناه جم مقدار
نادر العصر رفت و گفت خرد　　　شدبه فردوس احمد معمار

3. Instead of زینت the word ,, وزبده " is traceable in it.

'Ataullah Rashidi. i.e, the elder uncle of Riadi

Rashidi [1] was the eldest of the three sons of Ustad Ahmad which is proved by Muhandis's following line:

پس سه پسرماند زمرد سترگ   زان سه عطاء اللهرشیدی بزرگ

'Afterwards the renowned person left three sons, of whom 'Ataullah Rashidi was the eldest'.

Rashidi was fully accomplished in mathematics and other allied sciences, and wrote both in prose and poetry.[2] He was the teacher[3] of his younger brother, Muhandis. His three books have survived and all of them are on mathematics:-

1. *The Bij Ganit:* It is a Persian version of Bhaskarcharya's *Vija-Ganita* [4] written in A.H. 1044 in the 8th year of Shahjahan's reign and dedicated to the reigning monarch. Its MSS are preserved in the India [5] Office, British [6] Museum and Nadwa [7] (Lucknow) libraries.

2. *The Khulasa-i-Raz:* It is in persian verse, on arithmetic, algebra and mensuration, and is in praise of Shahjahan and Dara Shukoh. One MS. is preserved in the British Museum.[8]

3. *The Khazinat-ul-A'dad:* It is a small treatise on arithmetic, algebra and practical Euclid written in A.H. 1067. The only MS. is in the Bombay* University library.

Rashidi built the Mausoleum [9] of Aurangzeb's wife, Malika-i-Rabi'a-i-Durani, at Aurangabad in A.H. 1061.

In *Baghistan* Rashidi has been mentioned thrice. At one place[10] he

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1. In the *Baghistan* at three places it is Rushdi, in the *Diwan* it is Rushd, but in his own books, it is Rashidi. The word Rushd does not fit in the line quoted in the *Diwan*.
2. For example, Muhandis says:-

   نروی از آب روان باك نر   نظم خوسنں غرت سلک گہر

3. Muhandis says :-

   منکه ربودم ز جهان گوی علم   از جمنس یافته ام دوی علم

   منکه نندم آگه سر نهان   از دم او دافته ام دوب جان

4. In Sanskrit it is बीज गणित.
5. Catalogue, p. 113, MS. No. 2,001.
6. Catalogue Vol. II p. 45.
7. No 65.
8. Catalogue, Vol. II, p. 450.

* No. 107 Sayyid Sulaiman has calculated its date from the word "خزينة" and Shaikh 'Abdul Qadir from "خزينة الاعداد" which gives A. H. 1178. But in this case Rashidi will not be identical with Ahmad's son (The *Ma'arif*, Vol. 37. (99 margin).

9. The *Ma'arif*, Vol. 37, p. 100. there is an inscription on the main gate of the tomb which mentions the name 'Ataullah,
10. Fol. 681a.

has been stated to be Makramat Khan's pupil. As the latter was well versed in all branches of mathematics, specially in geometry, Rashidi may be presumed to have learnt these from his teacher. At the second [1] place we are informed that he and his younger brother, Muhandis, studied under Mirza Muhammad 'Adil, the son of Mirza Muhammad 'Ashiq of Akbarabad. As the Mirza was a devout Sufi, may it be presumed that both Rashidi and Muhandis had sufistic leanings? At the third[2] place he is engaged in a pleasant talk with Shahjahan's premier, Nawab Sa'dullah Khan. The talk centred round geometry of which more than a dozen figures have come in by the way. Riadi states thus:

نواب سعدالله خان به مولانا عطاء الله رشیدی برادر والدم لطف الله مهندس گفت که علم هند سه علمی ست که دران علم مذکور شکل حماری است ـ مولانا عطاءالله در جواب گفتند کد آری از جامعت این علم است که اشکال مختلف و الوان موتلف دارد بعضی افضل از بعض[3] ـ شکل مامونی که مامون الرشید آن رابر آستین جبه دوخته بود و همیشه در آن متفکر و متامل بود افضل است از شکل عروس و شکل عروس افضل است از مادر و دو خواهر خود و آنها افضل انداز شکل حماری و حماری افضل است از ناری و ناری از هوائی و هوائی از مائی و مائی از ترابی و ترابی از منشوری و مخروطی و سلمی و ترسی و طبلی و بیضی و هلیانجی و عدسی و کروی و مکعب و مدرج و مطبل و مسنم و مثلث و مربع و دائره و قطاعی و قطعی سائر اشکال مسطحه ـ [6]

Maulana Sa'dullah was one of the most learned men of his times. His association with Rashidi indicates that the latter was somehow connected with Shahjahan's court.

Lutfullah Muhandis. i.e. Riadi's father

Lutfullah with the title and pen-name, Muhandis,[5] was the second[6]

1. Fol 683a
2. Fol 699b
3. In *Baghustan* we come across this note:—

وجه رسم کردن مامون این شکل را بر آستین جبه خود و نسبت دادن این شکل سوی مامون عباسی می تواند بود که شغف و ولوع او باشد بمقدمات هندسه عموماً و این شکل خصوصاً و می تواند بود که حرب وعجز او باشد در فهمیدن برهان این شکل خاصیه و کلام ناصر خسرو که گفته است سه ا گردیدی مرا عاجز نمی گشتی چواقلیدس ـ زفهم مطلب برهان پنجم شکل مامونی ـ موید احتمال ثانی است ـ

4. In *Baghistan* the names of his two teachers viz. Maulana Yusuf Kapahi of Lahore and Maulana 'Abdul Hakim of Sialkot, are given (fol 679b and 686a)
5. The following lines indicate that it was a royal title conferred on him which he subsequently adopted as his pen-name.

گرچه مهندس لقبم از شه است نام من دل شده لطف الله است

گرچه مرا هست مهندس لقب هندسه زان هرسه برادر طلب

6. Muhandis says :— ثانی آن هر سه برادر منم هندسه یک فن بود از صد فنم

son of Ustad Ahmad. It is his *Diwan* which has brought this illustrious family to light. Sayyid Sulaiman Nadwi has enumerated several of his books, but very little is known about his life. His *Diwan* proves that he studied under his elder brother, 'Ataullah Rashidi. Of his various lines the following, while confirming the above, also shows that Muhandis taught his younger brother, Nurullah.

گرچه منم بی سخن استاد فن   آن یک و این یک بود استاد من

In Riadi's *Baghistan* together with some events there are many references to his father. At one [1] place he has been mentioned in connection with his teacher, Mirza Muhammad 'Adil. At the second [2] place Riadi informs us that one of his father's teachers was Maulana Sayyid 'Abdur Rashid of Lahore. At a third [3] place the word " استادنا " (our teacher) prefixed with the name of Maulana Ni'matullah, might equally refer to both Riadi as well as Muhandis. In the latter case the Maulana, would seem to be Muhandis's teacher. The said Maulana's father bore the name of Shaikh 'Abdur Rashid Quraishi. May it then be presumed that Ni'matullah's father and Muhandis's teacher are identical? If it is so, Muhandis would be supposed to have studied both under father and son.

Lutfullah Muhandis was well versed in chemistry, mathematics, (specially in geometry) and allied sciences. Sayyid Sulaiman Nadwi has been able to prove the existence of the following [4] books by him with which I shall deal briefly :-

1. *The Suwar-i-Sufi*, being a Persian translation of 'Abdur Rahman Sufi's *Suwar-ul-Kawakib* (the Figures of Stars) made at the instance of his father in A.H. 1050 and dedicated to him. One of its MSS. is preserved in the Muslim University Library, [5] Aligarh.

2. *The Risala-i-Khawass-i-A'dad*, being a small treatise in seven pages on mathematics one of MSS. of which is preserved in the British Museum [6] and the other in the Sa'idia library, Hyderabad.

3. *The Sharh-i-Khulasat-ul Hisab*. being a commentary in Arabic on Baha-ud-Din Amuli's [7] *Khulasat-ul-Hisab*, One of its MSS. is preserved in the British Museum [8] and the other in the Rida Library,[9] Rampur. In the *Baghistan*[10] it is mentioned by the title *Sharh-i-'Arabi*.

1. Fol. 683a
2. Fol. 681a.
3. Fol. 679b.
4. The *Ma'arif*, Vol. 37, p. 167.
5. Persian MSS., No. 37.
6. Catalogue, Vol. II, p. 450.
7. It is written both with ' ع ' and ' الف ' Sayyid Sulaiman Nadwi has preferred the Second reading.
8. Arabic MSS. No. 761
9. فن رياضى No. 45.
10. Fol. 682b

4. *The Muntakhab*, being the Persian translation of Amuli's *Khulasat-ul-Hisab*. Its date is calculated from the word " منتخب " which gives A.H. 1092. Its MSS. are common. In the *Baghistan* [1] it is entitled *Sharh-i-Farsi*

5. *The Asman i-Sukhan*: During Akbar's [2] time Faidi of Kirman versified all the seven *Tabaqat* of Daulat Shah's *Tadhkirat-ush-Shu'ara* and added three chapters to it. Lutfullah added two more chapters and gave it the present title. One MS. was found in the library of the kings of Oudh, [3] but it is not traceable anywhere. Riadi has mentioned it many times, for example [4] :-

والد ابن فقیر اعنی لطف‌الله مهندس درمسالهٔ آسمان سخن که تذکرهٔ الشعراء است
مشتمل بردوازده بروج می گوید الخ

'The father of this humble servant, viz., Lutfullah Muhandis, in the treatise, *Asman-i-Sukhan* which is a biography of poets containing twelve chapters called " بروج " (signs of the Zodiac), says etc., etc.

Lutfullah's additional chapters contained 250 lines and in each line one poet has been referred to. Sayyid Sulaiman Nadwi [5] has supposed that the two additional chapters might, in all probability, refer to the poets of Jahangir and Shahjahan's time. But this seems to be incorrect, firstly because 250 poets must have been named in the same number of lines. It is impossible to suppose the existence of so many poets during the reigns of Jahangir and Shahjahan. Secondly because it contained the following line which refers to Rudaki : [6]

دگر ابوالحسن رودکی است در دوران   که کس نبوده از وپیش صاحب دیوان

'The other is Abul Hasan Rudaki and no poet before his time was the author of a *Diwan*'.

The word "دگر" suggests that the additional chapters might have included other poets of older times. Thus the *Asman-i Sukhan* should reasonably be considered as a short biography of poets from the earliest times down to the age of the author. So that it should not be taken for a supplement to Daulat Shah's biography but its compendium.

In the *Baghistan* the following two additional [7] lines are quoted :-

امیر مومن عرسی است گرزمن برسی   سخنوری که سخن رانساند بر کرسی
دگر و حیدزمان میر صالح کشفی   کلامه اجراحات قلبنا یشفی

1. Ibid.
2. Oudh Catalogue p. 116.
3. Ibid
4. *Baghistan*, *fol.* 772b.
5. The *Ma'arif*, Vol. 37, p. 171.
6. *Baghistan*, fol. 721b.
7. Fol., 772b.

'Amir Mumin-i-'Arshi, if you ask me, is an erudite poet who has got speech seated in the chair.

'The other, unique one of the age is Mir Salih Kashfi whose poems heal the wounds of our heart'.

In the Oudh catalogue the following lines are quoted :-

(1) وحید دهرامانی بن مهابت خان   ولی به خان زمان است شهرهٔ دوران

'The unique one of the age, Amani, son of Mahabat Khan' is popularly known as Khan-i-Zaman.

(2) دگر یگانه ظفر خان تخلص احسن   ربوده گوی سخن از سخنوران در فن

Another peerless one, Zafar Khan, with the pen-name, Ahsan excelled the earlier masters, in the art of poetry.

(3) دگر وحید زمن آشنا عنایت خان   بود به بحر سخن آشنا عنایت خان

Another, unique one of the age, 'Inayat Khan Ashna was the swimmer of the ocean of speech'.

(4) دگر وحید زمن شادمان غم پرور   بیان شادی و غم در کلام او مضمر

'The unrivalled in his age, is Shadman whose poetry exhibits the sentiments of pleasure and grief'.

(5) دگر سخنور کشمیر محسن فانی است   بقای نام او از دولت سخندانی است

Another eloquent one of Kashmir is Muhsin-i-Fani, the permanance of whose name is due to his wealth of erudition'.

(6) مه سپهر سیادت یگانه میر عماد   که بود در غزل و مدح و مثنوی استاد

'The moon of the firmament of leadership, the unique, Mir 'Imad was a master of ghazal, qasida and mathnawi'.

(7) لبیب عصر محمد حسین آشوب است   سخنوری که سخنهاش جمله مرغوب است

'The choice of the age, Muhammad Husain Ashub, is an eloquent poet whose poetry is popular with all.

(8) دگر وحید زمان است طالبای کلیم   که شعر او ید بیضاست نزد طبع سلیم

Another peerless one of the time is Talib-i-Kalim whose poetry is reckoned as a miracle (the white palm of Moses) by persons of correct judgement'.

(9) دگر فرید جهان قدسی محمد جان   به عهد شاهجهان گو ربوده از اقران

Another matchless of the age, Muhammad Jan Qudsi surpassed his compeers during Shahjahan's reign'.

(10) الهئی همدانی است در سخن استاد سخنوری ست که داد سخنوری می‌داد

'Ilahi of Hamadan is a master poet who has done full justice to the art of poetry'.

(11) لبیب ازمنه امی نخواند هیچ کتاب زفیض حق شده مفتوح بررخس صدباب

'The choice of the time, viz., Ummi was quite illiterate. But divine blessings opened for him a hundred doors (of learning).

(12) دگر وحید زمن بافیا ترانه او خوش است همچو غزلهای عاسقانهٔ او

An other peerless of the age is Baqiya whose *Taranas* were as pleasant as his lyrical poems'.

(13) فصیح از منه فتحا که چون غزل می گفت—چو عندلیب غزل خوان درو گهری سفت

'The eloquent one of the time, Fatha, who, when he sang his ghazal, strung pearls in it like a warbling nightingale'.

Out of these only the names of two, to wit, Baqiya and Fatha, appear in the list of the poets of the *Baghistan.*[1] From the 9th line Sayyid Sulaiman Nadwi has concluded that these lines were composed after Shahjahan's reign (A.H. 1068).

6. *The Diwan-i-Muhandis*: It contains 96 pages[2] in all and comprises four *qasidas*, a sufficient number of *ghazals* arranged alphabetically, some *mathnawis* and *qit'as*. The first *qasida* in praise of God is very fervent and Riadi has quoted it in full in[3] the *Baghistan*. The second and the third are in praise of Dara Shukuh and his son, Sulaiman (respectively). The fourth is lyrical. In some ghazals Dara Shukuh has been mentioned, while a continuous *ghazal* has been addressed probably to Aurangzeb. Among the *mathnawis*, the most significant is that in which Muhandis has mentioned his father and brothers and which has brought Ustad Ahmad to light. Another *mathnawi* is in praise of a prince who might be identified with Dara Shukuh. A third poem is for a member of the family of the Wazir who might be identified with Mir Muhammad Sa'id, to whom is dedicated the *Muntakhab-i-Khulasat-ul-Hisab*. Some *qit'as* refer to Dara Shukuh. One is about his building (A.H. 1061) another about his key (A.H. 1066) and the third on his son, Sulaiman's marriage ceremony (A.H. 1064).

The *Diwan*[4] fully confirms his achievements in geometry, logic and philosophy, for example he says:—

بر من هیچمدان کشف شد از فیض ازل — راز سربسته که برهند سه دان مشکل بود
صرف در منطق و حکمت شده ابن عمرعزیز — لیک آن نکته نخواندم که درو حاصل بود

1. Fol 715b. But their notices are not available on fol. 772a.
2. It is now published under the title of *Taj Mahal* by Qadi Mahmud of Bangalore.
3. Fol., 778-779.
4. For references from the *Diwan* vide the *Ma'arif*, vol.37, p. 172-180 and pp. 258-260.

'On account of divine favours such hidden secrets were revealed to my humble self as were concealed from even the greatest astronomers. I spent all my (dear) life in logic and philosophy but I failed to understand their essence.' Muhandis's success in the building craft may be judged from these lines:—

بلند پایه زمن گشت قدر معماری

ما همه معمار و عمارت گریم

The value of the building craft was raised because of me'. 'We are all masons and architects'.

چنان منیر شود سبهه عمارت من | که نور مهر بود نزد نور او تاری
دمی که من بعمارت گری شوم مشغول | ملک مصالح کار آورد بسر باری

'My designs are so clear that the brightness of the luminous sun is insignificant before them. When I set to work, the king settles the affairs (of his kingdom)'.

We are not aware of the buildings which Muhandis himself built, but a *qit'a*[1] shows that he was the architect of one of Dara Shukuh's palaces. His biographers,[2] however, point out that he was one of those who planned, designed and built the fort of Shahjahanabad.

7. *The Sihr-i-Halal* is a treatise on ethics in Persian in which no dotted letter is used and accordingly the author gives his name as ولد احمد معمار . One MS. is in the Madrasa-i-Muhammadi, Madras and the other in the Bombay University Library which has been published[3] by Shaikh 'Abdul Qadir of Poona.

'Imam-ud-Din Riadi has referred to two additional books in the *Baghistan:*—

1. *The Sharh-i-Tahdhib*,[4] being a commentary on *Tahdhib* under the title of *Taqrib* in Persian verse. Another *Sharh* by Riadi also bore the same title but it was in prose.

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1. It is as follows:

جوبنا کرد قصر جاه و جلال | ظل حق بادشاه عالی ملک
شبهئه این عمارت والا | یافت چون مهر بر حوالی ملک
گفت معمار قصر تاریخش | قصر دارا شکوه والی ملک

2. For example Khushgo, 'Ishq and 'Ali Ibrahim, refer to the *Ma'arif*, Vol. 37, p. 245-46 and the *Suhuf-i-Ibrahim*, fol. 634.

3. The note written by Maulana Sulaiman Nadwi at the end of the list of the Seven books, indicates that the Second book, viz., رسالهخواص اعداد is in Arabic which is incorrect. Similarly only the fourth and fifth are stated to be in verse; it is not known why the *Diwan* (No. 6) has been passed over (vide the *Ma'arif*, Vol. 37, P. 167).

4. *Baghistan*, fol. 683b. تقریب منظوم از والد من است

2. *The Tadhkira-i-'Ulama-i-Muhandisi*: It was an important biographical work dealing with mystics, philosophers, divines, poets etc. of the period ranging from the earliest times down to the age of the author. The author of the *Baghistan* has abundantly made use [1] of it, and particularly for contemporaneous events he has solely depended upon the same *Tadhkira*. It is not known when this biography was completed. However, the events of A. H. 1059 [2] and 1066 [3] being included in it, suggest its completion to a date after A.H. 1066. It appears to have been completed at a time when Mulla Jiwan[4] taught his pupils in the Shahjahani Mosque in Delhi. The Mulla was born in A.H. 1047, and if at that time he was supposed to be over 30, the date of the book would be near about A.H. 1077.

Sayyid Sulaiman Nadwi has ascribed [5] a small treatise on rhetoric under the title *Risala-i-Bayaniya* to Muhandis. But when studied it proved to be Riadi's treatise and will be discussed later.

Muhandis's ancestral home was in Herat wherefrom one of his ancestors migrated to India and settled at Lahore. Subsequently his grandfather seems to have moved to Delhi. This is evident from the following phrase quoted at several places in the [6] *Baghistan* :-

الهروی ثم اللاهوری، ثم الدهلوی

The following phrase [7] occurring in the *Baghistan* indicates that Riadi's father died when away from home :

شهید تیغ غربت و مبتلای کربلای کربت

At one place [8] Riadi has alluded to the tombs of his mother and some of his sons, but not to that of his father (who was dead then). This further suggests that his death occurred somewhere outside Delhi or perhaps India.

One of Muhandis's books [9] was completed in A.H. 1092, and in A.H. 1016 [10] when the *Baghistan* was completed or was being written his father was no more alive. Hence he must have died some time between A.H. 1093 and 1015.

1. Vide fol. 341a, 676-681 etc.
2. Fol. 681a.
3. Fol. 681b where he has mentioned his son's (Riadi's) birth which occurred in A.H. 1066. In this book, Muhandis had given both his and his father's detailed life-account.
4. Fol. 679a.
5. The *Ma'arif*, Sept. 1950, p. 214.
6. Vide fol. 773a, 778b, 833b, etc.
7. Fol. 683a.
8. Fol. 458a.
9. i.e. the Muntakhab-i-Khulasat-ul-Hisab.
10. For the date of the completion of the *Baghistan*, refer to fol. 686b.

Lutfullah had prepared an iron-plate and got it [1] installed in the gate of the tomb of Hoshang Ghori (H. 808-838) at Mandu in which the following inscription is found in four lines ;

بتاریخ نهم ربیع الثانی سنه هزار و هفتاد هجری
فقیر حقیر لطف الله مهندس ابن استاد احمد معمار شاهجهانی
وخواجه جادو رای واستاد شیورای و استاد حامد
بجهت زیارت آمده بود

Riadi [2] has dealt with his father along with other poets, in this way :

'The most perfect among the mathematicians and the most excellent among the geometricians, Lutfullah Muhandis of Herat and Lahore, (He is) the lifter of the delicate veils of the sky from (the face of) the damsels of the truths of the stars of the high signs of the Zodiac and the diver of the depth of the oceans of heavens full of brilliant stars. He is the third [3] amongst the teachers of the college of philosophy and wisdom and the eleventh[4] of the chain of reasons of the world of knowledge and intellect. He is a 'Allama more accomplished in each art than the master of that art. It is not possible to traverse the stages of his perfection. If, as a faithful son, I call him a real father, it is but right; and if, by way of doing justice to being his son, I praise my father there is no harm.

Even the Heaven cannot adequately praise him. O Anwari, do justice to him for only you can do it. What should noon show to the sun and how would the pearls of stars decorate the brilliant face of the sun? The reasoning of the peripatetics (Aristoteleans) is only a barley from the barn of his clear thoughts; the revelations of the Neoplatonists are only a reflection from the candle of his bright understanding. Composition is a mere ordinary form of his excellence; poetry is the humbler part of his perfection.

After this Riadi quotes [5] the *qasida* in praise of God which begins in this way :—

'When the monarch of the sun sat upon the throne of Aries, the Rustam of day caused a havoc in the territory of night.'

1. The *Ma'arif*, Vol 37, p. 166, and *Mandu*, the city of joy, by Dr. G. Yazdani, p. 48. (O.U. Press).
2. The *Baghistan* fol. 778b.
3. Aristotle is regarded as the first master (معلم اول) amongst the learned and Abu Nasr Farabi as the second master (معلم ثانی). Riadi has called his father ثالث المعلمین۔
4. Usul-i-'Ashirat are ten primary intelligences first created by God. Riadi has called his father "حادی عشر سلسله عقول".
5. Ibid.

Riadi's younger uncle, Nurullah Mi'mar

He was Muhandis's youngest brother who was fully accomplished [1] in the building craft. The ancestral title of *Mi'mar* (architect) was assigned to him which is indicative of his excellence in this art. He was also a good calligraphist who could write in seven styles artistically. In the Shahjahani Mosque in Delhi, in the wall just above the outer arch is a long Persian passage in the *Naskh* styles in the hand of Nurullah. Muhandis points to his skill in this line :—[2]

گنج هنر آمده درمشت او　　　هفت قلم رانده سه انگشت او

'The treasure of skill came into his possession (hand); three of his fingers drove (wrote) seven pens (styles).' But Riadi has not mentioned his uncle in his *Baghistan*.

'Imam-ud-Din Riadi

Lutfullah Muhandis had a number of children[3] of whom the names of only two have come down to us. The first is 'Imam-ud-Din Riadi and the second Abul Khair alias Khairullah

'Imam-ud-Din was born according to his father's own statement[4] in A.H. 1066 and took the pen-name of Riadi. About the choice of this pen-name, he himself remarks :—[5]

وتخلص مولف که ریاضی است نسبت به ریاضت از جهت دانش علم ریاضی به تخصیص
و علم حکمت طبیعی والهی به تعمیم

'And the author's pen-name, Riadi [pertaining to *riadat* (hardship)] is due to his accomplishment in mathematics in particular and in the natural and divine sciences in general.

Again he says :—[6]

'Because of the common name if the author (Riadi) calls him (Imami of Herat) his brother by genealogy, it is permissible and because of real connection if he finds nearness in lineage, it is all right Verily due to this name a particular thing is common between this humble and that peerless one just as because of the same pen-name the ability of versification was common between him and Riadi, the elder, though the latter had achieved nothing in the field of mathematics.'

1. Muhandis says :
لیک بود قصر کلامش عجب　　　زان شده معمار مر او را لقب
2. The *Ma'arif*, Vol. 37, p. 96 and p. 260.
3. Riadi mentions his brothers in the plural number, vide *Ma'arif*, p. 248.
4. *Baghistan*, fol. 681b.
5. Fol. 760a.
6. *Baghistan* fol. 732a.

This has been fully confirmed by his biographers[1] who have stated that due to his superiority over his compeers in mathematics he chose this pen-name (Riadi) for him.

Ancestral Home

As seen above Riadi's forefathers resided in Herat, so he always called himself al-Harawi (belonging to Herat). Some of his ancestors migrated to India and settled down at Lahore, from where his grandfather, Ustad Ahmad, moved to Delhi. Mr. 'Abdur Rahman Chughtai[2] states that the family which had its ancestral connection with Herat, came to India from Ghazni, and rose to high position under Jahangir and remained for a long time at Lahore. Since a part of this statement is in conformity with Riadi's own, his family connection with Ghazni should not be readily rejected. But in the *Baghistan* there is no mention of this.

Though Riadi is silent about the family moving from Lahore to Delhi, the contemporary biographers, such as Khushgo[3] and Ikhlas[4] clearly point out that Riadi's grandfather came to reside in the metropolis. Ahmad[5] 'Ali also holds the same view, but in the *Subh-i-Gulshan*[6] and *Tadhkira-i-'Ulama-i-Hind*[7] Riadi himself is stated to have come to Delhi.

Maulana Sayyid Sulaiman Nadwi while introducing a "*Majm'ua'*" has supplied this information :[8]

> 'Till now I thought that the family of Ustad Ahmad had been at Lahore and then migrated to Delhi. But in this *Majmua'* Mirza Khairullah is stated to belong to Bangar Mau, a village in Unnao district on the border of Kanpur. It is not known how this family was connected with this place. May it be supposed that due to the Ahmad Shahi or Nadir Shahi invasions the family moved east? But after all it is very doubtful.'

The *Majmua'*[9] mentioned above comprises three treatises, *al-Sab'-uth-Thawabit, al-Qudsiya, al-Madkhal-fin-Nujum*. In the first the author's

1. Vide 'Ali Ibrahim's *Suhuf-i-Ibrahim* p. 634 and 'Ishqi's, *Nishtar* (*Ma'arif*, p. 246.)
2. The *Mah-i-Naw*, August, 53, p. 49. He heard it from the older members of his family.
3. The *Ma'arif*, Vol. 37, p. 245.
4. Ibid, p. 246.
5. P. 247.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid.
8. The *Ma'arif*, September 1950, p.216-17. The talk between a foreigner and Khwaja Abul Ma'ali indicates that Riadi belonged to a place outside India (*Baghistan*, fol. 687.
9. It is in the Nadwa Library, Nos- 103-105.

name appears only on the title page in a comparatively modern hand. In the second treatise the author's name appears[1] as خيرالله الهندى البانكرمئوى while in the third the author has not only recorded his name but has given some history of his family which exclusively shows that he belonged to the Illustrious family of Ustad Ahmad. But in its beginning somebody other than the scribe, wrote his name as خيرالله بانكرمئوى. As in the text of the second treatise the author himself has referred to his native place, Bangar Mau, we have but to accept it. This clearly shows that Khairullah is not identical with Mirza Khairullah Muhandisi. So it would be incorrect to claim that the family was somehow connected with Bangar Mau.

Riadi's education and teachers

Lutfullah Muhandis gave his son, Riadi, the best possible education. In the *Baghistan* Riadi has recorded the books he had studied and the teachers he had. The details fully prove that he was one of the most learned *'Ulama* of his time. His teachers are introduced as follows :—

1. Sayyid Hasan of Narnol: He was one[2] of the three important pupils of Shaikh Muhibbullah of Allahabad, well versed in sufism and commonly known by the title of *Rasul Numa*. When Riadi was studying *Sharh-i-Jami* he went to the above Shaikh and attended his lectures. The first word which the Shaikh spoke was this:— لما و جب علىک چه ترکیب دارد To this Riadi replied:— لام جار و ماء موصوله مجرور جار مجرور متعلق محذوف است

The Shaikh smiled and said that it was a complete sentence and nothing was omitted in it. It appears that Riadi profited by the teaching of the Shaikh.

2. *Haji Muhammad 'Arif*: He was an accomplished[3] scholar of his time. Riadi went to him in the early part of his life, but there was a great rush of students so the Shaikh could not spare time to look after Riadi's studies. He only suggested that he should study the *Mutawwal* jointly with his (Shaikh's) son.

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1. P 28.
2. *Baghistan* fol. 543b. The other two were Shaikh Muhammadi of Ambroha and Sayyid Muhammad of Qannauj. The latter was Aurangzeb's teacher.
3. *Baghistan*, fol. 559a.

3. *Maulana Sher Muhammad*[1] *Banbani*[2] *of Lahore:* He was a relative of Maulana Muhammad Ya'qub Banbani and had resided in Lahore. Riadi went to him and studied some books under him. From one statement it appears that he finished some introductory books (مبتدیانه) under his guidance, while the other indicates that Maulana Sher Muhammad taught him literature, jurisprudence, Traditions and commentaries on the Qur'an.

4. *Shaikh*[3] *Jiwan:* He belonged to Amethi a suburb of Lucknow. During Aurangzeb's time he rose to distinction. He was born in A. H. 1047 and committed the Qur'an to heart without the aid of spelling (هجا) and diacritical points and mastered its meaning without studying the etymological part of grammar (صرف) and syntax (نحو). His grandfather, 'Abdullah and his great-grandfather were renowned scholars of their age. Besides his father Shaikh Abu Sa'id he studied under Shaikh Muhammad of Sithrikh, the nephew of Shaikh 'Alamullah. He learnt the *Tafsir-i-Baidawi*, *Usul-i-Maliki*, and intellectual Sciences (such as scholasticism, philosophy etc.) from Shaikh Lutfullah. He is the author of two important works, *Adab-i-Ahmadiya and Jafsirat-i-Ahmadiya.*

Riadi finished the books on the principles of jurisprudence, Arabic literature, Hadith and Tafsir with the above Shaikh. The latter resided in Delhi and used to deliver his lectures to his pupils in the Shahjahani mosque where Riadi attended his lectures. He studied the following books on various sciences under Shaikh Jiwan:

Husami, Talwih, Sharh-i-Waqayah, Mutawwal.

5. *Mir Muhammad Shafi':* He was an important divine of his time fully accomplished in various sciences. The said Mir was a devout Sufi whose teacher was the important saint, Maulana Shah Pir Muhammad of Lucknow. The author of the *Baghistan* was greatly influenced by his teachings and has mentioned him in such epithets[4] as:

قطب العلماء، اعلم العرفاء، جامع علوم ظاهری و باطنی، حاوی حظوظ وهبی و کسبی مالک ملکات ملکی سالک درجات فلکی، حاجی الحرمین الشریفین، المشهور فی المشرقین و المغربین، ذوالفضل البدیع والکعب الرفیع، میرمحمد شفیع الخ -

1. *Baghistan* fol. 678b, 683a
2. Dr. Baqir 'Ali Tirmizi while introducing Maulana 'Abdul Malik Banbani has given the following information on the authority of the *Juma'at i-Shahiya:*

ببان ولایتی ست مابین خراسان و ملتان وابن جماعتی که به ملک گجرات به نبانیان مشهور انداز آن جاآمده اند وایشان از حضرت عبدالله بن عباس اند -

The important personalities of the Banbani family residing in Gujrat in the 9th and 10th centuries were Shaikh Sadrud-din, Shaikh Minhaj-ud-Din and Shaikh Faizullah whose *Majma'un-Nawadir*, *Dastur-ul-Huffaz* and *Tarikh-i-Sadr-i-Jahan* are in existence (the *Ma'arif*, Oct. 1950),
3. *Baghistan*, fol., 678-679.
4. Fol. 679a

The following words occurring in the *Baghistan* suggest that th
had died before the compilation of the said book in A. H. 1116.

شفعه الله تعالی فی طالبه و اسکنه من الفردوس عالیه

Riadi finished the books on *Usul-i-Fiqh*(principles of jurisprudence
him. He studied a part of the *Talwih* under him, one part of whic
finished while studying with Shaikh Jiwan. But the question of p
is still unsettled.

6. *Shaikh Phul :* He was one of the near relations of Shaikh M
mad Ghauth of Gwalior. But it would be difficult to conclude
the following words[1] that he was the Shaikh's real nephew:

از فرزندان برادر شیخ (محمد غوث) استادنا محیط المعقول والمنقول حاوی الفروع
، شیخ پهول

Shaikh Phul was a class-fellow[2] of Riadi's father and uncle, w
studied under Mirza Muhammad 'Adil. Riadi studied the foll
books under the Shaikh:

A part of the *Hidayah, Zahrawi, Baidawi, Sharh-i-Matali'*, a part
Mishkat, Umur-i-'Amm Sharh-i-Jadid.

Riadi spent much of his time in the company of Shaikh Phu
exercised greater influence over his pupil than any of his other tea
Riadi has mentioned him frequently in his *Baghistan* and has re
to the influence of the Shaikh who seemed to have been alive a
time as is evident from the phrase سلمه الله تعالی prefixed with his n

7. *Mir Rida Bihari :*[3] He was in the chain of Maulana Wajih-ud
pupils. Riadi studied some portions of *Sharh i-Mawaqif* under hin

8. *Khawaja Abul Ma'ali :*[4] He was one of the pupils of Ma
'Ewad Wajih and, like his teacher, belonged to Balkh. After trav
through central Asia, he proceeded towards India and went to the D
and Hyderabad. Then he came to Delhi and rose to a high rank d
Aurangzeb's reign. In A. H. 1116 he was the governor of the
province. Riadi was greatly attached to him and profited by his
pany. His following statement[5] is very significant :

وادن فقیر را در دل هوس مطالعهٔ عضدی وحاشیه میر داده بود ، اتفاقاً بعداز اثناء
حضرت مخدوما و مولانا خواجه ابوالمعالی تقریب درس عضدی وحاشیه میردرمیان
ریب بنجاه فاضل مستعد در مجلس درس وحلقه طلبه شریک درس کتاب مذکور
نانچه مبادی لغت در خدمت ایشان گذرانید ودرین ولاخدمت خواجه حسب الحکم
، به بلخ تشریف فرموده اند سلمه الله تعالی ـ

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1. Ibid, fol. 538a.
2. Ibid, fol. 683a.
3. Fol 679a.
4. Fol. 686b.
5. Fol. 679b.

'This humble one longed to study *'Adadi* and *Hashia-i-Mir* very much. By chance, after some time he happened to talk to him (Khawja Abul Ma'ali about the lessons of *'Adadi* and *Hashya-i-Mir* (about fifty scholars used to sit along with his pupils while he taught the above books). So he finished the introductory chapters in his service. Now the Khwaja at the instance of his brother has gone to Balkh (May God protect him.')

This indicates that Riadi studied these two books in the later part of his life.

Riadi has mentioned the Khwaja at several places in the *Baghistan*, some of which will be examined later on.

9. *Lutfullah Muhandis :* As we have seen, Riadi's father was well versed in various sciences and used to teach; Riadi was one of his pupils and learnt mathematics from him as is evident from the following:[1]

در علوم ریاضی اسناد بنده غیر از پدر نسبت اسکنه الله تعالی ریاض جنانه

At another place[2] the author has expressed the same view. Sayyid Sulaiman Nadwi correctly supposed him to be the teacher of Riadi in mathematics in this statement :[3]

'Imam-ud-Din wrote the preface to his *Tasrih* in A. H. 1102 and we know that Lutfullah was alive till A. H. 1092 for his *Muntakhab* was finished the same year, and eleven years thereafter his son composed *Tasrih*. This certainly proves that he had acquired or was acquiring perfection in various branches of learning. Thus we may reasonably conclude that his father must have taught him the mathematical sciences.

10. *Mir Muhammad Taqi al-Kabuli :*[4] He was the son of Baba Beg Munajjim of Kabul. Riadi learnt from him astrological sciences, derivation of almanacs from astronomical tables and astrological conclusions. Mir Muhammad prepared a *Naqsh* from the first *Surah* of the Qur'an which is quoted in the *Baghistan*[5] where the author's name appears in this way: استادنا مولانا السید محمد تقی الکابلی المنجم. The ancestral title of Munajjim appended to the name of this great personality suggests him to be well versed in the science of astronomy. Mir Muhammad had died 20 years [6] before the composition of the *Baghistan* some time after A. H. 996.

11. Shaikh[7] Muhammad was a successor to Shaikh 'Abdun-Nabi Shattari, and son of Sufi Yahya ibn Muhammad Dost of Lahore. The

1. Ibid.
2. Fol. 683a.
3. The *Ma'arif*, Vol. 37, p. 248.
4. *Baghistan* Fol. 551a and 679a.
5. Ibid, Fol. 55a.
6. Fol. 679a.
7. Ibid, Fol. 492 and 538b. The phrases رحمة الله علیه and مرحوم appended to his name show that he was dead when the *Baghistan* was under preparation.

Shaikh lived in Meerut, where Riadi lived with him for some time. One day the Shaikh showed him a MS. of Muhammad Shirin Maghribi's *Jam-i-Jahan Numa* along with 'Abdun-Nabi Shattari's marginal notes. Since then Riadi studied the book under him. The Shaikh had died before the completion of the *Baghistan.*

Riadi's sufistic disposition and his selection of Shaikh or spiritual guide:

'Imam-ud-Din was inclined towards sufism from the early part of his life, and probably he developed this aptitude in the company of his father and uncle who were the pupils of a devout Sufi, Mirza Muhammad 'Adil. His early education and training under such renowned Sufi scholars as Shaikh Phul and Mir Muhammad reveals this inclination. While he was studying the *Sharh-i-Jami,* he went to Sayyid Husain of Narnol and stayed sometime with him. Thereafter Riadi has mentioned how he went to Shaikh[1] Muhammad of Lahore who asked him whether he (Riadi) wished to acquire learning or divine revelation or wealth, comfort or pleasure. Riadi replied that he wished not to have any wish or desire;

'I like to have no desire;
the desire should appear from the side of my master.'

The Shaikh remarked that he was to be congratulated on having obtained all.

Riadi had much regard for Mir Sadid-ud-Din,[2] uncle of Sayyid Hasan, son of Sayyid Husain Shah Pir, and visited him very often and attended his assemblies of "songs and ecstasies" about A.H. 1111. He also frequently went to Shaikh Munawwar,[3] the nephew of Shaikh Pir of[4] Meerut to whom the Emperor Jahangir and Nur Jahan were greatly attached.

But none of these Shaikhs could fully satisfy him, so his search for a Shaikh went on till he finally attached himself to Sayyid Nurullah Shattari. In the *Baghistan*[5] the author has given a detailed and vivid account of his attachment to the above Shaikh, which might be summed up thus:

> 'On the night of Nauruz (the 21st March) the author of *Baghistan* dreamt that he was sitting on a wooden seat. To his left in the north-west corner was sitting a divine saint. Some other persons were sitting near him in a respectful manner. No sooner did Riadi see this glorious figure then he wished to stand up and do reverence to him. But he could not stand and felt great pain in his thigh. In the meantime a youth approached him and caught hold of him and

1. Fol. 559a.
2. Ibid. fol. 450b.
3. Ibid, fol. 543a.
4. Riadi's teacher and spiritual guide, Shaikh Muhammad Shattari, also resided in Meerut and Riadi's stay in the city along with his teacher is proved by the *Baghistan* (Fol. 492-493).
5. Fol. 538b-541a (Margins).

made him stand straight. Now he felt well and found enough strength to walk. So he descended from this seat, came before the saint and paid respectful homage to him and sat before him. When Riadi awoke from the dream, he approached some persons for its interpretation. One of the disciples of Sayyid Hasan interpreted that he (Riadi) should repeat one thousand times the *Kalima* for the peace of his father's soul. But this could not satisfy him. He approached Mir Husam-ud-Din who said that the author would shortly be profited by his son and through him he would find access to the service of a saint. One full month passed. Once Riadi thought of visiting Sayyid Nurullah Shattari,[1] but he had forgotten the correct address of the saint's house. One day his son, Amir-ud-Din 'Ali, came to the school. He knew the saint's address and wished to accompany his father to the saint's house. So both of them went to him in the afternoon. The saint was sitting surronded by his disciples He caught hold of Riadi's hand, made him sit beside himself and spoke to him about divine truths and realities. In the meantime Riadi told Shaikh 'Abdun-Nabi that if the Shah Sahib gave his consent, he wished to be included among his disciples. Shaikh Abdun-Nabi informed him that he (the shah sahib) had given his consent. Then the Saint asked him about the Shaikh he was attached to. He was very much pleased when informed that Riadi was inclined to Shaikh Muhi-ud-Din 'Abdul Qadir Jilani, and told him that he would make him his disciple on the next Thursday which fell on the 15th Rabi' II A.H. 1123. On that date Riadi went to the Shaikh who made him sit on his own prayer carpet and taking his two hands into his hand, repeated the phrase "Bismillah" and made him his disciple and taught him certain preliminaries. Then he came out of his room, sat on the outer terrace and distributed the sweets which Riadi had brought and the latter also received his share. Then he returned home. The time when he was chosen as the Shah sahib's disciple was the conjunction of the moon and Jupiter in the Sign of Aries.'

After some time when the dervish was informed that Riadi was in the Shattari and Qadiri order of Sufis, he objected on the ground that these two different orders could not be combined together. Riadi tried to convince him but the dervish was not convinced and ultimately Riadi also became doubtful in this matter.

The same day Riadi was sitting with some dervishes, one of whom had the *'Ain-ul-Ma'arif* with him. Riadi opened the book and found out this pedigree table which removed his suspicion and doubts.

'Isa S/o Qasim S/o Yusuf S/o Rukn-ud-Din, S/o Ma'ruf, S/o Shihab-

1. Riadi's teacher and guide, Shaikh Muhammad, belonged to the Shattari order and hence his (Riadi's) final selection of a Shaikh affiliated to the same order was not strange and accidental (vide *Baghistan*, fol. 492b-493a).

ud-Din[1] alias 'Ishqi, ash-Shattari, al-Qadiri with the title of 'Ain 'Urafa and Abul[2] Barkat etc.

One day Riadi went to his Shaikh, Shaikh Muhammad Sufi, had the *Mirat-ul-'Arifin* in his hand. He opened it at random and fo a very interesting explanation and commentary on the verse of the Qur الله نور السموات والارض الخ. When he informed his Shaikh about it, R was told that his (Riadi's) admission to this order was very auspicio

Riadi's line of spiritul pedigree, as given by himself both in prose poetry, runs as follows :—

Lisan-ul-Ghaib, Shamsul Mulk Imamuddin ar-Riadi, al-Qadiri, Shattari, disciple of Sayyid Muhammad Nurullah, disciple of Sha Muhammad, disciple of Shah Burhan-ud-Din disciple of Shah 'Isa 'Is disciple of Shah-i-Lashkar Jundullah, disciple of Shaikh Ghauth, disc of Hamid-ud-Din Huzur, disciple of Shah Abul Fath, disciple of S Abul Qasim, disciple of Shah 'Abdullah, disciple of Shaikh Muhamr 'Arif, disciple of Shaikh Muhammad 'Ishqi, disciple of Shaikh Kh Quli, disciple of Shaikh 'Ishqi Kharqani, disciple of Maulana Turk T disciple of Shaikh Bayazid 'Ishqi, disciple of Shaikh Muhammad Maghı disciple of Khwaja Bayazid Bistami, disciple of Imam Ja'far-i-Sa disciple of Imam Muhammad Baqir, disciple of Imam Zain-ul-'Adi disciple of Imam Husain, disciple of Imam Hasan, disciple of Ha 'Ali, disciple of the Prophet of Islam.

It was most unfortunate that Riadi's spiritual guide, Sayyid Nu lah,[3] died on the 19th Rabi' II A.H. 1023 within two months and 4 d of his becoming a disciple of the Shaikh.

We have already seen that Riadi was inclined towards Sufism fi an early age and that his interest in the Muslim philosophy of Sufism creased as he grew older. But before adopting a particular order interest may well be judged from his frequent visits to various Sufi sa of different orders.

(*To be continued*)

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1. The titles and epithets appended to his name are :
الروحی الهالی الجندی السندی الهندی الںواری

2. It was his كنيت

3. He fell ill in the middle of the month and died of fever and heada ,,ازجهان رفت قطب مادر زاد,, gives the date of his death. He left behi daughter married to Mulla Muradullah who was closely attached to Bah Shah, son of Aurangzeb. They had a son, Sayyid Muhammad 'Abd (fol. 540b).

THE ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF THE URDU LANGUAGE IN MEDIEVAL TIMES

YUSUF HUSAIN KHAN*

THE origin of the Urdu language like most other origins is obscure. Various theories have been advanced to explain it. Muhammad Husain Azad maintains that Brij Bhasha, a dialect of Western Hindi, is the basic language on which, after the conquest of Delhi by the Muslims, the Persian element was grafted as the result of which the Urdu language came into existence. I am afraid Azad has tried to simplify the explanation of the origin of Urdu which, in its nature, is complex. In fact, Brij Bhasha, though linguistically allied to the dialect spoken in the neighbourhood of Delhi, is different in its construction and morphology. In Mughal times, when Agra, which is situated in the Brij area, became the centre of the Empire, the influence of Brij Bhasha on the formation of the Urdu language somewhat increased, but as it had already crystallized itself on the basis of "Khari boli" it did not change materially. It only absorbed new words and idioms, which it continued to do even in later times.

Mahmud Sherani, on the contrary, holds that the Urdu language owes its origin to the first contact of the Muslims and Hindus after the conquest and incorporation of the Punjab and Sind in the Empire of Mahmud of Ghazni (d. 1030 A. D.). In his book, *Punjab men Urdu* (Urdu in the Punjab) he has discussed the structure and the morphology of Urdu and has shown the grammatical affinity which it has with the Punjabi language. It is a challenging book written with scientific thoroughness and precision.

It is true, as Mahmud Sherani has pointed out, that during the occupation of the Punjab by the Ghaznavid rulers for one hundred and seventy years, a large number of Persians, Turks and Afghans poured into the Punjab and settled there. The last rulers of the Ghazni dynasty

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established themselves at Lahore and continued to be there until their rule came to an end. Moreover, many Hindus, such as Sunder, Tilak, Nath and others held high position in the court of Ghazni, and a Hindu army was also stationed there.[1] This close contact of the Persian-speaking and the Punjabi-speaking people, according to Sherani, resulted in the mingling of the two languages which in course of time had far-reaching linguistic consequences. Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji is also of the view that "the language that they (Muslims) adopted was naturally that current in the Punjab."[2]

It seems that some Punjabi (Hindi) words had obtained currency even outside the limits of India. For instance, several *Persian poets* of the Ghaznavid period have employed Punjabi words in their poetry. Hakim Sinai minimizes the difference of language between peoples in one of his *qasidas*. He says: "Without death you cannot attain deliverance from the doubts about the meanings of this and that. Different names have gained currency in the world, otherwise I can swear that there is no difference between *ab* and *pani* or *nan* and *maida*." Similar other examples can also be produced.

'Aufi in *Lubabul-ul-Albab* and Amir Khusrau in *Ghurrat ul-Kamal* affirm that the famous poet, Mas'ud-b-S'ad Salman, who was born in Lahore, wrote in Hindi also besides Arabic and Persian, and has left a *Diwan* in that language.[3] The *Diwan* unfortunately is not extant.

Mas'ud-b-S'ad Salman used Punjabi words and idioms in his poetry and even invented a new poetic form called *Dwazdeh maha* which was definitely in imitation of the Punjabi *baramasah* (Sherani, p. 38).

After the occupation of Delhi by the Ghoris, the Punjabi Muslims and Hindus, who had already become familiar with the Persian language, migrated to Delhi in order to run the administration of the new Government. We know it as a historical fact that Qutbuddin Aibak had annexed Ajmer, Hansi, Meerut, Badaon, Koel, Kanauj, Banaras, Nahrwala Gwalior, Kalanjar, Oudh and Malwa in a very short time. Naturally, it must have required a large number of government functionaries to undertake the work of organizing the administration. Sherani poses the question: Where did these men come from? And answers that they could not have come in large numbers from Afghanistan. They came from Lahore and other parts of north-western India where people had taken to learning the Persian language. This exodus of people on a large scale from Lahore to Delhi influenced the 'Khari boli' or the Hindi spoken in Delhi and its neighbourhood. In course of time the Panjabi words and idioms became interwoven in the Hindi of Delhi and thus a new language came into being.

1. *Tarikhe Baihaqi*.
2. Indo-Aryan and Hindi, p. 167.
3. Khusrau's Introduction to *Ghurrat-ul Kamal*.

A third theory about the origin of Urdu has recently been pro-
nded by Dr. Mas'ud Husain of the Muslim University, Aligarh, in
:h he has sought to prove that the basic language spoken in Delhi at
.ime of the Muslim conquest was Hariani. When Persian was grafted
Iariani, it resulted in the creation of the Urdu language. In course
me the Persian words and idioms were so interwoven with Hariani
the duality of the two languages was annihilated. Dr. Mas'ud
ain has put forward his ideas in the *Maqaddamai Tarikhi Zabani Urdu*
has brilliantly sustained his thesis. His approach, like that of
'ani, is scientific, and characterized by meticulous scholarship and
arch. He does not affirm without producing adequate evidence.
has discussed the grammatical structure of Hariani and Urdu and
based his conclusion on a comparative study of the two languages.
i is certainly an original contribution to explain the origin of the
u language after the publication of Sherani's book.

To me it seems that Delhi was ideally situated for the development
. synthetic language, surrounded as it was by the people speaking
'rent dialects of the Western Apabhramsa. Even before the Muslim
ıpation of Delhi a common language was already fairly advanced in
ourse of evolution. In fact the occupation of the north-western ter-
'y of India by the Ghaznavid rulers must have expedited the process
s evolution. Leaders of thought among the Hindus had set about
.olidating their defences on the political as well as on the spiritual
cultural plane. The epics and the Puranas were expounded in the
ırseni Apabhramsa, and heroic tales were written by the poets of
əeriod to fortify the people psychologically. The itinerant sadhus
ied their message in the same common language which was under-
l all over northern India. The books of the Gorakhpanthis are
ten in this language and are extent even today. They throw a re-
ing light on how the Apabhramsa had emerged into Hindi.[1]

The oldest book of the Hindi language is said to be the *Prithvi Raj*
' of Chand Bardai, the court poet of Prithviraj. In it we find dis-
t traces of the new developments that had taken place in the forma-
of a common language. It contains a large number of Arabic and
ian words which had become current in northern India even before
:onsolidation of the Muslim power in Delhi.

It seems fairly clear that after the Ghori conquest of Delhi, Persian
Punjabi words got interwoven with the language which was spoken
e and which was mixture of 'Khari boli,' Brij, Rajasthani and
iani. Languages do not originate overnight. It must have taken at
t a century to give shape to the new common language of Delhi
ch is called 'Hindawi' or 'Dehlavi' by Amir Khusrau (1255-1325

Pandit Hari Audh, *Hindi Bhasha aur us ke sahitya ka vikas*, p. 164 (quoted by Dr. Mas'ud Husain in his '*Maqaddamai Tarikhi Zabani Urdu*, p. 106.

A.D.) and later Abul Fadl also calls it the 'Dehlavi' language.

Amir Khusrau used 'Hindawi' or the 'Dehlawi' medium in his compositions which he has mentioned in the introduction to his *diwan, Ghurrat-ul Kamal.* In his Hindi couplets and riddles and in his mixed Persian and Hindi poems we get a glimpse of his personality. He was not only an artist who created but one who revealed hidden paths to the imagination. He showed the way for the future development of the Urdu language and its inherent humanism.

In his mixed *ghazals*, Khusrau employs alternate hemistichs in Persian and Hindi, which accounts for the Urdu or the "Dehlavi", language being called "Rekhta" later, which means mingling several things to produce something new. The fashion set by Khusrau of writing mixed poetry was followed by others also. Here are a few examples:—

> Shabane hijran daraz chun zulf o ruze waslat cho 'umr kotah
> Saki piya ko jo main na dekhun to kaise katun andheri ratian.

Sometimes Khusrau uses Hindi words so exquisitely in his Persian verses that their aesthetic effect is greatly heightened. In one of his quatrain he depicts the life-like scene of a Gujari damsel selling curd in the streets of Delhi:—

> Gujri to ke dar husno latafat cho mahi,
> In dege dahi bar sare to chatre shahi,
> Az har do labat shahd o shakar mi rizad,
> Hargah ke gui ke "dahi layo dahi.[1]

Amir Hasan Ala Sijzi is generally known to be a Persian poet of high repute. For the first time his following Hindi *ghazal* of the mixed variety has been brought to light recently. (*Urdu*, October, 1950)

> Har lahza ayad dar dilam dekhunuse tuk jae kar,
> Guyam hikayat hijre khud ba an sanam jiv lae kar.
> An sim tan guyad mara dar kue ma ai chera,
> Mahi sifat tarphun para jo tuk na dekhun jai kar.

Khusrau has stated quite explicitly that he wrote poetry in the Hindawi language. While speaking of his works in the preface to his third *diwan,* he says: "I have scattered among my friends a few chapters of Hindawi poetry also, but I would be content here with a mere mention of this fact." Then he gives a few specimens of his verses capable of being interpreted both in Persian and Hindi.

> Ari Ari hama ba yari ai, marimari barahe mori ai.

This quatrain is in the same strain and is attributed to Khusrau:

Raftam be tamashai kinare jui, didam be labe ab zane hindui.

> Guftam sanama bahi zulfat che buvad,
> Faryad bar award ke dur dur mue.

It seems that Khusrau was proud of his Indian origin and his Hindi

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1. Khusrau's Introduction to the *Ghurratu'l Kamal*, p. 66.

ry. He states: "I am an Indian Turk and can reply to you in Hin- . I have no Egyptian sugar to talk of Arabic".[1]

Again he says: "As I am a parrot of India, ask me something in lawi that I may talk sweetly."[2] It may be that the above verse was posed when Khusrau was taunted and criticized by 'Ubaid, a Persian who attached himself to Muhammad Tughlaq's court when the r was still a prince. 'Ubaid scoffed at Khusrau's idea to equal Ni- Ganjavi in writing *mathnavi*, and described his production as 'a stew ed in Nizami's pot and the foolish self-conceit of an immature m".[3]

There seems to have been a continuous tradition about the existence husrau's Hindi poetry. Taqi Auhadi, author of the *Arafatul 'Ashiqin*, visited the court of Jahangir in 1606 A.D. mentions Khusrau's Hindi ry, and later Mir Taqi Mir in his *Nikatush Sh'ura* states that Khusrau's li songs were very popular in Delhi up to his time.

There is an old legend related by many writers that Khusrau recited ollowing pathetic Hindi verse at the grave of his spiritual master, kh Nizamuddin Auliya:

Gori soi sej par, mukh par dale kes,
Chal khusrau ghar apne, rain bhai chodes.

(The fair one sleeps on the bed with the tresses scattered on her face. husrau, come home now, for night has fallen all over the world).

" My end is now not far off", he is reported to have said, "for the kh had told me that I would not Survive him long". As it happen- e died only a few months after and was buried at the foot of his er's grave. It is said that Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya had desired Khusrau should be buried by his side. "He is the keeper of my ets, and I shall not set foot in Paradise without him. If it were ul in the Shariat, I should have asked you to bury him in the same e with me, so that we two may always remain together".[4]

The genuineness of Khusrau's Hindi poetry has recently been subject- o adverse criticism on linguistic grounds. But the arguments advanced hardly convincing in every case. Sherani's criticism about the iq Bari may be correct, but the intrinsic worth and excellence of r Hindi poetry attributed to Khusrau is such that it can only be the k of a great master. It does not stand to reason to disbelieve the inuous tradition in this regard. If Khusrau did not write it, it must been the creation of some other great mind.

Khusrau was a great representative of the Indo Muslim culture of

Turke Hindustaniam man hindawi guyam jawab, Shakkare misri na daram kaz Arab guyam sukhan. (Khusrau's Introduction to the *Ghurratu'l Kamal*, p. 66.
Cho man tutie hindam ar rast pursi, Za man, hindawi purs to naghz guyam (Khusrau's Introduction to the *Ghurratu'l Kamal*, p. 66.
Ghalat uftad Khusrau ra Ze khami, ke sikba pukht dar dege Nizami.
Khazanai Amira; *Sherul 'Ajam*; Wahid Mirza's *Life and Works of Khusrau*.

the time. In medieval Indian history his all-round personality stands out prominently, unrivalled and unequalled by any of his contemporaries. He is the representative of the whole epoch, so rich in its cultural potentialities. Even his poetic fancy was an incentive to social action, as it gave a direction to the cultural life of that period.

Khusrau, in his *mathnavi, Nuh Siphr*, has stated that the language spoken in his time in and around Delhi was Hindawi: "Now in India every province has a peculiar dialect of its own. There is, for instance, Sindhi, Lahori, Kashmiri, Canarese, Dhur samudri, Tilangi, Gujri, Mabari, Gauri, Bengali and Oudhi. But in Delhi and all around it, the current language is the same Hindawi that has been in use in India from ancient times and has been used for all forms of speech".

The above statement proves beyond any shadow of doubt that by the time of Khusrau, the language spoken in Delhi and its suburbs, had acquired a particular form which was unmistakable to contemporaries. It is also significant that in enumerating the languages of India, he makes no mention of Hariani, Brij and Rajasthani, as they did not enjoy the status of being called regular languages. It was 'Khari boli, or 'Hindawi, which after having absorbed a good deal from other neighbouring dialects, had become the common language of Delhi and its suburbs. Khusrau's Persian *mathnavi Tughlaqnama* contains a phrase which reveals the nature of the Hindawi which he employed:—

"Hay, hay, tir mara" (Oh! he shot the arrow)

Delhi became a great centre of the Sufis after Qutbuddin Bakhtiar Kaki and Hamiduddin Nagauri had established their headquarters there. From the very beginning it was a definite policy of the Ṣufis to employ the Hindawi language for preaching their message of love and equality of men in the sight of God. They had realized that they could not reach the people through Persian, the official language of the Muslim rulers. They found Hindawi to be the most suitable medium for conveying their message to the masses of the people. Shaikh Fariduddin Ganjshakar freely used Hindawi words in his conversation with his disciples. Some of his Hindawi utterances have been preserved by Mir Khurd in the *Siyar'ul Auliya*. He is also said to have devised certain formulas of 'Zikr' (reiteration of God's names) in the Hindawi language which have been mentioned in some books on sufism.[1]

Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya also used to employ Hindawi words during the course of his talks as is noted by the author of the *Fawaid'ul Fuwad*.

After the conquest of the Deccan and Gujarat by 'Alauddin Khilji, the Hindawi language was introduced into these regions. Khwaja Syyid Muhammad Gesu Daraz wrote *Mi'rajal 'Ashiqin*, which is considered to

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1. *Risalat Shaikh Bahauddin* quoted by Maulana Sulaiman Nadvi in the '*Nuqushe, Sulaimani*', p. 41.

.e first prose work in the Hindawi language and which has been edi-y Maulvi 'Abdul Haq Sahib.

Khwaja Muhammad Gesu Daraz established a tradition which later ollowed by his spiritual successors, and thus the foundations of the ani school of the Hindawi language were laid.

Other Sufis of the period who employed Hindawi are Shaikh Hami-in Nagauri, Shaikh Sharfuddin bu 'Ali Qalandar, Shaikh Sirajuddin an, Shaikh Sharfuddin Yahya Muneri, Shah Burhanuddin Gharib, kh 'Abdul Quddus Gangohi, Shah Muhammad Ghaus Gwaliari, Aminuddin A'la and others.

The following exquisite *doha* is attributed to Shah bu 'Ali Qalandar:

Sajan Sakare jainge aur nain marenge roe,
Bidhna aisi kijyo ke bhor kabhu ne hoi.

Shah bu 'Ali Qalandar was the contemporary of Shaikh Nizam-ı Auliya. His *doha* shows that in the early part of the fourteenth ıry the Hindawi language had become an effective medium of :ssion and had acquired all the grace and beauty of a cultured ıage.

Maulvi 'Abdul Haq has given examples of the language used by the Sufis in his brochure *Urdu ke Ibtadai nashwa numa men Sufiaye Kiram 'am* and I need not repeat them here.

One thing to be noted in this connection is that the language of all Sufis, who had settled in different parts of the country, has certain non linguistic features. The metres used by them are mostly Hindi, occasionally Persian. The rhyming of all words, whether of Hindi ·abic or Persian origin, is based on their similarity of sound as they ronounced by the inhabitants of this country. The result of this tice was that even Arabic and Persian words were Indianised and foreign accent was lost In their mystical utterances the Sufi poets freely borrowed from the Indian spiritual and intellectual atmos-e and Indian literary motifs. Their verses are both discursive and al and sometimes in the form of a folk-tale or questions and answers.

In the development of early Urdu or Hindawi, the Bhagat poets also played an important role. The language used by Namdeo, ir, Pipa and Rovidas is hardly different from the one used by the ·, except for the fact that they invariably employed Hindi rhymes metres and borrowed their technical terms from Hindu religion and ıology. As both the Bhagats and the Sufis aimed at reaching the le, they employed the all-India medium available, i. e. the Hindawi ıage with which the people seemed to have been familiar all over :ountry. Namdeo lived in Maharashtra, Kabir hailed from the ·rn districts of Uttar Pradesh, and Nanak belonged to the Punjab, he medium of expression used by them is almost the same with slight es of difference. We know that these Bhagats and Sufis, travelled a t deal all over the country and therefore, they had to adopt a med-that could be understood all over the country.

Kabir is even said to have composed a *ghazal* in the Persian-Arabic metre, the language of which is very much like the developed Urdu of later centuries.

The credit of introducing the Hindawi language in the Deccan goes to Shaikh Burhanuddin Gharib, a disciple of Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya and Hadrat Bande Nawaz Gesudaraz.[1] In later centuries two great centres of the Hindawi language developed after the fall of the Bahmanids, viz., Golconda and Bijapur.

The Qutb Shahi rulers of Golconda not only patronized learning, but wrote poetry themselves. Sultan Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah, whose *diwan* is a voluminous work, was a poet of great merit. His two successors, Muhammad Qutb Shah and 'Abdullah Qutb Shah also wrote poetry in the Deccani style. Other famous poets who were attached to the court of the rulers of Golconda are: Wajhi author of the *Qutb wa Mushtari* in poetry and *Sabras* in prose; Ghawwasi, author of *Saiful Muluk wa Bad'iu'l Jamal* and *Tutinama*; and Ibn-e-Nishati, the author of *Phul ban*.

The 'Adil Shahi Kings of Bijapur were also great patrons of art and poetry. The following poets of eminence flourished under their patronage: Hasan Shawqi, author of *Fath nama*; Muqimi, author of the love poem of *Chandar Badamma Mahyar*; and Rustumi, author of the *mathnavi of 'Khawar Nama'*.

Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II was called "Jagat Guru" on account of his mastery of Indian music. He wrote the famous work on Indian music called *Nauras*. He also made the Deccani Urdu his court language in place of Persian. Under 'Ali 'Adil Shah II, the famous poet of the period, Mulla Nusrati, flourished at Bijapur. He was the author of *'Ali Nama* and *Gulshane 'Ishq*.

The credit of introducing and popularizing the Hindawi language in Gujarat goes to the Sufis of the time. Shaikh Qutb-e-'Alam and Shaikh Ahmad Khattu migrated to Gujarat after the invasion of Timur in 1398. They employed the Hindawi language for communicating their ideas to their disciples and some of their utterances have been preserved in *Mir'ate Sikandari*. In course of time a regular school of literary style developed in Gujarat, known as the 'Gujari' school. Shah 'Ali Muhammad Jiv, author of the *Jawaharu'l Asrar*, Khub Muhammad Chishti, author of *Khub Tarang* and Amin, author of *Yusuf Zuleikha* belonged to Gujarat. Miranji, surnamed Shamsu'l 'Ushshaq and his son, Burhan Janam, originally belonged to Gujarat, but had settled at Bijapur at the invitations of Ibrahim 'Adil Shah. Both father and son have left works in poetry and prose in the Gujari style. Both were Sufis of advanced views with a considerable following in the Deccan and Gujarat.

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1. The Bahmani kings of Gulbarga and Bidar were the first patrons of Urdu in the Deccan. Many poets flourished in their courts among whom Nizami and firoze of Bidar are famous and their works are still preserved. All these poets compiled Diwans of ghazal also. Ghawwasi's diwan is a fine example of this age. [Ed.]

Khub Muhammad Chishti was the most outstanding mystic writer ujarat. Besides *Khub Tarang*, he is the author of several treatises on m. He sometimes gives a Gujrati form to Arabic and Persian words hance their effect. Another work of this author is *Chand Chandan*, h deals with Hindawi and Persian prosody. In his poetry he freely Persian words and metres. He was a contemporary of Akbar, who xed Gujarat in 1572 A.D.

It is illuminating to observe that after the advent of the Mughals on age of Indian history, the Hindawi language acquired greater flexi- and range. Persian words and phrases came into vogue freely; Hindawi of this Period was known as 'Rekhta', or Hindustani and as Urdu. Perfect amity and tolerance between Hindus and Muslims :d to foster the 'Rekhta' or Urdu which represented the principle of in diversity, so marked a feature of Indian life at its best.

is not surprising that Babar with his highly imaginative temperament, aged the phenomenon of unity in diversity to which he has alluded is *Tuzuk*. He once dreamt a dream which he recounted with relish pleasure years afterwards. In his dream he says, he visited a beauti- arden about which he expatiates thus:— "In its different beds the id was covered with flowers in bloom; on the one hand were beds of w flowers in bloom; on the other hand, red flowers in blossom. In places they sprang up in the same bed, mingled together, as if they been flung and scattered abroad. I took my seat on rising ground to the view of all the flower pots. As far as the eye could reach, there flower-gardens of a similar kind."

The dream was not only characteristic of Babar, a man of great c and imaginative capacity, it was also prophetic, and came true in l history. If dreams represent symbolic reality, the springing up of rs of varying colours in the same bed could be nothing else but the ling together of Hindu and Muslim cultures under the aegis of the hals in India.

Babar employed many Urdu words in the text of his *Tuzuk*. He used Urdu verbs in a Turkish metrical composition in his *Diwan*, [1] t which Sir Denison Ross remarks: "I will not discuss here the er and manner of these poems, as I hope on a future occasion to pub- n English translation of the contents of this little book: I cannot, ver, refrain from calling attention now to what is perhaps the most us verse in the collection, namely, which occurs on page 20 of the Here we have the uncommon combination of Turki and Urdu in nd the same line".

Mujh ka na hua kuch hawase manak wa moti,
Faq ahligha bas bu lughu sidar pani wa roti.

According to the *Tarikhi Da'udi* a man recited the following verse before Babar, after his victory at Panipat against Ibrahim Lodhi:

Nausai uper tha battisa, Panipat men bharat disa,
Athain Rajab Sukkarwar, Babar jita Brahim hara.

(Nine hundred, thirty two years were above it,
At Panipat—the land of Bharat.
Eighth Rajab, Friday,
Babur won; Ibrahim vanquished.[1]

Shaikh 'Abdul Haqq Muhaddith, in his *Zadul Muttaqin*, states that his teacher Shaikh 'Abdul Wahhab Muttaqi, who had settled in Mecca, used to deliver his lectures in Arabic for Arab students, in Persian for those who hailed from Persia and Central Asia, and in Hindi for the benefit of Indian students. We know for certain that Shaikh 'Abdul Wahhab taught at Mecca *Hadith* (traditions) and *Tafsir* (exegesis) only to advanced students, and naturally, the standard of his discussions must have been very high indeed, as is testified by Shaikh 'Abdul Haqq himself, who had attended them at Mecca. Now, it is evident from this that in the time of Akbar and Jahangir the development of Urdu had reached a stage when it could readily be made the medium for the expression of the most abstruse intellectual problems.

The literary *genre* of writing mixed *ghazals*, with one hemistich of Persian and another of Hindi, introduced by khusrau and Amir Hasan in the fourteenth century, continued even in the time of Akbar. For instance the following verse is attributed to Mulla Nuri of A'zampur, a friend of Faidi:

Har kas ke khiyanat kunad albatta be tarsad,
Becharai Nuri na Kare hai na dare hai.[2]

Another poet of the same period, Kamaluddin Makhdum S'adi of Kakori, uses the language with which we feel so familiar.

Hamna tuman ko dil diya tum dil liya aur dukh dia,
Ham yeh kiya tum wuh kiya aisi bhali yeh pit hai.

During Akbar's reign, translations were made from Sanskrit works into Persian, and Hindus and Muslims came very close to each other and their social and political contacts deepened as never before. Faidi wrote Hindi couplets and 'Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan excelled in Hindi poetry to which he gave a new metre, shorter and more delicate than the *doha*. It is known in Hindi prosody as 'barva', having a pastoral touch in it. When sung in chorus it creates an exquisite aesthetic effect. Khan Khanan wrote his *Nayika Bheda* in this metre, In it he also made extensive use of Persian words which could be appropriately interwoven in the

1. Quoted by M. A. Ghani in *A History of Persian Language and Literature at the Mughal Court* p. 61.
2. Mir Hasan, *Tazkirai Sh'urai Urdu*, p. 176.

texture of his text. It is interesting to see the aesthetic effect of Sanskrit and Persian words placed side by side in an artistic manner. The language of other works of Khan Khanan is also highly Persianized, but it was understood by those to whom it was addressed.

The impetus given to Hindi literature by the policy of Akbar is remarkable. In his time Tulsi Das wrote his famous *Ram-charit-manas*, popularly known as the *Ramayana*. He was patronized by Raja Man Singh and 'Abdur Rahim Khan Khanan, the two most powerful nobles of Akbar's time. Surdas also flourished at the same time.

Akbar's intimate relations with the Rajputs indirectly helped the development of Urdu. It is said that when the marriage of Jahangir with the daughter of Raja Bhagwan Das was celebrated, the latter gave expression to his feeling of elation and pride in the following verse: "Our daughter is the maid-servant of your palace, and we are slaves. To this Akbar promptly replied: "Your daughter is the queen of our palace, and you are the Sardars.[1]

In the time of Akbar, Raja Todar Mal introduced reforms in the revenue administration which had far-reaching significance. Hitherto, all the accounts had been kept in Hindi, but Raja Todar Mal made it incumbent on all Government officials, high and low, to acquire proficiency in Persian as a condition for promotion and advancement. This indirectly led to the propagation of Urdu all over the country and finally to its standardization in the time of Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb, when the synthetic character of Urdu (Rekhta) acquired a complete form and a greater content and power than previously.

The famous poets of this period who wrote in Urdu are Chander Bhan Brahman, M'uizuddin Musavi Khan, J'afar Zatalli, Mirza 'Abdul Ghani Kashmiri and Mirza Bedil. There is a certain freshness in their diction that is remarkable. They prepared the way for the greatest lyricist of the time, Shamsuddin Wali, who is regarded as the founder of modern Urdu poetry. But the break is not sudden. The language of Chandar Bhan Brahman, Ghani and Bedil is not basically different from that of Wali. Here are a few examples:

Chander Bhan Brahman :

Khuda ne kis shahar andar haman ko lai dala hai,
Na dilber hai, na saqi hai, na shisha hai, na piyala hai.

Ghani:—Dil yun khiyale zulf men phirta hai n'ara zan,
Tarik shab men jaise koi pasban phire.

Bedil:— Jab dil ke astan par 'ishq an kar pukara.
Parde se yar bola, Bedil kahan hai ham hain.

1. M. A. Ghani, *A History of Persian Language and Literature at the Mughal Court*, Part III.

Shamsuddin Wali (1668-1744 A.D.) is most appropriately called the 'Father of *Rekhta*'. Born at Aurangabad, he went to Ahmadabad for his studies at the Madrasah of Maulana Wajihuddin 'Alvi, which drew students from far and near. After his return to Aurangabad he started writing poetry. He visited Delhi in 1700 when he came in contact with Shah S'adullah Gulshan, a famous poet and Sufi of his time, who initiated him in Sufism. Shah S'adullh Gulshan, discerning the poetic talent of his disciple from the Deccan, advised him to introduce the Persian style and Persian subjects into *Rekhta* and to substitute the Delhi idiom for the Deccani which he had hitherto followed. He followed his master's advice and after a few years compiled a *diwan*. Again he went to Delhi in 1722 with his *diwan* which was highly appreciated and his *ghazals* became a craze of the citizens of Delhi.

Wali's poetry is steeped in love. It is sweet and subtle with a strong emotional appeal, written in a style that is chaste, simple and haunting. He has successfully introduced the poetic motifs and imagery of Persian into Urdu. Here are a few examples:—

Pher meri khabar lene wo sayyad na aya,
Shaid ke use hal mera yad na aya.
Yad karna har ghari tujh yar ka,
Hai wazifa mujh dile bimar ka.
Arzue chashma i kauthar nahin
Tishna lab hun sharbate didar ka.
Ab judai na kar khuda sun dar,
Bewafai na kar khuda sun dar.
Ai wali ghaire astanai yar
Jaghasai na kar khuda sun dar.
Muflisi sab bahar khoti hai,
'*Ishq*? ka a'itabar khoti hai.

Wali freely makes use of the Persian *idafat* and *tarkib*, Persian imagery and Persian vocabulary. His approach seems to be quite different from that of Shah Miranji, who employed the metres of Hindi *dohas* and *chaupais* without any hesitation.

The example set by Wali was followed by Abru, Arzu, Hatim, Janjanan Mazhar and others at Delhi, who standardized Urdu prosody. They adopted the Persian expression with discrimination and modelled their own constructions on those of Persian without in anyway violating good taste and the genius of Urdu as an Indian language. Urdu borrowed from Persian its conventions of diction and its poetic form. The *qasida* or laudatory ode, the *ghazal* or love song, the *mathnavi* or narrative poem, the *marthiya* or dirge, the *ruba'i* or quatrain, the *hajv* or satire, all were introduced into Urdu.

The first group of the followers of Wali was followed by the second, which consisted of some great masters like Mir Taqi Mir, Khwaja Mir Dard, Sauda, Mir Soz and then Mushafi and Insha. The last two migrated to Lucknow at the invitation of Nawab Asafad Daulah, who

was keen to establish a separate Lucknow school of Urdu poetry. Among the later poets of renown belonging to the Lucknow school, Atish and Nasikh hold a high place. Mir Anis and Mir Dabir made a departure from the beaten track and composed *marthiyas*, or elegies on the martyrdom of Imam Husain. They refined and polished the Urdu language, vastly enriching its store of vocabulary and construction.

In Delhi, Dhauq, Ghalib and Momin raised the standard of Urdu poetry to a very high level. Ghalib was the first to realize the short comings of Urdu prosody. His approach is original, away from the beaten track, and yet he did not consider it necessary to discard conventional forms. He is a consummate artist who presents a fine synthesis of emotion and intellect in his poetry. Both Ghalib and Momin indulged in Persianization. Some of their verses were written in high-flown Persian, with a sprinkling of Hindi words and idioms here and there. This artificial style was, however, discarded by their disciples who aimed at simplicity and directness of diction.

The Urdu language was enriched from generation to generation, mainly through accumulated wisdom, techinques and cultural traditions. Urdu or Hindawi, as it was known in its early stages, was at once a social product and a means of social contact and communication between Hindus and Muslims. Its development was largely conditioned by the new social *milieu* which was brought about after the advent of the Muslims in northern India. In its growth and development the psychological process of reconciliation and synthesis should be taken into account. This is why it reveals the soul of medieval Indian culture in a more significant manner than even religion and philosophy can do. Through its medium the different sections of Indian society found the way to perfect comprehension of one another.

A mixed language like Urdu could have developed only by the creative activity of imagination that springs from the give and take of the members of society and involves at every stage vital social adjustments. Language is an integrated total experience brought about by the fusion of the individual's feelings and strivings with social values, judgment and experience. Social contacts and cultural relations of a most vital character have governed the achievements of the Urdu language at every stage of its development. The early contact of Hinduism and Islam in northwestern India determined the linguistic technique of Hindawi or Urdu which stood behind all other impulses of civilization. It was deemed to have been the essential condition of social action. It seems to me that in the very early period of Hindu Muslim contact it was well realized by both the parties that their common society could function only in virtue of the linguistic communication that linked its members and their multifarious social and economic activities. It must have involved a great revolution in the very thought-process of the society concerned. Language is so closely related to the thoughts, feelings and actions of men that one cannot change its function without setting in motion further, perhaps

unintended, changes. That is exactly what happened in northern Indiä in the thirteenth century. Linguistic adjustment first brought abou stresses and strains, but in course of time it became the means of cultura co-operation and mutual understanding. The Urdu language, nc doubt, bears throughout indubitable marks of that process of absorption compromise and accomodation which is the keystone of medieval Indiaı thought and history.

SOME ASPECTS OF MODERN IRAN[1]

'ALI ASGHAR HEKMAT[2]

INTRODUCION

Notes on the Geography of Iran.

THE country now known as Iran, or in European languages named as Persia or "Perse" after its southern province, Pars, (which the Arabs called Fars) is a region lying in Middle Asia, bounded on the east by Afghanistan and Pakistan; on the north by Soviet Russia; and on the west by Turkey and Iraq. Its southern boundary is formed by the Persian Gulf. Today, Iran is 650,000 square miles in area.

The country has political frontiers which are well defined in books giving her political geography. There are also the natural frontiers which, from the point of view of the territorial contiguity as well as the ethnic and cultural affinity of the various elements inhabiting the region, constitute the real Iran.

Geographers have defined this plateau of Middle Asia as being bounded on the east by the Indus and the Hindukush mountains; on the north by the Oxus, the Caspian Sea and the Caucasian ranges; and on the west by the Tigris and the Shatt-ul-Arab. Iran has acquired her natural size and expanded to her natural boundaries several times in the course of history, that is, the political frontiers of Iran coincided with her natural borders at some periods of history, as during the Sassanian rule (226 - 651 A. D.), as well as in the early days of the Safavid Empire, founded by Shah Isma'il (1502 A. D.).

At present officially the country has a population of about 20 million. Since no complete census is so far at hand, exact and reliable

1. These articles adapted form lectures delivered under the auspices of Muslim University, Aligarh. They are published here by the courtesy of the Vice-Chancellor. Transliteration according to the pronunciation of Persian alphabet is followed in this article.
2. His Excellencv Dr. 'Ali Asghar Hekmat, Ambassador of Iran in India, is the author of various well-known books like *Jami*, *Amthal-i-Qur'an* etc.

figures are not available. It is nevertheless certain that the population of the country should be more than 20 million people.[1]

The people who constitute these millions of Iranians today are, racially and ethnically, an inter-mixture of the Aryans, i.e., the original inhabitants, the Arabs and a certain percentage of the Turks and the Mongols, who invaded the country later on. Iran suffered many invasions but two of them were the most decisive of all, viz., the Arab invasion (7th Century) and the Mongol invasion (13 century). Several tribes descending from these invaders, who made their advent either from the north-east or the west, are still found in various parts of the country. Some of them have retained until the present day not only their separate entity but also, to some extent, their original languages. Most of them still lead a nomadic life, moving up the hills during the summer and descending to the plains in winter.

The ethnic group, scientifically known as the Iranian group of peoples, is at present scattered over various regions, viz., Iran, Afghanistan, Tajikistan, Turkomanistan, Azerbaijan, Kurdistan and Baluchistan. It belongs to a very ancient stock. All of the said peoples are the inhabitants of the main table-land, called the Iranian Plateau, which has an average height of 4,000 ft. above sea level. Around it are situated the various mountain ranges, the Hindukush, the Elburz, the Caucasian and the Zagros. From the high peaks of these mountains flow a number of rivers which wind their way through beautiful valleys and then die out in the deserts of Lut or Salt, or pour their water into the Caspian Sea, Ouromia etc., or the Persian Gulf.

It was in these beautiful and fertile valleys, having a temperate climate, that the Iranian civilization was born and nurtured.

HISTORY OF IRAN

The inhabitants of the Iranian plateau mostly live in the beautiful valleys and on the hill-sides having a pleasant climate. It is there that they developed their culture. They have a long written history whose continuity has not been broken from the 7th century B.C. to the present day. Beginning with the age of the Medes and Persians, the history of Iran may be divided into two main periods:

1. *The Pre-Islamic Period (708 B.C. to 651 A.D.)*

The chief characteristic of this period is that the culture prevailing during the whole of it was purely Iranian. With the exception of a slight influence left on the culture of this period by the Greeks under Alexander and his Satraps, it did not mingle with any other foreign element.

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1. The official statistics published by the Ministry of the Interior of Iran give an approximate figure of the population of various provinces up to the end of 1950. As there is a possiblity of large numbers having been omitted, the total population is estimated at 20 million.

The political history of this period contains the account of two dynasties which ruled in Iran during this time viz., the Achaemenians (546—330 B.C.) and the Sassanians (226 — 651 A.D.). The period intervening between these two periods was an epoch of feudalism known in history as the Parthian or Ashkanide Age.

The language, the culture and the manners and customs of the people of this Pre-Islamic period belonged to the same old Aryan civilization, a more ancient branch of which had crossed into the Indus valley and reached India. There are, however, evidences of some Semitic influence on it also.

2. *The Post-Islamic Period (652 A.D. to the present time)*

This period begins with the Arab invasion of Iran and the fall of the Sassanian Empire (652 A.D.).

First, it comprised what is known as the Golden Age of Islam, extending from the 7th century to the 13th century A.D. The most prominent feature of this period was the growth of the religious caliphate and the spread of the ideology of Islam, which completely replaced the religion and the culture of ancient Iran.

During this period the Semitic language and culture, which is of the Arabs, mingled with the Iranian languages and culture, brought about a new civilization which continues to the present day.

Secondly, this is the period which coincided with the invasion of Iran by the Tartars who ruled over the country for about two and a half centuries, first under the leadership of Chengiz Khan (1226 A.D.) and his sons and later under Timur the Lame (1405) and his successors. Although these invasions shook the structure of the Islamic organisation and gave it a new colouring, there is little that has remained of the Tartar vocabulary and customs today. On the other hand, Islamic civilization still retains its former vigour and has absorbed completely the hordes of these invaders into her own body.

3. *The Era of National Resurgence (1502 - 1900).*

It was during this period that the Safavid dynasty was founded in Iran and the country was separated from the orthodox Muslim world by her adoption of Shi'ism as the State religion. The founder of this empire was, in fact, the architect of the national renaissance of Iran. The edifice he erected still exists in a part of the Iranian plateau, i.e., the present Iran.

The period, however, witnessed a good deal of chaos and disruption during the 18th century owing to internal clashes and struggles. The people of the eastern part of the plateau, who were racially Aryans, i.e., the Afghans, invaded the West. This caused the appearance on the scene of the last Asian conqueror, Nadir Shah Afshar. His government, however, was soon brought to an end by his assassination. Then the Iranian

plateau was divided into the two kingdoms, Eastern and Western.

The eastern region or the Emarat of Afghanistan, was smaller in size and more thinly populated than the western region or the Kingdom of Iran. Its inhabitants followed the orthodox Islamic faith (Sunnat-ve-Jama'at) but have the same language and literature as their western brethren. A section of them, however, has its own language, namely Pushto.

The western region or Iran, whose area and population have been given above, is possessed of another culture; characteristically her own.

The Qajar dynasty which ruled over this region from 1795 to 1924 was a replica of the Safavides.

4. *The Contemporary Era (1900......)*

This era came into existence in the beginning of the 20th century as a result of the impact of European civilization. The Constitutional Government in Iran and the independent monarchy in Afghanistan are the characteristic features of this era, leading the two countries gradually out of the orbit of medieval society. Both the countries have adopted modern forms of government and more or less up-to-date systems of social life.

Afghanistan became independent in 1919 and the constitution was promulgated in Iran in 1906.

The establishment of the Pahlavi dynasty is the main landmark of this Age. Its founder, the late King Reza Shah Pahlavi (1925-1941) was the Father of modern Iran. He was the pioneer of the present progress of the country which began to undergo the process of modernization under him. Since his abdication in 1941 = 1320H., Iran has had to face various vicissitudes resulting from World War II, but at the same time she continues her march towards progress and prosperity under her constitutional monarchy.

THE SOCIAL CLASSES

Having given the general geographical and historical background, let me say something about the social organization of Iran. In the course of discussing the various classes which have composed the social life of the country for centuries, mention would also be made of the different developments that have affected the lives of these classes and communities.

Each one of these classes is possessed of a long and interesting history and is reminiscent of a culture that has a record of no less than three thousand years. The various classes of Iranian society are analogous to similar classes in equally ancient countries, such as India, China etc. In conformity with the demand of the present civilization, they have made a tremendous progress in the wake of the great upheavals of this epoch

brought about by the discoveries and inventions of modern science. This progress too has been more or less uniform in all the aforesaid ancient countries.

The classes we shall discuss here are the peasants, the tribes, the businessmen, the artisans, the clergy, the women, the religious minorities, labour and the intelligentsia.

We shall begin with the peasants who have been the most important and at the same time the backbone of the country. The political, intellectual and cultural life of the country has always been dependent upon developments taking place in the life of this class.

(a) *The Peasants*

The peasantry of Iran numerically forms the largest section of Iranian society and if the landed class (zamindars) is added to it, they become the strongest element too, serving as the skeleton of society.

Iran has been an agricultural country since time immemorial. At present there are 45 thousand villages,[1] big and small, inhabited by about 15 million[2] persons engaged in farming.

It was only during recent years that owing to the development of industries and the coming into being of the labourer class, a large number of the peasants gave up their ancestral vocations and migrated to the big industrial centres, the cities, particularly in the oil producing areas of Khuzestan. This has resulted in a slight decrease in the rural population.

Though recently there has been a trend towards the mechanization of agricultural methods and the introduction of new implements to a large degree—the spade having been replaced by the tractor—the majority of the peasants, by nature conservative, like their counterparts all the world over, are still accustomed to the ancient methods of tillage, irrigation and harvesting. Moreover, owing to the scarcity of water which, unfortunately, is the greatest handicap in the development of agriculture in Iran, an extensive farming system has not yet been tried in the country.

The Iranian farmers are honest, religious-minded and simple folk. They are contented, truthful and hard-working. The contents of the following "Do-beiti" (double-distich) attributed to Baba Taher (11th century A.D.) truly depicts their lot in their own language:

مکه چون اشتران قانع بخارم　　　جهازم چوب و خرواری بیارم
از این دخل قلیل و خرج سنگین　　　هنوز از روی مالک شرمسارم

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1. According to official statistics there are 42,401 villages, but as the list of the villages lying in remote and border areas has not been completed so far the number of villages has been estimated at 45 thousand.
2. Vide footnote No. (1) op. cit.

Like a camel I am content with thorns;
My saddle is wooden and I carry an ass-load.
Owing to this small income and heavy expense
I am ashamed to face my landlord.

The *Zamindari* system of the Medieval Ages is still more or less prevalent in Iran. The landed classes own thousands of hectares of land. The method of dividing the agricultural produce between the farmer and the landlord differs from place to place but it is divided in general into five shares:

(1) Owner of the land
(2) Owner of the water
(3) Owner of the seed
(4) Owner of the oxen and plough
(5) The peasant who does the manual labour

This is an old system of distributing agricultural profits and it must have prevailed in Iran at least for thousands of years. But modern economic conditions have upset the life of the cultivators. It may, however, be mentioned that compared with the Indian peasant, the average Iranian cultivator has a better living. He is at least possessed of some living accomodation, household effects, cattle, a carpet or two and some gold and silver ornaments for his wife. Yet, the standard of living of the cultivators in Iran is very much lower than that of the other classes.

Recently, however, as a result of the spread of socialistic ideas and doctrines, there has been a movement for the amelioration and uplift of this class. In 1946, a decree was passed which provided the cultivator with an extra 10% of the produce from the landlord's share over and above his own. This amount is credited with the co-operative fund of the village for utilization in development schemes relating to education, health and hygiene, maintenance of roads etc., of the village.

His Majesty the Shah is the biggest landlord of Iran and has inherited numerous villages in Mazendaran, Gorgan, Qazvin, Kerman, Khorassan and in the suburbs of Teheran. His Majesty has, however, taken the initiative in distributing his lands amongst the landless villagers. The deed of conveyance is made over to them on payment of a nominal sum, as the price of the land. It is envisaged that the money thus collected would provide the necessary funds to run a co-operative society for their uplift. On the other hand, the land thus acquired by the farmer would be his hereditary possession.

(In a firman issued with this view His Majesty said:

(نظر بعلاقهٔ خاص و عقیدهٔ راسخی که همواره بتامین آسایش و رفاه حال زارعین و
رعایا داشته و داریم و میل قلبی ما این بوده است که املاک مزروعی اعلیحضرت شاهنشاه

فقید پدر بزرگوار مان که بر طبق قانون بما منتقل شده است بتملك خود زارعین هر حوزه درآید
وهرچند عوائد املاك مزبور تا این تاریخ مطابق فرمان سیم اسفند یکهزار و سیصد و بیست و
هشت بمصرف امور خیریه میرسیده و از این حیث رضایت خاطر ما نیز فراهم بوده است لیکن
چون واگذاری این املاك باقساط طویل المدت و مالك بودن زارعین بیشتر بخیر و صلاح
کشور تشخیص داده میشود بموجب این دستخط مقرمیداریم که املاك مزروعی که بما
انتقال یافته باقساط طویل‌المدت بزارعین واگذار شود .....)

"In view of our deep interest in the welfare of the peasants, it has been our heartfelt desire that the possession of agricultural lands which we have legally inherited from my illustrious father, His late Majesty, should be transferred to the peasants themselves. Although the income of these lands has so far been spent on charitable purposes, yet since the transfer of these lands on long-term instalments to the peasants was considered more beneficial for the country, we hereby appoint and order that our agricultural lands be transferred to the peasants on long-term instalments.......................... .. .."

Since private ownership is one of the recognized principles of Islam, the landlords have so far been able to resist every reform aiming at the abolition of their proprietory rights. However, the movement for village uplift is a strong movement and it is believed that in a few years the land system of the country would undergo a complete change.

At the moment, the Majlis is considering a bill which will provide for the sale of *Khalesa* (State) lands to the farmers.

From the political point of view, the peasantry occupies a key position in parliamentary elections. Since in the remote villages, the landlord enjoys the confidence of the villagers, he is in a position to win the majority of votes in his constituency for himself or his nominee.

The peasants, being zealous Muslims and very conservative in their ideas, are opposed to the spread of Communism and have offered great resistence to it. The Leftist parties have, therefore, been unable to gain any success in the rural areas in spite of all their publicity and propaganda during the last few years. In many cases the farmers have actually fought against the former "Tudeh Party".

(b) *The Tribes*

A class of people akin to the peasantry may be discussed here. They are the tribes, or the nomadic people of Iran, who move *en masse* to cooler places in summer and warmer regions in winter. As they rear flocks and herds of animals, they actually constitute a section of the rural population.

Dudley Stamp in his *World Geography,* which is being taught in some Indian schools, writes about them: "In the mountains the people keep herds of sheep, goats, horses and cattle and wander about from place to

place". From this incomplete and erroneous description the Indian student cannot visualize the full significance of the tribes of Iran.

The Tribes consist of two to three million people[1] who keep herds and move *en masse* to the delightful green hills during summer and to the vast meadows in winter in search of pasture. They live in black tents made of wool. They provide the bulk of the country's cattle wealth and dairy products, such as butter, cheese, curd, ghee etc. The famous horses, which in bygone days were responsible for the victories of the Iranian cavalry, are reared by these tribesmen.

Ethnically, there are two groups of these tribes. One group has an Iranian origin, like the Lurs, the Bakhtiaris and the Kurds; while the other group, consisting of Turks, Arabs, and Turkomans, has descended from the hordes of invaders who settled in the country in the course of history.

The greatest Iranian industry, namely carpet-weaving, which has long been treated as a national art, in fact, belongs to the tribes. Carpets were originally woven in the tribal tents by the womenfolk. However, at present the carpet industry is being transferred to the urban areas where looms have been set up with the help of skilled artisans. Isfahan, Meshed, Kerman, Tabriz and Kashan etc., have developed this industry to its utmost perfection. Nevertheless, the history of this art should be traced back to the tents of the tribes.

The tribesmen have preserved their ancestral customs and traditions and still speak their own local tongues and dialects. The Kurds in western Iran, the Lurs in the central mountains, the Qashqais in the south, the Arabs in the south-west, the Shahsoons in the north-west, the Turkomans in north-eastern Iran are the most important tribes, having their own languages, dialects, manners, customs, folklore, music, dance, beliefs - in short each tribe having a culture of its own. All the tribesmen possess a strong physique and are a handsome and athletic people famous especially for their horsemanship.

Recently, there has been a move to end their nomadic life and some of them have settled down in villages, thus the number of the tribal population is perceptibly on the decrease.

The Government have opened mobile primary schools which accompany the tribes wherever they shift their camps. Also mobile health squads have been provided. On the whole, the healthy climate and the sound life the tribesmen enjoy make them the healthiest element in the whole population. Developed under the bright sun, in open meadows

1. These data have been quoted from the detailed geography of Iran by Prof. Mas'ud Keyhan published in 1932. The author has treated the family (Khanwar) as the unit of tribal population. Since their nomadic life keeps the number of Khanwar fluctuating in any locality, it is almost impossible to fix a correct number of the tribes. Every Khanwar may in average be considered to be composed of man, wife and three children. Thus the tribal population may be wrongly estimated at 402, 886.

and healthy hill-sides, and nourished by wholesome natural food, their physical figure and chivalrous character have always been a subject of lavish praise by poets and epic-writers. The following couplet of one of the later poets, describing his own love, recalls the well-developed and sunburnt bodies of the tribesman:

دلی دارم از دست خوبان شهری   برشته تر از روی صحرانشینان

I have a heart as scorched by the beautiful ones of the city as the faces of the nomads in the wilderness.

It is well known that most of the Iranian cities bear ancient names, such as Rey, Isfahan, Hamadan, Tabriz, Tus, etc., which have appeared prominently even in pre-Islamic records, e.g., Isfahan has been mentioned in the story of "Kawa" the Blacksmith (کاوه آهنگر) in the time of Zahhak and Faridun, which is a legend of the most ancient time of the Pishdadians. Like these cities, the urban classes also have existed since the dawn of Iranian civilization. Later on, they underwent slight and superficial changes owing to the various social and political upheavals in the course of history. Nevertheless, their fundamental structure remains the same as ever.

In the legendary history of Iran the classification of society and the distinction between one class and another are attributed to the mythological king, Jamshid. It was this ancient king who divided society into four classes, (compare: Vedic Varnas) viz.,

1. The Katouziyan or the spiritualist class (like the Brahmins of Vedic Society).
2. The Neissarian or the martial class (the 2nd varna: Kshatriyas).
3. The Nassoudian or the peasantry (the Vaisyas and Sudras: the 3rd and 4th varnas).
4. The Ahnoukhoushan or business men (the Vaisyas and Sudras: the 3rd and 4th varnas).

Firdowsi refers to this grouping when he says:

زهرپیشه ور انجمن گرد کرد   بدین اندرون نیز پنجاه خورد
گروهی که کانوزیان خوانیش   برسم پرستندگان دانیش
صفی بر دگر دست بنشاندند   همی نام نیساریان خواندند
کجا شیرمردان جنگ‌آورند   فروزندهٔ لشکر و کشورند
نسودی سه دیگر گره را شناس   کجا نیست بر کس از ایشان سپاس
بکارند و ورزند و خود بدروند   بگاه خورش سرزنش نشنوند
چهارم که خوانند اهنوخوشی   همان دست ورزان با سرکشی
کجا کارشان همگنان پیشه بود   روانشان همیشه پر اندیشه بود

(In about fifty years he set up a council of all the artisans. There

was first a group of the Katouzians who may be called the "worshippers" (priests). Another group was called the Neissarian (warriors). The third was that of the Nassouddian who were the cultivators. The fourth, called the Ahnou-khoushi group belonged to the class of businessmen. Each of these classes was given a place worthy of itself).[1]

In modern times, however, the classes have adjusted themselves to the various political, industrial and cultural requirements of the day. We shall now discuss each class separately.

(a) *Business men :*

Iranians have been a trading people since time immemorial. The geographical position of the country is such that the main trade route connecting China and India with the Byzantine cities and Rome passed through Iran. So, for many thousand years Iran served as a bridge between the Far East and the West.

Until the 19th century this international highway, linking Asia and Europe together, was extremely flourishing and busy.

From ancient times caravans laden with merchandise used to cross the Iranian plateau either from the Persian Gulf (Port Hormuz) or the Hindu Kush ranges, on their way to Rey, Tabriz, Asia Minor, the Bosphorus or the Mediterranean coast. Classical geographers called this international trade route the "Silk Road", for Chinese silk travelled along it to Greece and Rome. The people who ruled over this highway were called "Tajirs" تاجر (traders) or in pure Persian, the "Bazergans".

(بازرگان)

In his Gulistan,[2] Sa'di relates an anecdote with a trader of the Kish Island, which describes the business methods and the merchandise which was in demand in various world markets, including India and Iran, during the Middle Ages. He says.

بازرگانی را شنیدم که صد و پنجاه شتر بار داشت و چهل و هشت بندهٔ خدمتگار ـ شبی در جزیرهٔ کیش مرا بخدمت خود برد ـ همهٔ شب نیارامید از سخنهای با خسونت گفتن که فلان انبارم بترکستان است و فلان بضاعت بهندوستان و این قباله فلان زمین است و فلان چیز را فلانکس ضمین ـ گاه گفتی خاطر اسکندریه دارم که هوای خوش است و باز گفتی که دریای مغرب مشوش است ـ سعدیا سفری دیگر ماندست اگر آن کرده شود بقیت عمرم بگوشهٔ بنشینم ـ گفتم آن کدام است گفت گوگرد پارسی خواهم بچین بردن که شنیدم قیمتی عظیم دارد و از آنجا کاسه چینی بروم آوردن و دیبای رومی بهند و فولاد هندی بحلب و آبگینه حلبی بیمن و برد یمانی به پارس و از آن پس ترک تجارت کنم و بدکانی بنشینم .

1. Refer *Shahnameh* vol. I. p. 24.
2. *Gulistan*, Sa'di—Teheran.

"I saw a trader (*Bazergan*) who had 150 camel-loads of merchandise and 40 slaves and servants. One night he took me to his room. For the whole night, he took no respite from what was a long account of a certain warehouse of his that was in Turkestan, or a particular merchandise belonging to him in India. He showed me documents pertaining to a certain land and listed the various securities he had invested for different things. Sometimes, he would say that he intended to visit Alexandria, which had a pleasant climate. Next he would give this idea up because the western sea was disturbed. Again he would address me thus: "O Sa'di: I have a journey to undertake and, if it be realised, I would pass the rest of my life in a quiet corner". I inquired which journey it was. He said: "I intend taking Persian sulphur to China as I have heard it would fetch a good price there. Then from China I would carry porcelain to Rome and Roman silk (brocade) to India and Indian steel to Aleppo. From there I would take glass to Yemen and return to Fars with Yemenite stone (ruby). Then I would give up trade and sit in my shop."

The volume of this international trade and the traffic on this universal route, however, decreased in the 19th century owing to the construction of the Suez Canal (1869) on the one hand, and the inauguration of the Trans-Siberian Railway (1891-1905) from the Pacific to the Baltic, on the other. As a result, the highway of trade was diverted away from Iran. It is, nevertheless, interesting to note that with the opening up of modern aerial highways Iran is going to regain her central position between East and West.

Fortunately, the national trade of Iran has now taken an independent shape. During the last fifty years, since the establishment of Constitutional Government, trade and commerce has also developed. The government controls the major imports and exports in the form of government monopolies as in the case of cereals, textiles, etc., or concessions to the various foreign and national companies as in the case of oil and fisheries. According to the official statistics of 1953-54, Iran's import/export trade has been as follows: (Approx. 10 Rls. = Re. 1/—)

Total exports,..................5,761 million rials.
Total imports,................. 5,031 million rials.

The annual export of oil from the country in 1950, before the abolition of the A.I.O.C.'s Concession, was 31,216,508 tons valued at 22,184, 403,000 rials. These figures place Iran amongst the foremost exporters of oil in the world.

The class of people responsible for these flourishing trades possess a special importance in the body politic. The business magnates, especially those who have founded big business concerns or modern industrial establishments or factories, are known as a distinguished sector of society.

The central government of Iran has a Ministry known as the Ministry of "National Economy", previously called the "Commerce Ministry". It looks after the regulation and control of commerce, the allocation of

quotas of commodities and the framing of the trade laws. The Chamber of Commerce of Teheran, established under a special law, has its branches in different cities. It performs all the functions of a chamber of commerce, like anywhere else in the world. The Chamber of Commerce of Teheran is especially remarkable for its possessing a body of enlightened directors.

Iran enjoys close commercial relations with almost all the big countries. The following statistics would give an idea of Iran's trade with some of the leading countries during the year 1953-54:[1] (Approx. 10 Rls. = Re. 1/-)

1. *U.S.S.R.*

Imports from	:	722 million rials.
Exports to	:	689 million rials.

2. *West Germany*

Imports from	:	808 million rials.
Exports to	:	1,120 million rials.

3. *United Kingdom*

Imports from	:	578 million rials.
Exports to	:	255 million rials.

4. *India*

Imports from	:	525 million rials.
Exports to	:	177 million rials.

5. *U.S.A.*

Imports from	:	1,066 million rials.
Exports to	:	641 million rials.

(b) *Artisans.*

In cities and towns there is a particular class consisting of artisans who occupy an important place in society. As in other oriental countries this class has existed in Iran from ancient times and has a historical origin in its civic and cultural life. It is divided into various sub-classes, each having its own name. Some of them have Persian names such as درودگر (hewers of wood), کفشگر (cobblers), آهنگر (blacksmiths), نانوا (bakers), کتابفروش (booksellers), مسگر (tinkers), زرگر (goldsmiths), جواهرفروش

1. See *Commercial Statistics*, Ministry of Finance, 1331.

(jewellers), رنگرز (dyers), etc., others bear Arabic names such as خیاط (tailors), قصاب (butchers), عطار (grocers or perfumers), نجار (carpenters), حجار (sculptors).

Among the artisans, there are certain classes of handicraft workers who have preserved the ancient Iranian arts and industries by adhering to their ancestral professions. Some of them may be named here e.g., the weavers, the engravers, the mosaicists, the book-binders, the goldsmiths, the inlayers, the bricklayers, the plaster moulders, the carpet weavers, etc. Should someone be interested in learning the secret of the old arts and crafts, he may do so by accepting the apprenticeship of some expert artisan who may be found in the small shops of the bazaars of ancient cities like Isfahan, Shiraz, Meshed or Tabriz etc.

The word *Ustad*, currently used as an equivalent for professor, was originally a title given to these artists. It has also found its way into the Arabic vocabulary and is used nearly in the same sense.

The artisans have been conisdered so important that in the First Law of Election, passed in *1325 A.H.*/1907 A.D. provision was made for the election of a Deputy of the artisans from every city to take his seat in the Majlis. Even now the artisans play an important role in the free and direct elections.

According to the official statistics of the Ministry of the Interior (*1329*) A.H./1911 A.D. 288, 738 persons are engaged in industries and 21814 in independent professions.

(c) *The Clergy.*

The religion of the majority of the inhabitants of Iran is Islam. The Shia faith of the Twelve Imamates has been recognized as the State religion under Article I of the Iranian Constitution (Supplement) of 14th Zi-Qa'de 1324 A.H./1906 A.D., which says: "The official religion of Iran shall be Islam and the righteous sect of the Twelve. The King of Iran should be a believer in, and protector of, this faith".

According to Article II, the laws of the country are determined by a board of five top-ranking Shia *'ulama* who judge and certify them through "fatwas" based on the principles of Islam. However, as the country has been gradually progressing towards secularism since 1906, this Article has been more or less defunct.

The principles of *Ijtihad* and *Taqlid* in religious matters are the guiding rules of the Iranian Shias. According to these principles, during the absence of the Imam of the Time (امام عصر) the people have to adhere to and follow one of the religious *'ulema* who should be regarded as the defender of the faith. One of them who is possessed of the highest qualities of scholarship, justice and personal integrity and piety is always recognized as the "leader" (مرجع تقلید). According to a *Hadith:*

"One among the *'ulema* to be the protector of the Faith, to be opposed to his personal lusts and desires and to be obedient to the commands of his Master, it is incumbent upon the people to follow him." The long succession of religious leaders has been unbroken since the middle of the 3rd century A.H., when the twelfth Imam disappeared. Nowadays, there are several *'ulema* who are treated as leaders of the Shias. At present the best-known of them, who has millions of followers not only in Iran but also in Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Pakistan, India and Afghanistan, is Ayatullah Boroudjardi, a great *'Alim* and Sayid dignitary. Though about eighty years old, he personally gives a *fatwa,* a religious decree, on the enquiries of 30 million Shias of the world. His representatives, the *'ulema,* form a distinct class by themselves in all the cities of Iran and elsewhere. They are called the "divines" (روحانيون) or in general terms, the *'ulema,* religious doctors. Each one of them assumes the leadership of the believers in his own district. The same system is to some extent prevalent among the Indian Shias. Formerly, under the theocratic rule. the *'ulema* occupied judicial status as well. They acted as Qazis (judges) and heard legal petitions and passed judgment on them. At present they have no share in the administration of justice and their jurisdiction is limited to religious matters, such as leading the congregational prayers, teaching jurisprudence and exercising general guidance of the public in matters prescribed by the *Shar'a* (religious code) and directing their moral conduct in accordance with the *Sirah* (life) of the Twelve Imams.

The city of Qum, which has a population of 100,000, is considered as one of the sacred cities of Iran, as Hazrat Fatima, daughter of Imam Musa and sister of Imam Reza, the 8th Imam of the Shias, is buried there. After Meshed, where the holy shrine of Hazrat Imam Reza is situated, Qum is the second religious city of Iran and is particularly important owing to the residence there of the present great religious leader, Ayatullah Boroudjardi.

As a result of their influence and prestige among the people, the religious leaders wield considerable political power in all rural and urban instituations and societies. In fact, they command a large political following. Among them there are many scholarly and enlightened persons who are well-conversant with the delicacies, as well as the intricacies, of modern politics. They have passed many a test of their ability to lead the people creditably along the path of progress and prosperity. Therefore, in big cities, the *'ulema* considerably influence the elections to the Majlis (National Assembly) and so they are also respected and held in esteem by the Government. It may, however, be admitted that in contradistinction to this enlightened class there is also a group of *mullas* who still hold conservative ideas and cannot be called progressive.

Nevertheless, the centre of the theological studies of the Shia world is situated in 'Iraq. For the last two or three centuries the top-ranking

ma and spiritual leaders of Iran have migrated to the holy cities of aq viz., Najaf and Karbala, where the shrines of the great Imams, zrat 'Ali and Hazrat Imam Husain, are located. They have settled ere and founded great theological universities. Throughout this long riod and even at present, thousands of young students visit these ices in search of theological knowledge, viz., religious jurisprudence, : principles of religion, commentary on the Qur'an and *Hadith*, i.e., the ditions and sayings relating to the Prophet and the Imams. These itres of theological studies in Iraq are like similar institutions in India Deoband, Lucknow etc.

After a few years' course of study in these institutions the young men ceive the permission of their teachers to practise the religious science d act as *Mujtaheds.* Thus qualified, they return to their own homes to ke up various religious and civil duties such as acting as the Imam of : five prayers, delivering religious discourses, admonitions and sermons, ling *fatwas* (religious decrees), and reading the marriage or seperation mulas, as well as performing the last rites of the dead.

During the recent movement towards the modernization of the coun-, efforts have been made to establish a faculty of Theology and Philo-phy in the University of Teheran where the ancient Islamic studies uld be taught in a modern manner. The faculty was opened in the iiversity in 1934 and is called the College of Intellectual and Tradi-nal Sciences (دانشکدهٔ علوم معقول و منقول). Eminent scholars in these inches of Islamic studies have been put on the staff of the college and y teach the above sciences as well as scholastic theology, metaphysics, gic and philosophy. After passing the various courses of study, the dents are given the degree of B. A. (Theology). According to the ures given in the Annual Number of the official bulletin of the Univer-y of Teheran, 47 students took their degrees in Theology from this llege in 1952.

The Women.

While discussing the various classes of society, it is almost imperative t something should be said about the women also who form a very portant class consisting of more than half the total population of the intry.[1]

As in many other Muslim countries, until a score of years ago the nale class had fallen into complete oblivion and was treated as socially inct. It is now striving hard to acquire its rightful place in society an equal footing with men.

Before the 7th century A. D. women possessed a high social status

1. According to the official statistics of the Ministry of the Interior, there were 94,797,85 women and 92,917,53 men in Iran in 1953, but these figures do not include the population in remote areas.

in the ancient Iranian civilization. Even in the 4th century B. C. we come across the name of a queen, Homa, the daughter of Artaxerxes, who adorned the imperial throne of Iran.

However, during the Mediaeval Ages under the Abbasid caliphs, when the Iranian nation accepted Islam, women went under veils (*purdah*). They were confined within the four walls of harems and seraglios and had very few rights. Throughout that period, a woman rarely distinguished herself as a ruler or in the realm of poetry and art. If we do find a few names mentioned in history, their rise was merely a matter of accident and luck.

From the beginning of the 20th century, owing to the coming into existence of many feminist institutions, education has spread among the women of Iran and a perceptible awakening is noticeable among them. This has resulted in the recognition of equality of rights between men and women in many spheres

In 1937 *purdah* was officially abolished by His late Majesty Reza Shah. It was in the month of February of that year that the late Shah accompanied by the Queen and the Princesses attended the Convocation at a Teheran College and gave away certificates and awards to the graduates of both sexes. From that day *purdah* was on longer compulsory.

The rights of Muslim women recognized in Iran are as follows:

(1) *Abolition of Purdah.*

(2) *Freedom of Education.* Girls in Iran now receive compulsory primary and secondary education and later on study in the university. Some of them have graduated and obtained their doctorates from the University of Teheran. In some cities facilities for co-education are provided up to the fourth standard. Many Iranian women have studied abroad and returned to their motherland with foreign degress.

(3) *Freedom of Profession and Avocation.* Women are now free, like men, to choose a profession or avocation worthy of their education and training. As a matter of fact, they have already entered many professions besides nursing, teaching and medical practice, for which they have a natural aptitude. They have joined many government and private offices as typists, secretaries, translators, interpreters, archivists and book-keepers. Recently some of them have also appeared as legal practitioners.

(4) *Participation in Social Services.* Generous and philanthropic women whole-heartedly participate in the activities of many charitable institutions, such as the Red Lion and Sun Society (Iranian counterpart of the Red Cross), Her Majesty Sorayya Pahlevi Charity Association, the Imperial Society for Social Service etc. These bodies look after the poor and provide relief and offer aid to sufferers from epidemics, famines, fire and other catastrophes. These are presided over by a female member of the Royal Family. Her Majesty Queen Sorayya and Their Royal Highnesses Princess Shams and Princess Ashraf Pahlavi (sisters of the

Shah) take over in turn the administration of the aforesaid bodies and set an example of selfless service for the amelioration of the afflicted and the needy.

The women of Iran have not yet been given franchise and they cannot participate in general elections. However, their social rights, in matters of matrimony, divorce, inheritance, etc., are guaranteed by the civil laws, most of which are framed on Islamic principles.

(e) *The Minorities.*

In Iranian society there are four religious minorities which are recognized under Article 8 of the Constitution. They are (A) the Zoroastrians, (B & C) adherents of the two Christian Churches, and (D) the Jews. The Ministry of the Interior has published census figures from time to time but unfortunately they do not include the population of the remote areas. Allowance has therefore, to be made with regard to these figures.

(A) The Zoroastrians, known in India as Parsees, are descended from the old Iranian stock. After the Islamic conquest of Iran and the supremacy of the Arabs, they preserved their religion and have remained Zoroastrians throughout the last thirteen centuries. In their fire-temples they have kept their sacred fire ever burning and have not discarded their ancient manners, customs, prayers and hymns. Although, unlike the Pahlevi literature of the Indian Parsees, their books have not survived, the principal beliefs of the two are the same. They speak a dialect of their own derived from modern Persian which contains Arabic words, and have forgotten their old Pahlevi language.

The Zoroastrian population nowadays ranges between eight and ten thousand persons,[1] chiefly settled in the villages of Yezd and Kerman. There are, however, many Zoroastrian business men in Teheran and other big cities.

They have the right to elect one Deputy to the Majlis and ever since the Declaration of the Constitution (1324 A.H./1906 A.D.) they have enjoyed complete freedom.[2] In matters relating to civil and criminal laws and trade and commerce, they share equal rights with the Muslims. Also Articles 3 and 4 of the Constitution Act of Education (1329 A.H./1911) make primary education compulsory for all Iranian citizens, giving them freedom to use any method for imparting this education.

1. According to the official statistics published by the Ministry of the Interior in 1329, the following figures are given about the Zoroastrians :

Men	:	4054
Women	:	4396
Total	:	8450

2. See Article 2, article 8 & article 18 of the Constitution.

The Iranian Zoroastrians have acquired a special privilege and significance during recent years and are considered an influential element in the commerce and economy of the country.

Zoroastrian young men and women study in the University with their Muslim brethren and are also called up for the general Conscription Service. Their women also take an active part in the social life of their mother-land.

The Zoroastrian community has inherited from its forefathers such qualities as honesty, trustworthiness and patriotism. Since *Jizyah* was abolished in Iran about a hundred years ago, the community has established contacts with the Parsees of India. Most of them send their sons to Bombay for studies or for doing business. The Indian Parsees too have contributed much towards the welfare and progress of their co-religionists in Iran. There are many schools and hospitals for the community which have been built in Teheran, Yezd and Kerman with the help of donations from Indian Parsees.

(B) *The Christians.* The Iranian Christians belong to two different Churches. One of them is of Armenian origin who are racially Aryans and owe their allegiance to the Orthodox Greek Church. Their original home was south-east of the Black Sea and in Western Azerbaijan. They are akin to the inhabitants of the Soviet Republic of Armenia (Iravan). Later on, they were transferred from Azerbaijan to the interior of Iran at the command of Shah Abbas (d. 1629 A.D.). Then they settled around Isfahan as well as in the interior villages of the province. They are now found in all the big cities of Iran and number about fifty-two thousand. They have preserved their ancestral language, script and religion. Their central Church, situated at Jolfa near Isfahan, is one of the important buildings of the 17th century. They have their own primary and secondary schools and bring out two newspapers in their mother tongue. Also they have a Deputy of their own in the Majlis. They are well known as a brave, enterprising and hardworking people.

(C) *The Assyrian Christians.* They are a semi-Semitic people and belong to the old Nestorian Church. They originally inhabited the lands in the west of the Ouromiah Lake (the lake of Rezaiyeh) up to Van and Erzerum in Western Turkey. During the first World War when the army of the Ottoman Turks occupied western Azerbaijan, thousands of the Assyrians were exiled to 'Iraq. Even now they are scattered in the villages situated at the borders of Azerbaijan. They are mostly scattered in remote areas, of which no census figures are available.

Though culturally they come after the Armenians, they are equally intelligent and keen to receive education. In their villages the Government has founded primary schools for them on modern lines. They elect one Deputy to represent them in the Majlis.

(D) *The Jews.* The Jews came to Iran during the Achaemenian period, after the sacking of Jerusalem in 586 B.C. by Nebuchadnezzar. The story of Artaxerxes's marriage with Astor is recorded in the Old

Testament. They have preserved their religion, manners and customs through the Ashkanian, Sassanian and Muslim periods. They are mostly settled in the southern and central cities of Iran. Since according to their racial traits they are a thrifty and frugal people, engaged in business enterprises, they play an important part in the commercial life of the country. Unfortunately, they are not considered trustworthy and have little spiritual attachment with Iran. As a matter of fact, some of them migrated to Israel when that country came into existence after the First World War.

They have their own schools in Teheran, Hamadan and Isfahàn which are aided by the World-Alliance Israelite centres. Their population has been estimated at fortyone thousand. They have one Deputy in the Majlis.

Since the establishment of the Constitution, their young men receive instruction in the secondary schools and colleges with the Muslims.

(f) *Labour*

The new industrial life has given birth to another class in society, namely the labourer. Since 1930, Iran has been progressing towards industrialization. Modern plants and factories have been set up in Teheran, Isfahan, Mazendaran, Tabriz and other cities. Though compared with the peasantry and the business men, this class is yet very small in size, it has already acquired considerable social importance. They possess well-organized unions and syndicates. The government has recognized some of their rights which are incorporated in the Labour Act, passed in 1328 (Solar) 1948 A.D. The Act makes it essential for the employer to fix the hours of work, not to exceed 48 hours in the week, grant the labourer leave with full wages on Fridays. define the terms of employment, make prompt payment of wages, weekly or fortnightly, and arrange for the safety and health of the labourers in his employ. Reference has to be made to a commission in all cases where a dispute arises between the labourer and his employer. The labourers are authorized to form their syndicates to look after their interests. Similarly, another law makes it compulsory for every employer to insure his employees with an insurance company against accidents occurring in the performance of their assigned duties. In the case of labourers between the ages of twelve and sixteen, the Labour Act of 1328 (Solar) 1948 A.D. prescribes that they are not to work for more than seven hours a week, plus one hour of training.

The labourer has begun to play an important role in the general elections.

(g) *The Intelligentsia*

There is yet another class, characteristic of modern times, called the intelligentsia. This class has come into being as a result of the spread

of education and public instruction and its numbers are constantly on the increase in the cities. Perhaps the thousands who have received secondary and higher education are the chief pillars of the class.

People having independent professions form a part of this class. In recent years they have acquired considerable importance in the body politic. The most important of them are physicians, teachers, legal practitioners, engineers and journalists. The government officials, all of whom belong to this class, have a major share in the formation of the foreign and domestic policies of the government.

The future welfare of the country is in their hands. Possessed of strong character and extensive knowledge, members of this class are in a position to lead the ignorant masses to progress and prosperity.

Truly speaking, if this class does not become a victim of false propaganda, and if it preserves the customs, traditions, manners and beliefs of its forefathers and respects its national culture, it will help in a brilliant future for its motherland. The other classes will necessarily have to follow its lead. If, however, the intelligentsia should be misled and follow a wrong path, the ancient culture of Iran would be faced with a great danger.

(To be Continued)

SOME UNKNOWN QASIDAS OF 'URFI OF SHIRAZ

SAYYID NAI'MUDDIN*

'URFI[1] (d: 999 A.H./1590 A.D.) is in many respects a unique poet in the Persian language. Though born and brought up in Iran he is more appreciated in India (to which he had migrated) and Turkey.[2] Unlike other *qasida*-writers in Persian, this great panegyrist, while praising the kings to the skies, did not lend himself to be treated as a mere bard but claimed equality and even friendship with them. He was, it seems, the first *qasida*-writer to condemn the 'bread-relationship' (تعلق نانی), as he calls it in one of his *qasidas*, given in the following pages, and to claim a 'soul-relationship' (تعلق جانی) with the nobles and kings whom he eulogised.

His poetry is saturated with the courage of his convictions, independence of spirit and love of freedom and high ideals—qualities which are not often seen in the Persian poets in general It is especially the dynamic characteristics of his poetry which make a modern philosopher-poet like Muhammad Iqbal prefer him to Hafiz-i-Shirazi.[3]

1. For an account of 'Urfi's life and critical appreciation of his poetry see Shibli: *Shi'ru'l 'Ajam*, vol. III, pp. 66-107, Anwaru'l Matab'i Lucknow, 1922.
2. Read and admired till the beginning of the present century in Turkey, 'Urfi has been a constant source of inspiration and competition to the Turkish poets who came after him. Nef'i, the greatest Turkish poet of the 17th century, is especially seen vying with him. For a comparative study of these two poets see the present writer's thesis: "*Nef'i and Iranian Poetry*", (unpublished), Ankara University, 1953.
3. زندهٔ از صحبت حافظ گریز   باده زن باعرفی هنگامه خیز

(*Asrar-i-Khudi*, First edition, 1915).

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I had an opportunity to consult many MSS. of *Diwan-i-'Urfi* in Ankara, Istanbul and Konya, while studying his influence on Nef'i, the greatest *qasida*-writer in the Turkish language. I came across many poems of 'Urfi not published in his extant *diwans*.[1]

The prevalent opinion about his compilations is that the verses available belong to the duration of 4 or 5 years, i.e., the period between his arrival in India from Iran and his death here, says Dr. Nazir Ahmad :

اور جب یہ حقیقت سامنے آتی ہے کہ اس کا موجودہ کلام ۴۔۵ سال کی یادگار ہے
تو اس کی عظمت اور بھی دوبالا ہوجاتی ہے۔ [3]

Again

خلاصته الاسعار مین عرفی کے ورود ہند کی تاریخ ۹۹۴ ہجری لکھی ہے۔
اور کچھ دنوں وہ احمد نگر بھی رہا ہے اس لیے یہ مدت پانچ سال سے بقینی کم ہوگی۔ [3]

In fact, 'Urfi has himself spoken of the loss of some of his poetical collections.[4] The *qasidas* reproduced here gain in value as some references contained therein and their style in general suggest that most of them belong to the early period, especially before his arrival in India.[5] Besides, they throw further light on the art and thought of 'Urfi and have added five new names to the list of his *'mamduhs'*.[6] Naturally they make it possible for the 'Urfian scholar to have a glimpse of the poet's life in Iran and especially his search for patrons there.

The style and the spirit of these *qasidas* are strongly suggestive of 'Urfi. Three of them also contain his poetical name. Unfortunately they have no headings and some of them are obviously incomplete. They have been mostly taken from a fine 17th century MS. in possession of Kemal Edib Bey, Lecturer, Ankara University.[7] It has the unique

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1. U'rfi's *qasidas* have been published several times in India. The following are some of the collections known to me :
   (i) *Qasai'd-i 'Urfi*, Matba'-i Maulvi Ghulam Qadir Sahib, Madras, 1266 A.H.
   (ii) *Qasai'd-i 'Urfi*, Newal Kishore, Kanpur, 1876 A.D.
   (iii) *Qasai'd-i 'Urfi*, Shaikh Mubarek 'Ali, Lahore, 1924
   (iv) *Qasai'd i 'Urfi*, Newal Kishore' Lucknow. 1944, Eighth edition.
   (v) *Sharh-i Qasai'd-i 'Urfi* by Sahil Bilgirami, Shaikh Mubarek 'Ali, Lahore, 1945.
2. Nazir Ahmad : *Urdu Adab*, Aligarh, Vol. III, No. 3, p. 82.
3. Ibid, footnote.
4. Shibli: *Shi'rul 'Ajam*, Vol. III. p. 77, Anwarul Matabi', Lucknow, 1922.
5. For the present I am confining myself to 'Urfi's *qasidas* only. Other poems will be given later on. 'Urfi's poetry occasionally suffers from far-fetched metaphors and obscurities. Unfortunately these *qasidas* also are not free from them and hence no attempt has been made to translate them into English.
6. His newly discovered *'mamduhs'* will be discussed later on in a separate article.
7. a) I am indebted to Kemal Edib Bey for kindly allowing me to copy the *qasidas* from his extremely valuable MS. It will be referred to as 'Ke' throughout this article.
   b) In the meantime I have consulted MSS. of the *Diwan-i-'Urfi* belonging to the Bombay University Library, the Mulla Firoz Library, Bombay, and the State Library, Hyderabad but, I did not find any unknown *qasida* in them.

distinction of being the only MS. so far known to me containing the largest collection of 'Urfi's unknown poems. Out of the twenty *qasidas* here given it contains eighteen.

(۱)

زهی نظام ز شرح تو دین و دنیا را [1]
ترا نیابت و شاهی ملک تعالی را

نه انجمست فلک را که از غرور چو گفت
بروی رفعت جاه تو حرف دعوی را

قضا ز فرط غضب برکشیده دندانها
فرونشاند بتارک سپهر اعلی را

قضا بمنع وجود مشابهت شاید
که ضد صورت نوعی کند هیولی را

ببوسه حامله سازد بساط ایوانش
لب غرور فرونسان بزم علوی را

چنین که می سزد او را صفات شایسته
ببین چه حوصله بودست عقل اولی را

که در معامله نسبت الوهیت
نگاه داشته بر لب حدیث آری را

قریب ناشدهٔ عفو او سبه سازد
بتوتیای معاصی دو چشم اعمی را

بصد دلیل که تقدیم ذات از آن عملست
نیافت وهم غلطرو عنان دعوی را

همین دلیل وضاحت بسم که در تاویل
ز من کسی نشنید ست لفظ یعنی را

حسود آن دهدانصاف در بلاغت من
که شیوهٔ عذبی لابد ست خنی را

چنان بشیوهٔ پاکیزگی عبارت من
زفیض نعت نو ثابت نموده دعوی را

که بی و سیلهٔ شرط نکاح و داب وصول
.... در بغل آرد عروس معنی را

(KE. Fol. 1)

(۲)

فریاد که از سوزش دل چشمهٔ اندوه
جوشی زد و برداشت زلب مهر بنان را [2]

تیغی که ز خون جگرم آب ستاند
در کعبه شگافد ز ره امن و امان را

تیغی بگلوئی جگرم بوسه شمارد
کز بوسهٔ [3] لب شانه زند زخم فسان را

1. This may be a 'parallel' to Anwari's *qasida* in the same metre and rhyme:
صبا بسبزه بیاراست باغ دنیارا   نمونه گشت زمین مرغزار عقبی را
p. 14; *Kulliyat-i Nazm-i Anwari*, Newal Kishore, Kanpur, 1897.
2. Cf. Anwari's *qasida* in the same metre and rhyme:
باز این چه جوانی و جمالست جهانرا   وین حال که نو گشت زمین را و زمان را
p. 2, *Kulliyat-i Nazm-i Anwari*.
3. In the MS. بوس

در باغ امیدم شکنند فتنه بهرگام
دست هنرنامیه و پای خزان را

گر عطسه زند در چمن خلد دماغم
از فرط یبوست که دهد طبع جنان را

باجذب نفوذی که شجر داد نصیم
برگ و بر طوبی نپذیرد سیلان را

(KE. Fol. 2.)

(٣)

[1] زهی نسیم سؤال تو موج بخشش شراب
سوال را به لبت گنج برفشانده جواب

لبت عتاب کند کز تو بوسهٔ طلبم
دلم ربودی و جانم نه کرد با تو عتاب

عمق لب صنما تا جدایم از لب تو
همی حسد برد از رشک من عقیق مذاب

چو چهرهٔ توبرون آمد از حجاب دو زلف
برون دوید منجم گرفته اسطرلاب

ز نور عارض تو در لباس پیری رفت
اگر چه بود شب تیره در لباس سباب

فروغ صبح ز دیده نهفته چون سیمرغ
مرا ز ظلمت شب دیده دیدبان غراب [2]

فلک چو روی من از زخم دست نیل اندود
ز اشک دیده بود قطره قطرهٔ سیماب

ستاره چون کف موسی که بر کشید از جیب
مجره همچو طریقش که عبره کرد برآب

همیشه بر رخ مهر من از وفایت زخم
چنانکه بر رخ مهر تو از جفاست نقاب

هوای دلبر جانی همه خطای خطاست
ثنای مجلس عالی همه صواب صواب

رئیس شرق علی ابن جعفر آنکه فزود [3]
بزرگی حسبش را بزرگی انساب

عطای او چو سعادت بود دلیل سحاب
ثنای او چو عبادت بود امید ثواب

یگانهٔ که نه بندد چو تو چهار ارکان
بزیر سایهٔ این خیمهٔ چهار طناب

لقای او عوض نعمت همه اسلاف
بقای او سبب حرمت همه اعقاب

بقدر چرخ قبولش کواکب و اقبال
بجود بحر کلامش جواهر آداب

کشاد بابداگر از کمان همت تو
بهم بدوزد نسرین را خدنگ شهاب *

1. Cf. Khaqani's *qasida* in the same metre and rhyme :
مرا ز هاتف همت رسد بگوشم خطاب کزین رواق طنبی که میرود دریاب
p. 49, *Diwan-i Khaqani*, ed. 'Ali 'Abd al-Rasuli, Teheran, 1316 A. H. (solar).
2. Original دمدبان عراب
3. Original فرود
* *Mujtath*, in the second hemistich of this metre this Zehaf is permissible.

ز بسکه بود به تلخی سرشته باهمه جوع
زمانه مرغ دل دشمنت بکرد کباب

به آفتاب مساوی نهاد رائی ترا
سپهر مست که گامی نه زد براه صواب

زمانه گفت که هان این نه جائی کج بازیست
غلط مساز و زین کج روی عنان بر تاب

بعالمی که نبود مهر رائی او طالع
منجم آورد از آفتاب اسطـرلاب

بکبست رائی وی و رائی جوهر اول
که هرکه بر نهج او برفت نیست مصاب

نه آن که رائی خرد سنج او به طبعست
سبک نموده عنان یا گران نموده رکاب

ره صواب بدرگاه کعبه منتهی است
نه آستان حرم منتهی بـراه صواب

قضا چو دید که روئی جمیلهٔ رایت
شود مشاهده نامحرمان ز بخت حجاب

ز نور باصرهٔ عقل رشته جمع آورد
کز آن قماش سطبری کند ز بهر نقاب

لوامع مه اگر فی المثل فرود آید
بمضجعی که بودبخت دشمن توبخواب

بـروی مـاه مثنی شود سواد کلف
ز غـایت سریـان ظـلام در مهتـاب

گر اهتمام تو صورت گر مثال شود
که جوهرش بود از جشمهٔ عدم سیراب

زقاف حمل پذیرد بگاه بیداری
جمیلهٔ که مصور شود بضمنهٔ خواب

سفینه برسر آبی که قطره قطرهٔ او
به فتنه [1] حامله همچون طبیعت مئی ناب

نه سطح آب روان کشتی از طمع لبریز
مشابهٔ مگسی برهوس بروی شراب

گهی زمام ظلالت گرفته باد نفیض
چنانکه دامن اهل گناه دست عذاب

گهی عنان هدایت فکند باد مراد
چنانکه براتر رهروان صدق و ثواب

سماع همت من در بساط عمان بود
چو رقص شاهد مستی بطبع بادهٔ ناب

بدست راکب امید و پای فارس باس
نه بوسه ریز عنان و نه جهره سای رکاب

(KE. Foll. 3a — 4a)

(۳)

زود تر هستی منعم را فنا غارتگر است
اول آن گنجینه رو بد دزد کش قفل از زرست

تنگ عشان سیه دل را محبت دلکشاست
برشگفتنهای نیلوفر ز مهر انور است

1. Original بفشه

هردلی کو مطمئن تر نور حق به جلوگره
به نماید عکس مه چون آب سوجش کمتراست

نی به مشرب کار دارد معرفت نی باور ع
آتش ایمن بری از هیزم خشک و تر است

در هجوم فتنه پای صبر می باید فشرد
کشتی اندرهول طوفان پاسبانس لنگراست

دودهٔ خاکی بود در سیر انواع صور
آنکه گاهی جسم آهوی حتن گهه عنبراست[1]

چهرهٔ زردست کرده صورت نوعی بدل
آنکه نزد فهم صرافان بی معنی زر است

زینت مرد از هنر باسد نه اطلس کین قماش
گه لباس شاه وگه برگستوان استراست[2]

آدم از معنیست رنگین در غرض صورت بود
صورت رنگین بسی نماس را بر دفتر است

هردلی کو صلب بالطبعست و نرم است بالعرض
نزد ارباب صفادل نیست سنگ مرمر است

شرم باد از ریزهٔ سنگی ترا کز تربیت
تاج شاهان را فزاید زیب ونامش گوهراست

کور باطن را نیفزاید بدل نور از سلوک
چشم اعمی راچه فیض از نوتیائ اعراست(؟)

آنکه استعداد فیضش نیست می ساید اگر
ننگرد مرشد که نیکش بیش باید کمتراست

پشه را گر در شمار صید شهباز آورد
بعد ازآن بیند که صید فربهی یا لاغر است

باید انگشتان عامل را قلم کردن تمام
زانکه هرانگشت او ماری و ناخن نشتراست

عاجزان را دمبدم نشتربدل زآن کژدمت
آنکه درانگشت ارباب قلم انگشتر است

دهر دجالی و در دست فریب او دفیست
کافتاب و مه جلا جل آسمانش چنبر است

پرفریب ساهد دنیا منه دل کاین عجوز
مادر صد بی بکارت کنست ونامش دختراست

نزد معلول زکام از بهر تصحیح مزاج
فضلهٔ حیوان گرامی تر زمشک و عنبراست

(KE. Foll. 7^b — 8^b)

(٥)

سر طبعم از توسنی بر هواست
که سر جشمهٔ آب روی صباست

دلاسنبل و رود (؟) برکن که باز
به اندیشه زارش هوای جر است

مطوق کند باد راگاه سبر
رکابش که خلخال ساق صباست

شکنگیر گردد بگاه سکون
عنانش که زلف عروس هواست

1. In the margin عبهر

2. Original اسر

ترنم به پرواز خای (؟) بود
لبم هرگه از وصف او نغمه زاست

گل جلوه ناچیده از پای او
دیار سکون و مزار صداست

جهد نغمهٔ داستان سنج او
به اوج حسینی زمیدان راست (؟)

بهر جافتد سایه اش تاابد
زمین ذله بند مزاج هو است

ز طغیان سرعت بگاه سکون
عرق خیز تر از جبین حباست

به طبع آشیان تذرو شتاب
بحسن آبروی قبول دعا ست

ز نقش قدم بر کنار صبا
درم ریز تر ز آستین سخا ست

به طی مکان چون نهد گام پیش
قدمهای نسمرده اش از قفاست

اگر می کند مکث در بندوبست
ز آمیزش بوسهای قباست

شنیدم ز اندیشه کارام اوست
محیطی که موجش بدون هواست

میاور علف را که در شیسه زار
دهانش لبالب ز ساخ گیاست

اگر بر نه انگیزد از ره غبار
دگر چشم اندشه بی توتیاست

بهل آب کو چشمهٔ سبر او
دو صد نهر جاری به باغ هواست

به سیرش ندانم که دیدست لیک
به آرام او چشم وهم آشناست

ز میدان غم برنیاید غبار
دمی کش عنان برکف بخت ماست

به باطن دهد علف رعشه را
چو دست سکونش عنان آزماست

نشان سمش خال روی شمال
غبار رهش آشیان هماست

چو بادیست در طی میدان دهر
بده گام در سرحد انتها ست

به سفلی گرائیست حکم فلک
به علوی شتابی تذرو دعاست

در آویز در دست و پایش سپهر
که حبل المتین دوتای دوتاست

بصحرای اندیشه با سیر او
فضا تنگ میدان تر از تنگناست

خرد بانتابش تصور کند
که پیش قدم زیردست قفاست

ز رفتار او چون حکایت رود
نفس را ز باز آمدن صد عناست

بود طبع اندیشه بالا نشین
در نگش چو در بوسهٔ دست و پاست

که پیک عنان و جلوگیر اوست
که اندیشه را دست و پا در حناست

زبس کشش صبا بوسه ریزد به راه
بهر گام صد کوه از و توتیاست

سمند منست آن ولی سیر او
بمیدان پهناور اختفاست

مدیح منست این ولی نقش این
سراسیمه در طاس نرد دعاست

بگامی تواند رسید از عدم
بهستی و این معنی او را هجاست

ولی چون برد پی بشهر وجود
که بخت منش رایض و رهنماست

غم و شادی من که جنس دویم
ز آمیزش نسبت من جداست

چو تاثیر در دم سریع الظهور
چو تصویر صبرم بطی الخفاست

چو حسن هدایت بود پرده سوز
ملالم که از زشتی بخت خاست

منم زیور معنی و زیور لفظ ؟
بدین دعویم این غزل خود گواست

نوید نگاهی که دلجوی ماست
که صد دشنه در آستین صباست

پیامی که امید را زنده کرد
که تابوت یاسم بفردوس فناست

ترنم ندیمست از بزم کیست
تبسم نسیمست باغش کجاست

بکن نو به عرق بدست شراب
ز زهدی که ناموس شید و ریاست

رقم سنج منشور نظم منست
قبولی که هیکل طراز دعاست

جگر گوشهٔ مریم طبع من
عروجش باقصای همم سماست

رسائیش زآن سان که در جنب او
نصیب من از دردو غم نارساست

بد ستوری نفشنبند هوس
که یکرنگی آموز شاه و گداست

زسوی خود و جانب شهر یار
بنوعی که امید را مدعاست

دلم کاتب رقعهای نیاز
لبم منشی نسخهائی سخاست

رقم سنجی نقش همتای او
طلسم زبان بند کلک قضاست

دران مرز و بوم سلامت نصیب
که دارای حفظ تو فرمان رواست

کشانندهٔ اکحل شعله را
بدست اسر نشتر بوریاست

عدو دیده در اجتهاد گریز
که محراب روشن زهر سو قفاست

بقا از بقای تو دریوزه کرد
درین بحث تحصیل حاصل رواست

ز آرائش آموزئ جود تو
سر آرزو باگل مدعاست

چو گلبانگ هیبت زنی برفلک
سهراسیمگی باخط استواست

ز کلک زبان در دهان سکوت
ز رحمت گره در زبان صداست

بگاه تکلم ز تاثیر جود
جوابت ز پیش و سوال از قفاست

KE. ms. Foll. 8b — 10b

(٦)

ز عشوها که درآن چشم فتنه گر گنجد
به سینه درد تو بالبد بیشتر گنجد

به عارضت نظری دارم آرزو اما
خوشادلی که در و تاب آن نظر گنجد

نظر چگونه بپوشم که بانظارهٔ تو
نه لذتیست که آن دردل بشر گنجد

به حیرتم که چرانیست تاب نیم نظر
مرا که نشتر الماس در جگر گنجد

چه آفتی کد بامید نیم عشق ز تو
جهان‌جهان غم وحسرت به سینه در گنجد

ز ذوق نامهٔ حسرت شوم هلاك اگر
گمان برم که به دل حسرتی دگر گنجد

نه آن قدر زغمت گریه آرزو دارم
که آن به حوصلهٔ دید هائی تر گنجد

از آن بگریه برون میکنم ز دل تنگی
که در دلم غم و درد تو بیشتر گنجد

میان عجزمن و ناز او نه پیغامیست
که درمیانه بجز قاصد نظر گنجد

نه لطف او نه به حالی شدم زبی تابی
که لطف دیگروبی تابی دگر گنجد

نگاه کن به تبسم که جای مرهم نیست
بسینهٔ که در و ذوق نیشتر گنجد

نه تاب چاشنیش آورد اگر به مثل
حلاوت لب او در دل شکر گنجد

شکوه مهر تو در تنگنائی سینهٔ من
به عون حوصلهٔ شاه داد گر گنجد

علی موسی جعفر که بیضهٔ گردون
همائی همت او را بزیر پر گنجد

اگر به تاد شکوهش گهر شود سفته
محیط نه فلک اندر دل گهر گنجد

نه تیزئ نظرش نه فلک شود سفته
خیال رمح تو آنرا که در نظر گنجد

ظفر به تیغ تو اول شود هلاك اگر
خیال خصم تو در سینهٔ ظفر گنجد

سزد که لعل فشاند ز فرجهائی مسام
اگر خواص کفت در دل حجر گنجد

ز فیض جود تو در بطن ماکیان شاید
که جای بیضه صد فهای پر گهر گنجد

شکوه عالم ذات ترا ازین چه قصور
که حشمتت بمضبق زمانه در گنجد

بلی ز حوصلهٔ آسمان چه کم گردد
ازین که عکس وی آئینه را یرا (؟) گنجد

اگرچه تحفهٔ کان بخشش یک عطای تونیست
از ویگیر که گاهی بما حضر گنجد

ولی نه محض غلط رفت این سخن حاشا
بمذهب توکی احسان مختصر گنجد

اگر مبصر جاهت نظربخاك كنـد
ز کبریا عجب ار خاك در نظر گنجد

به اجتماع نقیضین اگر دهی فرمان
شرار نار تواند که در مطر گنجد

بود شکوه ترا در دو کون گنجائش
درون بیضه های سپهر اگر گنجد

ز ابر جود تو گر بارور شود مشکل
که مایهٔ ثمراندر دل شجر گنجد

سخن وری توعرفی نه آن محل دارد
که در مدیح شهنشاه بحرو بر گنجد

مدام تانه بود اهل ذوق را باور
که در مذاق حسد لذت هنر گنجد

حسود جاه تو یابد ز شهد طعم شرنگ
به تنگنای تنش تاحیات در گنجد
KE. Foll. 11b — 12b)

(۲)

دولتت را باابد آمیزش ممتاز باد
باز امداد تو اوج لامکان انداز باد

حله افگند آسمان در رقص دامن گیریت
دست اوج لامکان هم آستین انداز باد

میوهٔ انجام پرورد ثمر زار ابد
دولتت را چیده در مهمانی آغاز باد

شاهد حلم توهرجا برفشاند برق حسن
دامن در یوزهٔ تمکین بدست ناز باد

گرتذرو صیت عدلت فی المثل خوابی کند
آشیانش درمیان آشیان باز باد

هرکجا معجز نثار آید رسول رای تو
انفعال آفتابش سایهٔ اعجاز باد

آن اثرها را که طبع آسمان از خود نهفت
لمعهٔ از آفتاب دانشت غماز باد

هرکجادستان بمدح عرش گردد اوج گیر
مسندت را خندهای زیرلب طناز باد

هرکجا دستت کشاید دامن گوهرفریب
از جواهر طبع عرفی آستین داد (؟) باد [1]
KE. Foll. 24b -- 25 a)

1. It may be آستین انداز

(۸)

هرگز از قهرتو بازار سلامت نشکند
کز هجوم فتنه بازار قیامت نشکند

برنیارد هیبت بانگی که در کتم عدم
صدنفس در سینه صبح قیامت نشکند

هیبتت هرگز نه انگیزد ببازی مرکبی
کزنگاهی هرطرف صد فوج هیبت نشکند

گر زلیخا فی المثل دردل در آرد عهداو
آن دل نازك بصد کوه ملامت نشکند

آگهی نازم کزخون شهیدان نهی تو
در گلوئی غمزهٔ خوبان حلاوت نشکند

عهد او گرسایه بر اعراض امراض افگند
رنگ بیمار دل از رخ محبت نشکند

مشکل ار باعون تو مهتاب را دست کتان
قوت بازوی تاثیر محبت نشکند

در هوائی شهر عفونت رخ بردار ملوك [1]
جز بصاف معصیت پرهیز عصمت نشکند

(KE. Foll. 25)

(۹)

وقت آنست که اندیشه پریشان گردد
جهل بر علم برون آید و سلطان گردد

چشم خفاشی شود دیدهٔ خورشید خرد
بسکه مغلوب فروغ رخ جانان گردد

سر اندیشه لگدکوب شود در ره عشق
زهد کافر شود و کفر مسلمان گردد

وقت آنست اگر پرده براندازد بخت
که دل مورچهٔ ملک سلیمان گردد

هر نفس لعبتی از پردهٔ اسرار خرد
زنده در پیش نظرآید و بیجان گردد

خوانی آراسته ایم از نعم هوس وخرد
عشق اگر زود درآید نمک خوان گردد

تربیت یافتگان را زنظر گر فگنند
کفر صد نامه فرود آید و ایمان گردد

(۱۰)

من آن نیم که چونعت نبی کنم بنیاد
رسوم رودکی و بو فراسم آید یاد

بسر قصیده همی چون عروس بنشانم
گزافهائی حلی بسته را بحجلهٔ یاد

گهی مطالب صوفیه را کنم بحری
؟ . . . .

گهی رذایل اخلاق نفس برشمرم
چنان که سبلت ابلیس را کنم برباد

من آن طرازم وگوید خرد که بازاین رشت(؟)
کشود بند نقاب کرشمه در ره باد

1. In the margin سلوك

من آن نوازنم و عقل چهره افروزد
که باز منفذ انبانهٔ گزاف کشاد

پس آن گهی که از آنهایکی کنم انشا
گریز تازه نیندیشم و کنم بنیاد

همین که لب بکشایم بنائی نعت نهم
کجاست فرصت ترتیب آن فسانه و باد

گل خلیل درین باغ زهرمی خندد
دم مسیح درین روضه میرود برباد

کسی نگوید کاین شیوه نیز معمولست
بیارم اینک از اشعار جمله استشهاد

بروی مسنددانش بزیر دامن حرص
بساقصیده کزین دست گفته است استاد

که آن مکابره نامش نهاده آن گوید
مرا شتاب ثنای نبی دهد آن باد

اگر حسود بگوید گزاف سنجیدی
که سر قصیده بیارم تتبع اسناد

بدین که طرزنوئی روئی گوش نادیدست
زسر قصیدگی این داستان نگشت آزاد

عجیب نیست که خودبا خودی بدست افتد
حباب اگر به تتبع کسی دهد برباد

دوم جدل بود آنرا جواب خاموشیست
ولی جواب نخستین حدیث با یدداد

بدین که حرف دل از پیش آرزو برداشت
چه‌شد که هردو به یک بحرشان گذار افتاد

(KE. Foll. 11)

(۱۱)

بیا که دیدهٔ نرگس ز خواب شد بیدار[1]
دماغ غنچه معطر شد از نسیم بهار

ز خاك لاله صبوحی کشان برون آمد
شکست نرگس رعنا به یک پیاله خمار

زسبزه خاك برون کرده رنگ دی ازدل
گرفت دامن صحرا و کوه را زنگار

زبان سوسن آزاده را که شحنه وی
بریده بود برویند ز اعتدال بهار

غریب نیست که چون فاخته شگوفه زبرگ
برآورد پرو در بوستان شود طیار

به عزم طوف چمن برگ لاله و نسرین
بباد پای صبا را شگوفه گشت سوار

کشاد چون دهن تنگ غنچه باد سخن
ببند گو در دکان خویشتن عطار

حباب برسر آب روان بطرف چمن
بود کواکب سیار و چرخ کج رفتار

مگر که شاخ گل سبز طوطی چمنست
که سرخ شد زگل ناشگفته طوطی وار

1. This *qasida* is also found in *Diwan-i-'Urfi* (Ms) no. 44937 preserved in the library of the Faculty of Language, History and Geography, Ankara.

زعکس دیدهٔ خود عندلیب برلب جوی
برای دیدن گل جشم خویش کرد چهار

سحر ز سرخی لاله سواد شام شده
حنانکه شام شود ظاهر از سفق شب تار

هنوز آتش گل بر نکرده اند بباغ
بنفشه همچو مغان بسته برمیان ز نار

بخور خویش در آتش نهاد فصل بهار
در آمد از تف آن در میان خاك بخار

بخار باز برون آمد از مسام زمین
بنفشه گشت دروان سد به جانب بازار

رسید وفت که دهر از نوید مقدم گل
بنوك غنچه برآرد ز پای گلبن خار

صبا به صحن حمن فرش سبزه اندازد
سپیده دم که زند ابر خیمه در گلزار

بنام خسرو گل کرد خطبهٔ خوبی
چو عندلیب بشد بر منابر اشجار

فراز مسند گل سر و سائبان سازد
گل از سراچهٔ خلوت رود بصفهٔ بار

شگوفه خردهٔ سیمین که کرده بود گره
گشاد و برسر گل ریخت بر طریق نثار

زری که غنچه نهان داشت مدتی بچمن
بشکر مقدم گل کرد جمله را ایثار

نمود تازه درخت آتش تجلی گل
هزار بلبل شیدا فتاد موسی وار

ندید تانشد از خویش بلبل از آتش
بغیر هستی او نیست مانع دیدار

بروئ شاهد گل باغبان جه بندی در
که در ببندی اگر سر برآرد از دیوار

عروسی است مگر در حریم باغ امشب
که شاهد جمن از شاخ سبز بسته نگار

سروش مرغ چمن چون سروش غیب شنبد
بگوش زهره چنگی رسید صوت هزار

شگوفه عارض خود ازسپید ساخت سفید
جونو عروس گل از غازه سرخ کرد عذار

گلاب زن بکف از غنچه شاخ تا ریزد
محذرات جمن را گلاب بر رخسار

چه صورتست که صورتگر چمن انگیخت
چه نقشهاست که نقاس صنع کرد نگار

بیا بیا که گل از آتش خلیل شگفت
فتاده سعله در اطراف باغ از گلنار

شگفته از دم باد سحر گل سوری
نماند بر سر از شاخ شگوفه ها آثار

حوبشگفد گل صبح از افق فرو ریزد
شگوفه هائی فلک از ثوابت و سیار

سفید وزرد مه و مهر بر فلک دوگل اند
طفیل بزم خداوند کار ملک گزار

جلیس مسند عزت انیس شاه حسین
که خلق روئ زمین را به اوست استظهار

سپهر معدلت و ابر رحمت آنکه فگند
نهال جور ز بیخ و درخت ظلم از بار

ستون دولت و ملت بعهد او قائم
مدار امن و امان مرجع صغار وکبار

بچشم اهل بصیرت نشان خاتم اوست
سواد مردمک دیدهٔ اولوالابصار

نه رانده است قضا بیحضور او یک حکم
نکرده است فلک بیوقوف او یک کار

به راستکاری او نیست در زمانه کسی
بطبع را ست ترازوی عدل را معیار

ادا رفیع جناب بلند همت و قدر
که هست در نظرت به سپهر بی مقدار

فتاده در سر راه تو آفتاب ز عجز
بظل مرحمت از خاك خود سرش بردار

تو آن کسی که نباشد خسروان جهان
بدربار گاه تو بی سبق آشنائی دربار

ز طاعت تو نماند سر وضیع و شریف
ز خدمت تو ندارد فباد و مبصر عار

زهی مراتب جاه علو منزلت
که از تصورش افکار می شود افگار

نظر بملک کی و تخت جم نینـدازم
اگر بگوشهٔ چشمی نظر کنی یک بار

بـه همعنانئی بخت از همه سرافرازان
ربوده قصب السبق را دربن مضمار

زمانه گرچه بدورت گرفت آرامی
سپهر را ز پس خدمت تو نیست قرار

دمی که آتش قهر تو انتقام کشد
ز پیش تو نگریزد شرر همچو شرار

بحسن خلق و کرم مردوزن شکار تواند
چه مشوی ز پی صید بر سمند سوار

نمی سود ز تو آزرده خاطری هرگز
ز جانب تو بموری نمی رسد آزار

توئی که منبع احسان و معدن جودی
دل تو بحر کرم دست ابر گوهر بار

جهان بناها فصل بهار و موسم گل
رسید و نیست مرا استطاعت آن مقدار

که دست لاله رخی گیرم و بباغ روم
بگوشهٔ بنشینم که خالی از اغیار

بدست خاصه در ایام گل تهی دستی
برآمد از غم آن دود در درون چنار

عجب مدار که در باغ دهر سوسن را
هوائی مدح تو آرد زبانش در گفتار

مسبحان نهانخانهٔ صوامع قدس
پی دعائی تو هستند روز و شب درکار

جماعتی به رکوع‌اند و فرقهٔ بسجود
همی کنند گروهی ستاده استغفار

هلال وار بکنجی فتاده عرقی هم
نهاده روی بخاك و بدیدهٔ خونبار

بقای عمر ترا از خدای می طلبد
پس از دعای صباح و رواح لیل و نهار

نهال باغ حیاتت همیشه باد امین
ز تند باد حوادث مثال گل از خار

بهار عمر تو سر سبز باد چندانی
که دی ز عدل تو گردد مزاج فصل بهار

(*Diwan-i-'Urfi* no. 270, foll. 74b - 75b, Millet Kutubhanesi, Istanbul).

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[1]دلا ز مصحف تسلیم بر کشودم فال
بیار مطهرهٔ ترك و نسخهٔ آمال

لباس بو قلمون را به نیل کش ناکی
روی بخانهٔ طاؤس و بر طرازی بال

بصد هوس کمر سعی کردهٔ رنگین
بساق حوربیخش این مرصعی خلخال

ز ناله ئی بچکد خون اگر چه می طلبی
ز چوب خشک ببازیچه میفرانس نهال

ببین که زاده چه نیکی بود به این منکر
که وضع حمل و زفافش نکیست بکرسوال

به این که نافه ببوی و عطسهٔ بزنی
بخار سینهٔ آه وبکا و ناف غزال

کسی بجامهٔ اطلس چگونه دل بندد
که آستینش بود مژده ریز بر عسال

دلی که پای به ناقوس نفس ماند اورا
کند بناصیه قندیل عرش استقبال

بصدر صفه دل شاهد هوس بنشان
بطاق کعبه صنم برمنه که هست وبال

نوشکل خود بصد آئینه ات مشاهده نیست
چرا ز شاهد قدست هواست عرض جمال

چو شاهباز سلامت همیشه پروازست
به بند و باز مکن کبک خنده را پرو بال

ز چاه طبع برآور مغاك نفس مخواب
روا مدار به یوسف نیابت دجال

نمی کنند در ین صفه می بجام درست
پیاله بر سر خم بشکن و بیار سفال

مچین بساط اقامت به وادئی امید
که هست طبع هیولی مشکل اشکال

بزن لوائی سلامت بعالم تسلیم
که نیست صورت نوعی به هیچ مادهٔ حال

ز روی شاهد ایمان بسوی نیل گناه
که این مگس به دوام نشست گردد خال

که گوید از من مست این حدیث بالبلی
بحسن عجز طرازنده صورت احوال

که آستین دلم چاك و گنج ایمان فاش
بصرفی که بباز یچه می برند اطفال

1. For Anwari's *qasidas* in the same metre and rhyme see *Kulliyat-i Anwari*, Narvalkishore, kanpur 1297 p. 250 and p. 252.

چو از بساط ملامت متاع برچینم
در آن معامله ناموس بایدم دلال

چو در سلامت ایمان ترانهٔ سنجم
در آن مطایبه ناقوس را کنم نزال

یکیست شکل وجود و عدم درین آیت
چو نزد علم احد حکم حال و استقبال

ز کعبه تافته رو میروی و آن در و بام
دواندت باثر نامهٔ نعال تعال

تو خواه مدفن خود کعبه ساز و خواهی دیر
که کرده جائی تو خالی فرشتهٔ نقال

بنوش هرچه بجامت کنند و دم درکش
مبین که درد کدامست یا کراست زلال

بنوش جام و لبالب بنوش و گرم بنوش
بود که مستیت آرد بآستان وصال

مرو بکعبه که مشاطگان بر آرایند
برنگ بوی ربا حسن شاهد افعال

بیا بدیر و بنه روی عجز بر در صدف
که در حجاب معانیست صورت اعمال

جماعتی بنگر در لباس کفر ولی
صنم شکن همگی بالغدو والآصال

ز نغمه سنجی ناقوس حجله مست سماع
ولی بدعوی تکمیل دین و حسن مآل

لباس کعبه دهد جبرئیلشان بر دوش
"زننگ کسوت و صورت بری چوفرض محال

بعلم آئینه دار معلم اول
بذهن مصلحت آموز جوهر فعال

جنیبت و علم کفر پیش پیش ولی
دوان به ناصبه ایمان چو سایه در دنبال

بکام شاهد معنی درون چو لذت حسن
بچشم عاشق صورت عیان چو رنگ جمال

بنوش باده بذوق که کم شوند عیان
که نوش نوش برآرند یا حلال حلال

بنوش بادهٔ لعلی که لاله سان ز سرت
خیال چشم ترا خیل عشوه در دنبال

زهی بجلوهٔ قدتو خون فتنه حلال
خیال چشم ترا خیل عشوه در دنبال

نبود یوسف مصری مثل به حسن که بود
ز تو در آئینه زمانه مثال (؟)

بود ز فتنهٔ عسمت شراب غصه به من
چو خون اهل محبت به غمزهٔ تو حلال

زهی ز شهد ملالت گلوی جان شیرین
چو لعل او ز تبسم چو کام او ز وصال

بیا بدیده نشین تا درش فراز کنم
که دل ز شوق تسلی نمیشود به خیال

نمی کنم ز خیال تو شرم و می گویم
تو خود بیا که تسلی نمی شوم به خیال

ز لطفهائی نهانی رقیب مستغنی
چو حسن او ز تصرف حوعشق من زملال

طبیعت که ویبجاده را مبدل یافت
کسی که روی ترادید و آستان و صال

همبنه بندگی این دود برمن افشاند (؟)
که بر تو نسبت همجو منی مباد حلال

بجان دوست که دشمن ز دوستی دورست
چو کینهٔ تو ز نقصان چومهرمن ز زوال

جو دست غیرتم آئنه دار او گردد
ز رشک خود نه کشاید نظر برآن تمثال

چو پیش در به رسی روبه آستانه منه
بدون رخصت کرسی نشین عرش جلال

شهی که مایدهٔ کن فکان کف رادش
به نیم لقمه در افگند در دهان سوال

نموده قبض ضمیرش باعمی فطـــری
ز پردهٔ دل قوت مادر افعـــال

نسیم لطفش اگر بیشتر شود شاید
کد واز گوده نماید هیاکل تمثال

زهی محال که باحکم نافذ مفعت (؟)
شود مسام هوا منفــذ نسیم شهال

هنوز در رحم کن نه بود شکل وجود
که مهد جاه تو آراست دایهٔ اقبال

بحیرتم که چه حالت کند ادا ابـزد
کز آن زیاده شود در طبعت تو کهال

از آن بشاهد دنیا طراز حسن ابد
عطـــا نکرد حکیم محول احوال

که همتت چو ازین تنگنا ملول شــود
از آن ز دامنش افشاند این غبار ملال

اگر بـه دامـهٔ عمر حسودت آویـزد
خلاف قاعده کوته شود چو شمع نهال

اگـر بـه نوك سنانت وزد صبا شایـد
که شکل سایه رباید ز سطح آب زلال

دمی که صرفی رای او چه زر سنجد
که آفتاب بـود در تـرازوئ مثقـال

پی شمردن احسان اوست در حـرکت
اصابع شب و روز و انامل مه و سال

بدان مشابه در ایام عـدل او گردبـد
طباع ظـالم و مظلوم منقلب احـوال

کد در مشیمهٔ ارحـام سبرو آهـورا
شود بحکم طبیعت بدل سم و چنگال

کسی که تب کند از رشک رای روشن تو
ز آفتاب برون آورد لبش بتخـال

ز بسکه چتر ضمیرت ز قبه عکس افگند
صد آفتاب چو طاؤس دارد از دنبال

چنان بچشم و زبان آشناست گفتهٔ من
که نانوشته توان خواند از صحیفهٔ حال

اگر عدوی تو بر وی نشسته بگریزد
بود سوار اجـل تاقیامت از دنبال

(KE. Foll. 97—100)

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مطلع دیوان معنی بر زبان آورده ام
عقل اول (را) برادن تحسین نشان آورده ام

ز نهال دل ده ناخن گمری باد مسیح
داسمین را در لباس ارغوان آورده ام

نمه نو هر نفس می زاید از دستان طبع
بلبل پر بیضهٔ با آشیان آورده ام

نگد سنبهای طبعم گنج ریز معنی است
جشمه مهتاب از باغ کتان آورده ام

ننه لب می آیم از خمخانهٔ معنی ولی
دامن خمیازه را در میکسان آورده ام

رق آورده ام در لجهٔ طبع سلیم
کشتی ز نفس مطمئنه باد بان آورده ام

که فوج دوسه از هرسو فرستم حمله ریز
شاهدان ملک معنی را بجان آورده ام

ر بهشتی سوه کز باغ طبیعت چیده ام
انوری را آب حسرت در دهان آورده ام

اتم معنی منم هان تنگ دستان را صله
بر مراد خاطر در یوزه خوان آورده ام

غلط رفتم دم انصاف بردارم به لاف
انوری لعل و گهر من بحروکان آورده ام

ته دریای معنی در و مرجان گنج گنج
بهر گوش و گردن روحانیان آورده ام

ور کسی گوید نیاوردی در یکدانهٔ
گویم اشک خویشتن را بر کران آورده ام

نغمها بر چیده ام از سینهٔ مرغان دوست
از خموشی زار برگ داستان آورده ام

دامن سمع و بصررا مژده کز گلزار عشق
چشم گلریز و لب گوهر فشان آورده ام

رشته دردی که لذت می دواند بر تمر
از ته دل درسر شاخ زبان آورده ام

تحفهٔ لب تشنگان معنی از داغ درون
هر نفس صد چشمهٔ رطب اللسان آورده ام

بهر آتش گاه عشق از تار و پود جان وتن
دامنی خاشاك و مشتی استخوان آورده ام

کرده ام رو در حریم کعبه از دیرمغان
آبروی سجده را زان آستان آورده ام

کرده ام بزمردگی را خندهٔ تسلیم ریز
نوبهار تازه روی در خزان آورده ام

(KE. Foll. 98b — 101b)

(۱۴)

[1] گرچه از ارزش فزون افتاده یکتا گوهرم
دمع همت دست بازی می کند با گوهرم

در نثار آفرینش در نگاهم ولی
کس نمی گوید سفالم درمان با گوهرم

1. Both Khaqani and Anwari have composed *qasidas* in this metre and rhym *Diwan-i Khaqani* ed. 'Ali Abd Al-Rasuli, Teheran, p. 259; *Kulliyat-i Anwari*, p. 3c Newal Kishore, Lucknow

آفتاب از تنگ دستی رو نمائی می دهد
گر بچشم معرفت بیند مسیحا گوهرم

شاید ار نام ید بیضا فراموشش شود
گر شعاعی افگند بردست موسی گوهرم

سیغ جیحون گریه ام یعنی سراسر قطره ام
نبغ قدسی جوهرم یعنی سراپا گوهرم

ز ان سبب آئینه معنی دهر سو چیده ام
تا ز حسن خود شود مست تماشا گوهرم

با شراب صبحدم همرنگم اما چشمه ام
با سفال آسمان همدوشم اما گوهرم

آفتاب اندوده بر پیشانی خود پردوم
مشتری بر بسته بر طرف مصلا گوهرم

نقش بند صنع گیرد سایهٔ سحتم بوام
گر به چشم مردمان سازد سی گوهرم

هر سر موئم به والا گوهری خوشتن
میخورد سوگند هرساعت که والا گوهرم

دردوعالم قیمت من نیست دورست ابن سخن
ابنقدر گویم که انیجا خاك و آنجا گوهرم

(KE. Foll. 102a)

(۱۵)

مثل زدند حکیمان به روزگار قدیم
که تا گزیر بود مرحکیم را ز کریم

من آن مثل سرا[1] تسلیم کردم و گفتم
حکیم راز کریم و کریم راز حکیم

حکیم وار چو تسلیم من درست آید
کریم وار ز من زین دین کنی تسلیم

که من مراورا ام[2] مداحم او مرا ممدوح
فریضه برمن و بروی مدیح و برگ نعیم

مرا مشرف دارد به خلعت و تشریف
چو آستانش ببوسم به حرمت و تعظیم

به زر و سیم خریدار شعرمن باشند
که آرزو در و درج درو زرو سیم (؟)

ثنائی مجلس میمون او به هر محفل
ادا کنم به زبان فصیح و طبع سلیم

از آنکه مهتر و مخدوم من نکو داند
به نظم و نثر حدیث صحیح را ز سقیم

درون نافهٔ آهو شود چو خلق ورا
صفت کنم بمو نسیم اگر به نفس نسیم

به روز و شب سه قلم کبر من که نفس کنند
سر مخاطبهٔ آن کریم هفت اقلیم

اسر مفضل و مکرم جهال اهل قلم
سزائی اهل سخا و عریض فضل عمیم

محمد ابن سمعیل آنکه یافت زحق
جمال حسن سمعیل و خوی ابراهیم

وجود چون چه زسرم ز پائی اسمعیل
پدید شد ز کفش بحر قلزم و را میم

به جای دست سخا گستر و عطادهٔ او
سحاب سفله بود کان بخیل و بحرلئیم

1. Ms. را
2. Ms. که من مراورامداحم

ز فضل صاحب عباد و جود حاتم طئی
مثل زدند حکمان هوشیار و فهیم
(KE. Foll. 102[b] -- 103[a])

(١٦)

ای راز دار وحی که آرد ز احترام
روح الامنت از حرم ایزدی سلام

در عرش جلوهٔ نو بغیس جائز نبست
آید برهنه پای بردانست حرام (؟)

آید ز عرش نغمهٔ لبیک ناابد
گر بگ رهش بسهو برد مسند نو نام

عهد قدیم را به عدم دست می دهد
از شوق وصل ساهد عصر تو احتلام

از بسکه هر طرف متحرك نگاشته
شاهین وباز در طیران کلک خوش خرام ؟

هردم بقصد آن که بصیدش کنند میل
روح ملک حلول کنند درتن حمام

گرلا جورد و زر به مثل بهر ز ینتش
گیرند از ضیا و ستانند از ظلام

از نور و سایه نسته شود لوح کائنات
ماند هنوز حاشیهٔ غرفه ناتمام

جبریل از و به گاه فرو آمدن رسید
در موضعی به طرح که آن عرش داشت نام

پرسید کین محل چه واین خود چه طرحهاست
گفتند روضهٔ که تو هستیش مرغ بام

اول قضا نهاد اساسش درین محل
جوپست بافت جائی وی ادن هست ناتمام

این روضهٔ کسی که برآمیزد از غضب
گاه عناب عنبر و کافور صبح و شام

وی کز نظر شد آن صنم آفتاب نام
مساطهٔ زمانه نبار است وقت سام

صد عشق می نمود درآن زلف گفتمی
کز دیدهائی حور سیاهی نموده وام

نی نی که دام زلف به هرسو فگنده بود
دامی که طائران حواس آورد به دام

با آنکه در شریعت اهل شعور هست
مانند طائران حرم صید شان حرام
(KE. Foll. 105[a] — 105[b])

(١٧)

[1]زهی همای جلال نو در قدم یزدان
برنسهٔ طیران بسته بالش از طیران

نگاه مدعی از حمله نو ناقته رو
جوناوکی که بود راست روبسوی نشان

[2]جنان ننشسته بچشمش وزآن برون جسته
که مرگ بر اثر خویش دیده گرم عنان

1. Cf. Anwari's *Qasidas* in the same metre and rhyme:
نماز شام جو خورشید گنبد گردان   ز کوه رفت فرود و ز چشم گشت نهان
Kulliyat-i Anwari, Naval-kishore, 1897, p. 325.
2. Original جنان ـ بخشمش

ز بهر آن که بدر یوزهٔ جلال آرد
فلک ز حوصله لبریز می کند داماں

مرا به عالم اشباح گفت افلاطون
که همعنان وجوبست در زمان امکان

تقدمی که مسلم بود بنوع وجوب
ز روی نسبت ذاتست نی زراه زمان

وگر قبول نه داری به رغم اهل کلام
ده صد دلیل کنم اول این برهان

که سایهٔ در اثر ذات می رودهان کی
عنان فیض نگهداشت سایهٔ یزدان

صد آفتاب فشارم بدست اندیشه
که در ورائی تو جمع آرم از جکمدهٔ آن

چه حالتست که در عالم سیاست دو
بود به طبع ز مسنان عدیل تابستان

اگر به طبع نباتات غیرتش بودی
حنا ز شرم بنستی به پنجهٔ مرجان

به گلشن سخنم در بهار مدحت تو
طبیعت آید و گل چیند از نهال زبان

نسیم بانگ تو جوهرفشان ز روی حسام
هوای گرز تو تیزی شکن به نوک سنان

(KE. Foll. 101a — 102a)

(۱۸)

[1] مژدگانی کامد از عرش برین در گوش جان
خطبهٔ شاهی بنام خسرو صاحبقران

در جناح نسر طائر بسته اینک می برد
استمالت نامه سوی ساکنان آسمان

پیک زرین رنگ مهر اینک ز سر کرده قدم
تا برد پروانه اس از شرق تا غرب جهان

مشتری ومه براین فیروزه منظر می روند
برسر حکم و نشانش سم ریزو زرفشان

فرص مه ضراب دار الضرب دور اینک شکست
تا بنام او زر سکه در آرد درمان

اطلس افلاك پیچیدند برهم تارنند
در فراز بام ایوان جلالش سایه بان

میدوند اینک مه و خورشید درپست و بلند
مژدگانی در ده نزد غربیان و شرقیان

میروند اینک به پائی قصر جاهش هر قدم
سر فرو داران مبارکباد گویان قدسیان

میبرند اینک ملایک کرسی عرش برین
تا نشیند در فرازش داور دارا نشان

شاه اسمعیل ثانی کامد از روز ازل
آفرینش در سر خوان نوالش میهمان

1. Cf. Khaqani's *Qasidas* in the same metre and rhyme:

الامان ای دل که وحشت زحمت آورد الامان   زین مغیلا نگاه غولان برکران شو برکران

p. 331, *Diwan-i Khaqani*; Ed. by 'Ali Abdur Rasul, Teheran 1316 (Solar)

بیضهٔ گردون چو عمر دشمنش گردد تباه
طائر حفظش اگر بر خیزد از بالائی آن

ارقم چرخ از هراس انتقام قهراو
تا ابد برخویشن می پیچد چوساخ خیزران

گر نسیم لطف او در باغ فطرت بگذرد
رخت بربندد تفاوت از میان جسم و جان

سر نیاوروی برون از غرفه صبح آفتاب
گر ضمیرش سربرآوردی ز جیب آسمان

گر نمی دوزد بقد کبریائی او لباس
ورنمی بندد فلک در خدمت قدرش میان

قرص زرین مه بدر از چه روپیوسته است
ز رگر نقدبر برسمس اطاق کهکشان (؟)

وزچه روخیاط صبح افگند برطرح برش
جا کها بر اطلس فیروزه فام آسمان

کوه حلمش گرشود در آسمان لنگر فگن
سخص عزمش گر کنند خنگ فلک در زیرآن

لنگر گردون برون آرد زمین را بی وقار
سرعت غبرا رباید گوئی سیر از آسمان

در زمانش قاضی عدلش ز عین اعتماد
دو نبود گر کند جان آفرین انس و جان

حشر خلق اولین و آخرین تا او کند
پرسش یوم القیام امروز در دار جهان

گر زمین را بر گرفتی رفعت قدرش زخاک
ورسدی بخت هایش رهنمائی آسمان

آسمان رفتی بزیر دامن تحت الثری
سر برآوردی براوج لامکان این خاکدان

در مصافی کز تو خیزد القتال و القتال
وز صف دشمن برآید الامان و الامان

تا زبان نکشاید از بهرشفاعت پیش تو
نیزه را بتخالهٔ برچم سود عقد اللسان

روز هیجایش که از سم ستور لشکرش
سربسر گردد زمین گردد رود بر آسمان

اطلس گردون شود پوسیده از تاثیر خاک
گر بیفشانند فراشان بسرمت گردآن

ای که ازروی غضب گرحمله بردور آوری
از سر روز قیامت در جهد شخص امان

آسمان گوئیست از میدان قدرش کزازل
درکوی افتاده می گردد زضرب صولجان

در عبادتخانهٔ بخت تو تا روز جزا
صبح درسبب زنده داری شام درخواب گران

(KE. Foll. 97^b -- 98^b)

(۱۹)

[1]تا اختراع امر نو آسان برون برد
ایام سبعه برگ تداخل ببیم آن

1. Khaqani has written many *qasidas* in this metre and rhyme: *Diwan*, Teheran, pp. 314, 317, 320, 334.

دردا که سوخت تشنگی زخم اعتماد
از بس مکیدم آب لب تیغ امتحان

با امتناع نهی تو ز استادن فلک
ناید مرور از منه را فصل درمیان

درجست و جوی ساحل دریای همتت
اندیشه رو نهاد باطراف لامکان

عقل محل شناس ممانتش گرفت و گفت
بر تاب روکه بیم سراسیمگیست هان

صنع ازل که صاحب علم سیاحتست
دارد نشان ساحل این بحر از ممان

از موج رعشه محو شود معنی سکون
آنجا که هیبت تو زند بانگ بر زمان

بر چینند آفتاب ز ره و سمند و کلاه
آنجا که دولت تو رود آستین فشان

آنجا که دست نهی تو سیلی فشان شود
آنجا که سعی امر تو باشد ملک نشان

بر چهرهٔ دعا سکند گونهٔ اثر
در سینهٔ هلاك بود مسند روان

در بدو کائنات که میکرد کرد گار
اندازهٔ حواله به هر باغ و بوستان

باغ مطالب تو و اعدا ز هرجهت
بنمود صنع را وهمین گفت کای فلان

اینجا بباد بوسهٔ لب غنچه میکشا
وانجا گیاه میکن و الماس مغشان

کافور را کبود کند سایهٔ رکاب
اندیشه را زباد کند آتشی عنان

وتحت زبیم معتکف سایهٔ علم
نصرت ز سهم تیر نی و گوشهٔ کمان

هم سینها فگار کند نالهٔ خدنگ
هم نالهای تلخ کشد سینهٔ کمان

اعمال فتنه را نفس عجز رعشه ناك
سلطان مرگ را لب زنهار خون چکان

از جیب عشق را زکشد خدعهٔ خدنگ
و ز دام حسن دل ببرد غمزهٔ کمان

سهم غضب ز ربر بر انگیزد از دمم
برق عتاب لاله فروشد به زعفران

تیغ تو شام را سترد ظلمت از جبین
گرز تو صبح را شکند خنده در دهان

آن لحظ کرنه سبز ز آب ظفر شود
تیغت که هست تشنه به خون مبارزان

از کثرت جواهر ارواح اهل رزم
افتد هزار چاك به صندوق آسمان

در گرمئی عتاب تو از تاب تشنگی
تیغ از دهان معرکه بیرون کند زبان

دل در بر امید بمیرد ز القتال
خون در عروق یاس بجوشد ز الامان

اوراق تن به جلد کتاب فنا رود
شیرازه را به کار شود رشتهای جان

(KE. Foll. 103^a — 103^b)

(۲۰)

[1]بهار رفت و خزان آمد و گذشت جوانی
مرا هنوز به آن گل هزار دل نگرانی

اگرچه پر شدم از غم تو خوش گذراندم
بصحبت سگ کوئی تو روزگار جوانی

ترا که می گذرد بر مراد دل همه کامی
زتلخکامی عشاق نامراد چه دانی

[2]چو کهربا شده ام ز آرزوی روی تونک ره
تباب برمن دلخسته ای سهیل یمانی

من از عنان تو یکدم چو گرد روی نو نگردم
ز پیش راه خودم گر هزار بار برانی

شبی که روی بر آن آستان نهم بگذارم
ز خون دیده بر آن فرش آستانه نشانی

چنان بدیع جمالی که در مسائل حسنت
زبان ناطقه لالست در بیان معانی

ز آب و گل نه بود هد عارضی که تو داری
نهال باغ بهشتی بهار عالم جانی

مرا که بیتو بجان است کار حال چه گویم
بیان عشق ترا کی کند حدیث زبانی

در انتظار توای باد صبح چشم به راهم
کز آن دیار نسیمی به این دیار رسانی

بیا که رفت گل از باغ [3] دهر وقت خزان شد
کجاست آتش ز ردشتی و شراب مغانی

رسید لشکروی [4] برشکست رونق بستان
بغیر سرو ز غارت نیافت خط امانی

فگند سهم وی از دست بید خنجر زرین
فتاد لرزه در آب روان ز داد خزانی

چون اشک برگ خود از چهرهٔ شاخسار فشاند
نماندم به درون شجر ز اشک فشانی

برید دست چنار از جفا درودت صرصر
بلی بدست تهی می رسد همیشه زدانی

فتاد تفرقه درچمن [5] (بو) شرح وبیانش
ز من مپرس که خود استماع نتوانی

مزاج مرگ گرفت این جهان بی سرو [6] بی
نهاد روی در اطوار خویش عالم فانی

درین زمانه چنین وحشتی رسید به گلشن
که فاخته ز نوا ماند و بلبلان ز اغانی

زبان برگ درختان کشاده دل شد [7] گویا
به باغ مدح نهال امان و باغ امانی

بلند مرتبه خان آنکه اوج قصر جلالش
زمانه سپهر بود بر تر از رفیع مکانی

1. This *qasida* is also found in *Diwan-i 'Urfi*, Ms. no. 2605, (Foll. 45 a—46 b), Konya Museum Library.
2. There is an additional couplet after this in the Konya Ms.:
بگویمت که مراجای ده بخیل سگانت   مباش بیخبر از ناله و نگاه زمانی
3. Konya Ms. دهر و وقت   4. Konya Ms. لشکر برد
5. ,, ,, نو شرح و بیانش   6. ,, ,, بی بن
Ankara Ms. به شرح و بیانش   7. ,, ,, شده

شهی که دین و دول را بود معین ومعان
شهی که ملک وملل را شده است باعث ربانی

نموده در نظر همتش چو تیرهٔ کاهی
شکوه دولت خاقان چین و دولت خانی

به ذات علت غای به خلق ظل الهی
به عقل جوهر اول به حسن یوسف ثانی

سپهر بخشش[1] و کان سخا و بحر مروت
که رزق خلق جهانرا به جود کرده ضمانی

دهد قبا به غلام کهین[2] ز خلعت شاهی
نهد به فرق گدای کمینه تاج کیسانی

شهان روی زمین را ز روی همت و قدرت
به لطف تاج دهی به و قهر باج ستانی

هوائی عدل توای شه ز اعتدال طبیعی
رهاند گلشن دهر از گزند باد خزانی

دل تو بحرعطا و عطا لالی دریا ؟
[3]کف تو کان سخن و در و جواهر کانی

به علم وحلم و حیا یا کئی حسین و حسن را
ز خال و خط تو پیداست سرسبع مثانی

به عقل خود نتوانم بیان حسن تو کردن
همان که وصف نمارند کردنش تو همانی

نفاذ حکم تو چون تیغ تست کز سرفرمان
به حلق خصم تو چون آب بگذرد ز روانی

درآن زمان که گریزد عدو ز سهم سیاست
اگر نبود به مثل باد نیزه را بپرسانی

چو دست وپای به تیغ ورکاب راست کنی تو
ز بیم زهرهٔ شیر سپهر را بدرانی

[4]به زور حرب چوپا بر زمین ز قهر فشردی
زمین ز زور تو بر پشت گاو کرد گرانی

نداشت خصم مسلم خدنگ شصت تو در دل
مگر به خاطر اوبک به تک ازآن بنشانی

زمین بپرس عدو وصف تیغ و خنجر اورا
که درمذاق دوذو قسمت تیغ او به سانی

نظر به حال من بینوا فگن که ندارم
بد خاک باك سگانت بجز محبت جانی

برای نان جوسگان بردرت نیامده ام من
کجا تعلق جانی کجا تملق نانی

به کعبه روی نیارم ز آستان تو شاها
که حاصلست ازدین در مقاصد دو جهانی

امید هست که رخش مراد و توسن همت
هزار سال به کام و مراد خویش برانی

خدای حافظ جاه تو باد و ناصر دولت
به بزم و رزم ز آفات و حادثات زمانی

هزار بار اگر بینمت دعای من اینست
که باسعادت و دولت هزار سال بمانی

1, Konya MS, بحرسخا کان مروت
2, Konya MS, غلام کهن
3, Probable reading: کف توکان درو در جواهر کانی
4, Konya MS, بروز ضرب

Diwan-i 'Urfi, MS, No, 44937, Library of the Faculty of Language, History and Geography, Ankara,

NEW BOOKS IN REVIEW

THE CONCEPT OF CONSTITUTIONAL LAW IN ISLAM; by Dr. Rahimuddin Kamal pp. iii + 140; Fase Brothers, Hyderabad Dn., 1955, price Rs 6.

ONE of the results of world war II has been the establishment of a number of independent Muslim states in western Asia, and north Africa, and constitutional lawyers have been probing into the problem whether the Qur'an or the apostolic Traditions contain the rudiments of what might be called Muslim constitutional law. Dr. Kamal's book is the result of the objective study of the problem, and "the theme is built on the concepts which, though familiar, has been presented in a new perspective". The work is divided into an introductory chapter, five other chapters, a resume of the conclusions arrived at by the author, a compendious bibliography of 146 Arabic, Persian and Urdu books on Muslim political thought and 49 Western books, mostly English, on the same subject, and an index. The subject chapters deal with Ummat, the State, *Imamat* and *Khilafat*, the Legal Basis of Citizenship, and *Ijtihad*. Some of these subjects are dealt with in an original manner, although it is possible that a reader may not agree with the conclusions derived from the data which the author has before him.

The first topic which Dr. Kamal discusses is the *Ummat* which is, as is well known, a universal concept, for it is to mankind, not to any particular locality, that the appeal of the Qur'an is made. The whole structure of Islamic society is based on covenant, and Dr. Kamal says in a striking sentence that the *Ummat* as thus founded gradually develops into an institution thereby changing the Contract into Status. This goes counter to the famous dictum of Sir Henry Maine that the movement of progressive societies has hitherto been from Status to Contract. As a matter of fact, Islam once for all put an end to Status arising out of birth, family, race, language or colour and laid down the basic principle that only the righteous are praiseworthy in the eyes of the Lord. The basis of the State was on the contract of *bai'at* (which is not an "oath of allegiance", as the author calls it), and it was thus perfectly natural that the progress of Muslim society should be not from Status to Contract but from Contract to Status. The theory of the contractual basis of society in general and political society in particular was taken up in Europe by Puffendorf and handed down through Hobbes and Locke to Rousseau [1] In fact, one of the basic principles of the Islamic State was that everything was held by man in trust for God the Owner, and he was merely the usufructuary of all that he possessed."[2] It is this concept of God being the Owner and dispenser of power which runs practically right through the Qur'an and there is no doubt that under the Qur'anic dispensation sovereingty belongs to God and God only. Power and authority are merely delegated to human agencies which become responsible primarily to the people and finally to God It is only when we grasp the doctrine of trust in its fullest

1. See Ilyas Ahmad, *Social Contract and the Islamic State*, Allahabad, 1944, where the author has discussed the question of the indebtedness of the upholders of the Social Contract theory to Islam. The book was reviewed in *Islamic Culture*, October, 1944 by the present reviewer.

2. *H. K. Sherwani, Development of Political Thought from Jesus Christ to Muhammad, Islamic Review.* Woking, September, 1953.

meaning that we shall be able to understand the phenomenal fact that the Prophet "left neither a *dirham* nor a *dinar* nor yet a grain of corn nor a slave", and when once his daughter Fatima asked for a few articles, he forthwith replied that it was not possible to accede to her request when so many others were suffering from hunger and want. Dr. Kamal rightly says that God's sovereignty destroys the very basis of Austin's theory and that the concept in Islam precludes an absolute and non-responsible sovereign. Unfortunately in one or two places he mixes this up with the mundane and "secular" concept of the Head of a State being the sovereign, which cuts at the root of responsibility and trusteeship. The fact is that there is no such thing as a mundane "sovereign" in the Islamic State, as the Head is responsible both to man and God, and although he is perfectly free to legislate, as Dr. Kamal says in his "Conclusions", he has to do so according to the norms laid down in the Qur'an.

Responsibility naturally entails public opinion and the means of knowing it in a democratic fashion, and it is a pity that the author has not discussed at any length the meaning and implication of what is sometimes called Islamic democracy. There is a close affinity between the unity of Godhead and democracy which should be given a proper emphasis. Prof. Humayun Kabir rightly says in his book, *Science, Democracy and Islam,* that it is the concept of the Unity of God which leads directly to the idea of the oneness of the Universe and the oneness of Law. Democracy in Islam meant the essential equality of the rights of all men, for human nature is necessarily uniform.

The author discusses the theories underlying the *Imamat* and *Khilafat.* He thinks that the institution of the *Imamat* is needed for all times if only because it is for the *Imam* to keep abreast of the times by means of continuous *Ijtihad.* He enunciates a truth while dealing with the supposed tradition of the Prophet that the *Imam* should spring from the tribe of the Quraish, and says that "as soon as the conditions under which the recognition was given, disappeared, the recognition became void and obsolete". But his treatment of the khilafat seems a little too academic when he tries to apply the caliphal theories to modern times and even compares the position of a Caliph with the actual position of the British "sovereign" in the present-day Commonwealth. The discussion of the khilafat in the present setting can at best be academic and historical and removed from the realities of the present day.

The chapter on Citizenship is certainly a unique contribution to the topic. Citizenship, as we understand it and as is implied in the very word, pertains to a particular *territory,* and even when it has taken an ideological turn, as in Russia, it is slowly but surely wheeling its way round to a geographical state. In the Islamic State, rights and duties were confined either to those who believed in the Islamic ideology or to those who were in treaty relations with the Muslims. "Peaceful coexistence" was the watchword of the Muslims. It is doubtful whether Dr. Kamal's rather ingenious theory of "qualified allegiance" on the part of the non-Muslim holds good, as we find that even during the period of the early Umayyads the complete loyalty of the non-Muslims to the state was reciprocated by their complete equality with Muslims in administration.

Dr. Kamal is perfectly right when he says that the society which Islam envisaged was essentially dynamic, and that it reconciled change with certain eternal principles in order to regulate collective life. He gives instances of what he calls" collective *Ijtihad*", which was the rule right up to the days of the Sunni *Imams.* He would, quite rightly, revive *Ijtihad* but would like to have it "institutionalised". By this he means that the fiat would lie in a body which should be "extra-territorial and supra-national, drawing persons from various territories". It is difficult to conceive how such a machinery can be brought into being and how orders would be carried out, especially as Muslims, who are spread the world over,' would have different legal questions to solve in different lands. But a certain amount of uniformity could be brought about if the International Islamic Board, charged with examining questions afresh from the point of view of Islamic norms, were to consist of persons who would be universally respected for their erudition and their wide outlook and at the same time able to exert some influence

on those in authority in Muslim countries.

Dr. Kamal's book is thought-provoking and he has discussed some important points from an entirely new angle, although certain matters require a fuller appraisal. The printing as well as the general get-up is good, but unfortunately quite a number of printing mistakes have crept in which mar the book. The work may well be commended as a useful addition to the literature on the subject.

H. K. Sherwani

CULTURAL FREEDOM IN ASIA : *Report on the Rangoon Conference on Cultural Freedom in Asia, Edited by Mr. H. Passin published for the Congress for Cultural Freedom by Charles E. Tuttle Company, Tokyo, Japan PP. 296. Price : Rs. 4-12.*

THE report is in the form of a book, the printing and get-up of which leave little to be desired. Besides the papers read at the Conference, the book contains a brief account of the discussions which took place thereat and eight pages of photographs. The Conference was convened at Rangoon in February, 1955 by the Society for the Extension of Democratic Ideals, Burma, and the International Congress for Cultural Freedom. It had two main objects—first, to provide a platform for the democratic intellectuals of Asia to meet together and exchange views on the manifold problems posed by the resurgence of the countries of South, South-east and East Asia ; and secondly, to strengthen the cultural ties between these countries. The Conference was attended by delegates and guests from Burma, Ceylon, Hong Kong, India, Indonesia, Japan, Pakistan and the Philippines. A feature of the discussions was that those who participated in them spoke as individuals and not as representatives of particular groups.

Asia is in a transitional stage. Asian countries, which have attained independence since the end of the Second world War, are facing problems the solution of which calls for a readjustment in our outlook and actions. There is a conflict going on in these countries between traditional culture which, with the advance of education and science, has ceased to be satisfying, and Western culture which, though attractive in many ways, is not always suitable to Asian conditions. The masses of Asia are no longer contented with their lot : they have begun to assert themselves, and unless speedy and effective steps are taken to raise their standard of living, they are likely to incline more and more towards Communism.

Totalitarianism, like colonialism, is a threat to cultural freedom. As Mr. Minoo Masani said at the Conference in his welcome address, in democratic countries culture is an end in itself; in totalitarian countries it is a means to a political end already determined by the dictators. But there is also the danger of a welfare state centralising power and becoming absolute. It is generally agreed that economic planning is necessary for raising the standard of living. But can economic planning coexist with freedom? Quoting the example of the United Kingdom, Mr. Philip M. Hauser, Statistical Adviser, Burma Government, said, "Yes". But as Mr. Minoo Masani pointed out, the United Kingdom was able to achieve a successful synthesis of planning and freedom on account of her tradition of individual liberty, which is lacking in Asia. There is much truth in the remark made by Mr. Eric da Costa, Editor, *Eastern Economist*, in the course of the discussion that state regulation for raising the standard of living does restrict the freedom of some people, but the total area of freedom might increase.

Are Asian religions a guarantee against the threats to freedom? Divergent views were expressed at the Conference on this question. While some speakers like Mr. Justice U Chan Htoon (Burma), Mr Jayaprakash Narayan (India) and Mr. Mazher-ud-din Siddiqi (Pakistan) thought that Asian religions could be a great help in socio-economic reconstruction, others like Professor Parikh (India) were of the opinion that it would be a mistake to put reliance on them. Mr. Mochtar Lubis (Indonesia) said, "Most of the religions of Asia today—and I can speak specifically of the Moslem religion in Indonesia—have become static and stagnant, and so they are an easy prey to communism. Mr. Takdir Alisjahbana, Vice-Chairman, University of Indonesia, suggested that for meeting the challenge of Communism to religion, it was necessary for

religion to adapt itself to the needs of the twentieth century humanity. Speaking about restraints on cultural freedom arising from religious causes, Mr. Philip Spratt, Editor, "Mysindia", India, referred to Islam as having "a strong totalitarian element"—a view that was challenged by Mr. Khwaja Sarwar Hasan of Pakistan.

Another subject discussed at the Conference was the threat to cultural freedom arising from narrow nationalism. Professor Parikh deplored the fact that instead of looking forward to a better and more rational reorganization, Asian nationalism tended to look backwards.

The book under review is as interesting as it is informative. It gives one a comrehensive and clear idea of the problems of cultural freedom common to the Asian countries represented at the Conference as well as of problems peculiar to each of these countries Its Editor Mr. Herbert Passin is to be congratulated on presenting a highly readable account of the discussions that took place at the Conference. The book deserves wide circulation.

S. Ali Akbar

THE CULTURAL HERITAGE OF PAKISTAN, Edited by Percival Spear and S. M. Ikram, Oxford University Press 1955 Pp. I 204. Plates 23. Size $8\frac{1}{4}'' \times 5\frac{3}{4}''$ *price Rs.*

THE book contains about seventeen chapters on various aspects of culture as it flourished or flourishes in Pakistan. It is impossible to describe any facet of culture in Pakistan without a detailed reference to its counter part in India. So more or less each chapter has a substantial account of the contribution of India. The various captions are:

Introduction. Pattern of Pakistan's Heritage, Archeology, Architecture, Music, Painting, Muslim Calligraphy, Minor Arts, Persian Literary Heritage.

Literatures:

Urdu, Bengali, Pushto, Punjabi, Sindhi, Balochi. The spritual Heritage and Modern Intellectual Development.

The field covered by the book is naturally extensive and some of the subjects have been treated skilfully by eminent writers having contributed a chapter each. Mr. S. M. Ikram, a versatile, talented and original writer of a high order, is responsible for writing on a variety of subjects covering more than one-third of the book. However, the reader is disappointed to see that the Arabic literary heritage and Islamic studies do not find a place in this scheme. The contribution of Pakistan and India in these two fields requires no elucidation and detailed chapters on them from Dr. U. M. Daudpota or some other eminent scholar would have filled up a big void. The article on Muslim calligraphy could have been made more elaborate. Of all the arts that the Muslims cultivated, calligraphy is, without doubt, the most refined. The reader is surprised to find that there does not appear any effort to revive and revitalise this art. It is not known what kind of patronage is being extended to it in Pakistan and what attempts are being made to promote the art and its appreciation. Epigraphy and particularly the enormous number of Arabic inscriptions discovered in Sind do not appear to have received sufficient attention and scholars would like to know whether they are being studied and are likely to be edited and published. The last chapter is devoted to the modern intellectual development. It begins with Sayyid Ahmad Khan and abruptly ends with Iqbal and Mohammad 'Ali Jinnah without making any assessment of the scientific and academic research and progress being made today in Pakistan.

Museums are the show windows of a nation's culture. The appreciation of the culture of a country is promoted in proportion to the impetus which is given to museology. But throughout the book there is no mention of any up-to-date repository in Pakistan of the cultural heritage of the Muslims where a scholar could study it with advantage.

The remark 'Islam is the gift of Semitic people' on page 15 is repugnant to the very nature of Islam, which is a universal religion and is claimed as much by other races as by the Semites. The editing of the book has been very careless. There are innumerable spelling mistakes. "Persian" on page 105 has been printed as "Persion", "Waqiat" on page 108 has been printed as

"Qaqiat". The date of Ghalib's birth given as 1706 on page 106 is not correct. a sufficiently long list can be made of such errors. Uniformity has not been maintained in the spelling of proper nouns and a definite scheme for transliteration has not been followed. These should have been attended to before the book went to press or at least an errata should have been added. In spite of these short-comings the book as a whole contains much useful information and makes a very pleasant reading. We strongly recommend it to all those who are interested in knowing more about Pakistan.

KHAWJA MOHAMMAD AHMAD

MARY IN ISLAM by V. Courtois, S. J. The Oriental Institute, Islamic Section. Calcutta, 1954. pp. 79.

THE unparalleled veneration shown to Mary in Catholic Christianity can only be vied with the place that she occupies in Islam. In the Qur'an Jesus Christ and his mother have been considered as the veritable signs of God, undeniable proofs of God's existence. But unfortunately political rivalries, prejudices of the bigoted and ignorance of the masses have widened the gulf between such sister religions as Islam and Christianity. Now when scepticism is the order of the day and atheism has the backing of political force, it becomes Islam and Christianity to stand together against the onrush of the Godless ideology. Attempts to foster amity between these two great religions is very salutary The author of this little interesting book is a devout Christian. It is a sign of the times that even those whose interests lie in missionary activities should come forward to clear prejudices and point out the right way Mr. V. Courtois, S. J., concludes: "May the respect and veneration which both Muslims and Christians have for the Mother of Jesus bring them close together at her feet where they may discover that they are in truth brother." We have no hesitation in reciprocating this feeling; for us both Jesus and his holy Mother speak of a transcendental mystery, and only those who are deaf to the persistent call of the Beyond can ignore it. This is the lesson of the Qur'an, of our holy Prophet and of the countless saints and seers of our religion.

The writer draws upon the Qur'an, the Hadith and poetry and folklore to show the veneration in which 'Bibi Maryam', the Virgin Mary, is held in Islam. Whether the stories and the traditions are authentic or not is immaterial to his thesis. They are only meant to show the place that the Virgin Mary occupies in the general consciousness of the Muslim mind. As a sincere attempt to create understanding and good will between Islam and Christianity this fine little work is welcome.

S. VAHIDUDDIN

MAN THE UNKNOWN (Na M'alum Insan) translated into Urdu by Muhammad Yousuf Kokan, M. A. and Muhammad Muhiuddin, B. A. L. T. (Madras University 1953) pp. 378

DR. Alexis Carrel's work has enjoyed immense popularity. It has been translated into many languages and has gone through several editions. As the writer himself admits, he is not an abstract philosopher but an experimental scientist who has spent his life in unravelling the mystery of the living phenomena in experimental work. Dr. Carrel is endowed with rare acumen and his conclusions are far from being orthodox from the scientific point of view. He is a man of deep religious convictions and his view about the efficacy of prayer deserve careful consideration by the sceptic. Translation is indeed a thankless job but the way in which the translators have overcome difficulties speak to their credit. It is not our intentions to try to find fault in a spirit of negative criticism. We wish only to point out that translations of certain terms may lead to misunderstanding. 'Intellectual' is not ذہنی but عقلی, 'reflex action' may be translated rather as اضطراری عمل than غیرشعوری ردعمل. As a whole the translation may be reckoned as very successful and we hope its contents will not only be seriously pondered upon but also read with delight by the public.

S. VAHIDUDDIN

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Africanos Y Orientales, Madrid, No. 33, 1956
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